



THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE

SPANISH-AMERICAN AND PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN WARS



A POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND MILITARY HISTORY

SPENCER C. TUCKER, EDITOR

**THE ENCYCLOPEDIA
OF THE
SPANISH-AMERICAN AND
PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN
WARS**

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A Political, Social, and Military History

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Dedicated to the memory of George M. Brooke Jr.
Master teacher, scholar, mentor, and friend

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Preface

The conflict with Spain in 1898 was the first U.S. war with a foreign power since the Mexican-American War of 1846–1848. The Spanish-American War was, of course, about much more than freeing Cuba and the explosion of the battleship *Maine*. What Secretary of State John Hay called “a splendid little war” ended with the United States becoming a world power.

The American people were united behind the war effort, probably more so than in any other war in our history. There was, however, disagreement over the decision to take the Philippines and controversy resulting from the ensuing fighting against those Filipinos who did not wish to simply trade one colonial master for another. Yet Americans generally applauded the results. And when all was said and done, the United States probably had as fine a record in the Philippines as any colonial power in history. Ironically, the acquisition of the Philippines affected the future of the United States far more than any other provision of the Treaty of Paris that ended the Spanish-American War. Cuba was made independent, Puerto Rico was gradually advanced to Commonwealth status, but the Philippines made the United States a Far Eastern power, involved it in Asiatic power struggles, and made an eventual war with Japan probable. The seeds of Pearl Harbor came from the Battle of Manila Bay. Thus, the annexation of the Philippines was a major turning point in American history.

The war also had far-reaching repercussions for the U.S. Navy. Indeed, its remarkable record in the war fueled sentiment for an Isthmian canal and more ships. By 1917 the United States had the third-largest navy in the world and was administering the Panama Canal, which it had built from 1904 to 1914. It had also become a global power and the world’s leading industrial and financial center.

This encyclopedia is the most comprehensive to date on the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War. In addition to the volume of documents, the encyclopedia has more than 600 entries covering a wide range of topics on both sides of the conflict. In keeping with encyclopedias in this ABC-CLIO series, we have endeavored to include not only military events, leaders, and weapons but also entries treating political, diplomatic, economic, social, and cultural leaders and events.

There are many people to thank. I am especially grateful to David Task for writing the excellent introduction. I first encountered David at the Military History Workshop at West Point in the summer of 1980 when I was attending the workshop and David was a guest lecturer. His painstakingly researched and elegantly written book *The War with Spain in 1898*, first published in 1981 and reprinted many times, remains the classic study of the conflict. He provides a splendid overview and analysis of the factors behind the conflict, the war, and the consequences. As always, associate editor Paul Pierpaoli Jr. has been a tremendous assist. A trained diplomatic and political historian, he has not only helped edit all the entries but has written a number himself. I am also delighted to have the services of two assistant editors, Jack McCallum and Justin Murphy, who also have read all the entries and helped catch myriad small problems. Both received their doctorates under my direction, and I am inordinately proud of them. Jack is also a well-known neurosurgeon and author of a splendid new biography of General Leonard Wood. Justin, a distinguished teacher and scholar who has assisted me on several encyclopedia projects and is an accomplished editor, is now also acting dean at Howard Payne University. I am also most appreciative of the efforts of the many scholars who contributed to this project. And I am especially grateful to Becky Snyder, president of ABC-CLIO, for her vision, encouragement, support, and friendship and to my good

friends and team colleagues at ABC-CLIO Pat Carlin, Andrew McCormick, and Maxine Taylor. As usual, I take full responsibility for any errors. Finally, my perennial thanks to my wife and partner Dr.

Beverly Tucker, whose support enables me to continue writing and editing.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

General Maps

CARIBBEAN THEATER, MAY 12–AUGUST 12, 1898



OPERATIONS IN CUBA, 1898



PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN WAR, 1899–1902



U.S. ACQUISITIONS IN THE PACIFIC, 1857–1899



Introduction

The Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War stemmed from international dislocations that began during the 1890s. These global discontents eventually led to a long era of global warfare, including the Cold War, from 1914 to 1991. At this time the international balance of power, which had been largely stable though dynamic after the Napoleonic Wars, began to destabilize, a consequence of imposing changes during the 19th century. Among these unsettling developments were the urban industrial revolution, the rise of strong nation-states in the Western world that enjoyed the loyalty of their citizenry, and the expansion of European empires in Africa and Asia.

The Spanish Empire, once the greatest in the world, largely disappeared during the Napoleonic era, leaving only a few colonies in Africa (Morocco), the West Indies (Puerto Rico and Cuba), and the Pacific Ocean (the Philippines and smaller island groups, among them the Carolines and Marianas). During the latter years of the 19th century, anticolonial movements emerged in the most important of Spain's possessions, the Philippines and Cuba. Spain's Restoration Monarchy, which had been established in 1875, decided to put down these insurgencies rather than grant either autonomy or independence. The Spanish Army crushed the first outbreaks, the Ten Years' War (1868–1878) in Cuba, and the First Philippine Insurgency (1896–1897). A second insurgency in Cuba, which began in 1895, evolved into extended guerrilla warfare that proved most troublesome for the Spanish Army, although by the end of 1897 General Valeriano Weyler, known as “the Butcher” because of his stern methods, had succeeded in largely containing it.

This success, however, came too late. Spain's Conservative Party, led by Antonio Cánovas de Castillo, had authorized drastic measures in Cuba to counter the insurgents' recourse to partisan tactics. This initiative aroused growing opposition in the United

States, especially after Weyler ordered a cruel reconcentration of rural civilians in urban areas to deprive the insurgents of support in the countryside. The United States did not have large investments and commercial interests in Cuba, but anti-Spanish sentiment grew as newspapers published reports of terrible civilian suffering and aroused latent dislike of Spain.

President William McKinley, who took office in April 1897, exerted increasing pressure on Spain to adopt reforms that would at least grant Cuba a significant degree of autonomy. When an anarchist assassinated Cánovas in 1897, Spain's Liberal Party, headed by Práxedes Mateo Sagasta, soon took power, recalled Weyler, and finally granted home rule to both Cuba and Puerto Rico. This gesture, however, came too late. The Cuban leaders rejected autonomy, sensing that this concession signaled Spanish weakness and that perseverance might soon lead to independence.

The Cuban question, although of growing importance, was but one of several great issues that concerned Americans at this time, but a stirring event suddenly transformed the situation. On February 15, 1898, the battleship *Maine*, which had been sent to Havana Harbor to establish a U.S. naval presence, exploded and sank, causing the deaths of 266 crew members and many injuries among the survivors. Thereafter the Cuban question dominated public attention. The nation jumped to the conclusion that the Spanish had placed a mine in the harbor to destroy the *Maine*. A naval inquiry confirmed this view, although years later it became clear that internal combustion in the ship's coal bunkers adjacent to stockpiles of ammunition had probably caused the disaster.

The cautious McKinley opposed armed intervention, seeking instead to emphasize economic reforms, but public pressures eventually forced him to call for Cuban independence. His supporters in the business community, the most important constituency in the

Republican Party, were concerned chiefly with the monetary system and the tariff. They feared the unsettling effects that might stem from war, which often leads to unexpected and undesirable outcomes for business.

When Spain did not bow to the American demand for Cuban independence, the U.S. Congress authorized armed intervention but also adopted the Teller Amendment, which proclaimed that the purpose of armed intervention was to help Cuba achieve independence, a resounding repudiation of imperialist intentions. For various reasons many Democrats supported war, which influenced McKinley. He reluctantly went along with Congress, in all probability fearing that his failure to do so would compromise the Republican Party in the fall elections and eventually return the Democratic Party, the champion of free silver and free trade, to power in Washington.

Spain attempted to gain support from the great powers of Europe but failed to do so. The nation had no international ties of importance, having followed a policy of isolation from other nations during many years of internal political challenges, notably the agitation of Carlists, Basques, Catalonians, and other groups. Widespread domestic unrest raised fears of revolution and the fall of the Restoration Monarchy. Given these domestic challenges, Spain did not involve itself in external affairs. The European powers, preoccupied with great issues of their own including difficulties with their own empires, refused to help Spain, having no obligations and no desire to earn the enmity of the United States. Bereft of European support, Spain had to fight alone against a formidable enemy.

Popular emotions influenced the Madrid government to some extent; many Spaniards believed that the empire had been God's gift as a reward for the expulsion of the Moors from Europe and believed that no Spanish government could surrender the remaining colonies without dishonoring the nation. War seemed a lesser evil than looming domestic tumult. In addition, many believed that Spain could give a good account of itself because the Americans seemed unprepared for war. Spain possessed a large army, already in place in the likely combat zones, and it also possessed a respectable navy, which it deemed superior to that of the United States. Even if Spain experienced defeat, an honorable military effort rather than craven acceptance of the American demands might preserve the established order.

Spain declared war on April 23, 1898, and the United States followed on April 25, predating its action to April 21 because it had already begun naval operations.

Spain adopted a defensive strategy to back up its policy of retaining its colonies, hoping to repel American attacks on Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. The most important decisions made in Madrid during the early days of the war were to dispatch a naval force to help defend Cuba and to organize another to reinforce its garrison in the Philippines.

To achieve its sole war aim, the independence of Cuba, the United States adopted an offensive strategy, a product of prewar planning. There was no thought of acquiring Spanish colonies. Rec-

ognizing the limited size of the regular U.S. Army (28,000 men), the United States would first conduct naval operations on the peripheries of Spanish power in the Caribbean Sea and in Philippine waters. The United States sought to intimidate the enemy by launching prompt and vigorous campaigns in the hope of achieving an early cessation of hostilities. Lacking sufficient trained troops under arms, the nation could not immediately dispatch large armies to the theaters of war. Of course it could call upon immense numbers of militia and volunteers, but these men lacked military training. It would take a year to mobilize, train, equip, and deploy a huge volunteer army. For the moment the government could only contemplate rather modest army expeditions to the Caribbean Sea and the western Pacific Ocean in support of naval operations.

As soon as war was declared, Commodore George Dewey's small but competent Asiatic Squadron, which had been ordered from Japan to Hong Kong in anticipation of possible hostilities, departed for the Philippines. It did so in accordance with prescriptions in the navy's prewar plans in the event of war with Spain. On May 1 the U.S. squadron entered Manila Bay. Dewey's warships consisted of the protected cruisers *Olympia*, *Baltimore*, *Raleigh*, and *Boston* and the gunboats *Concord* and *Petrel*.

This force, which mounted 54 heavy guns of which 10 were 8-inch breech-loading rifles, engaged Admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón's Spanish squadron of two large cruisers, four unprotected cruisers, and one gunboat, which mounted only 37 heavy guns, the largest being 6.3-inch rifles (7 total). This weak aggregation bereft of armor anchored in shallow water off the naval base at Cavite rather than near Manila to avoid an American bombardment of the city and to limit casualties during the impending battle.

When Dewey located the antiquated and unarmored Spanish squadron, he simply steamed past it several times and fired on it at will. The guns of the American vessels outnumbered those of the enemy and outranged them. Dewey's gunfire sunk three vessels and severely damaged the other four. The crippled ships were scuttled and joined the others on the shallow bottom. After the battle the *Petrel* set fire to them. Three were later raised, repaired, and placed in American service. Montojo's crews suffered heavy casualties, with 161 killed and 210 wounded. The unprotected cruiser *Reina María Cristina*, Montojo's flagship, attempted to sortie against the American squadron but was soon forced to return to its anchorage. It took more than half of the Spanish losses. Dewey's crews sustained only 9 wounded and none killed.

The victorious Dewey lacked troops to conduct operations on land. He stationed his squadron off Manila and soon brought in the former leader of the defeated Philippine insurgency, Emilio Aguinaldo, and encouraged him to resume hostilities. Aguinaldo organized an army and instituted successful operations against the Spanish garrisons located elsewhere on Luzon and on other islands, but the Americans did not allow him to attack Manila. He also established a civil government in anticipation of gaining independence.

Meanwhile, the North Atlantic Squadron, commanded by Rear Admiral William T. Sampson, left its base at Key West and imme-

diately established an effective blockade of Cuba, initially at Havana but soon extended to other ports. Another naval force, the Flying Squadron, then at Hampton Roads, Virginia, received instructions to deal with an enemy naval attack on the East Coast. As in the Philippines, no land force was available to conduct early and extensive operations on land. In any event, an attack on Cuba had to await assurance that Spain's navy could not compromise such an operation.

Spain attempted to counter the early American successes with naval initiatives. Sagasta's government immediately ordered Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's small squadron of only seven vessels (four armored cruisers and three destroyers) to proceed to Cuban waters. The best of these ships, the armored cruiser *Cristóbal Colón*, lacked its main battery of 10-inch guns. Minus one of his destroyers, Cervera arrived on May 19 at Santiago de Cuba, a port on the southeastern coast of the island several hundred miles from Havana. The principal Spanish land forces were far distant in western Cuba. A Spanish garrison at Santiago de Cuba of just over 10,000 troops held off a smaller force of Cuban insurgents.

The Spanish government also organized a naval squadron commanded by Admiral Manuel de la Cámara y Libermore to relieve the Philippines, but necessary preparations delayed its departure for about two months. Meanwhile, the U.S. Navy sent important naval reinforcements to Manila Bay.

The United States took immediate steps to follow up its initial naval operations. McKinley decided to dispatch modest army expeditions to both Cuba and the Philippines, seeking to maintain pressure on the Spanish defenders. Representatives of the United States made contact with Cuban military leaders, and the insurgents received shipments of arms. When the navy's Flying Squadron, with Commodore William T. Schley in command, managed to blockade Cervera in port at Santiago de Cuba on May 29, McKinley authorized a modest expedition to seize the port and destroy the Spanish vessels.

Major General William R. Shafter was made commander of the army's V Corps, which was hurriedly concentrated at Tampa on the west coast of Florida amid considerable confusion. The expedition received orders to go to Santiago de Cuba as soon as possible. V Corps eventually included 12 regular army regiments, 4 of them black units. It also contained 5 volunteer organizations including the 1st Volunteer Cavalry, dubbed the Rough Riders, and militia from New York, Massachusetts, and Michigan for a grand total of about 17,000 men. After a muddled delay in Tampa, the expedition departed for Cuba on June 15 and arrived off Santiago de Cuba on June 20. Shafter made contact with the local Cuban commander, General Calixto García y Iníguez, and landed almost immediately at Daiquirí and Siboney, located east of Santiago de Cuba, without opposition.

Fearful that tropical disease, especially yellow fever and malaria, would infect his troops and that Spanish reinforcements might soon bolster the enemy garrison, Shafter decided to move quickly against Santiago de Cuba along an inland route. He rejected Admiral Samp-

son's proposal to seize the Spanish batteries located near the Morro Castle at the harbor entrance, an operation that would bottle up Cervera. Rivalry between the U.S. Army and the U.S. Navy at Santiago de Cuba arose frequently with unfortunate consequences.

On June 3 Sampson attempted to block the channel with an old ship, the *Merrimac*. Naval constructor Richmond P. Hobson commanded this bold enterprise. The ship came to rest outside the channel, but this brave failure brought fame to Hobson and his small crew, who were taken prisoner.

On June 24 Shafter advanced eastward from his landing locations to the small village of Las Guásimas on a miserable road known as the Camino Real. His men soon encountered Spanish troops, who inflicted the first casualties on the American troops. After a brief firefight the Spaniards withdrew toward San Juan Heights just west of the city. Shafter moved his headquarters to a location named El Pozo and prepared to attack the Spanish defenders to their front who were stationed in two locations, the village of El Caney and San Juan Heights. These strong points lay in advance of a line of fortifications, the main line of resistance that protected the city.

Seeking to prevent Cuban insurgents from entering Santiago de Cuba, the Spanish commander, General Arsenio Linares y Pombo, posted his troops, including a large contingent of sailors from Cervera's squadron, along a semicircular perimeter of about 20 miles. This arrangement resulted in small concentrations of troops in numerous positions. Only 500 troops occupied El Caney. Another 500 held San Juan Heights, which included a small rise called Kettle Hill and a larger elevation named San Juan Hill.

Shafter's plan of operations specified two attacks. One of the infantry divisions, commanded by Brigadier General Henry W. Lawton, received orders to seize El Caney, thereby preventing a highly unlikely flank attack from the enemy left. After quickly accomplishing this presumably simple mission, Lawton would immediately join the rest of the troops on the right of the line in front of San Juan Heights. At this time an infantry division and a dismounted cavalry division would make a second attack, sweeping the enemy from San Juan Heights. Then these two units and Lawton's division would press forward immediately to occupy Santiago de Cuba.

Meanwhile, volunteer troops from Michigan were detailed to advance along the coast toward Aguadores, which was located near the entrance to the bay of Santiago de Cuba, and demonstrate against the Spanish infantry and artillery around the Morro Castle. Shafter hoped to convince the enemy that the main attack would come at the entrance to the mouth of the harbor. Such an operation would also prevent reinforcements from moving northward from that area to engage the Americans who were to attack San Juan Heights.

This unduly elaborate plan, which did not make adequate use of naval support, unraveled immediately. Lawton's division proved unable to overcome the resistance of General Joaquín Vara del Rey y Rubio and his small force until afternoon. The Americans took a

large number of casualties. This delay forced Shafter, who had fallen ill, to begin the assault on San Juan Heights at 1:00 p.m. without Lawton, who did not join the other two divisions until the next day.

When V Corps advanced toward San Juan Heights, it attracted artillery fire from Spanish batteries. An observation balloon that approached the front helped the Spanish locate the American troop concentrations. The Spanish fire caused some troops to hesitate, including men of the 71st New York, a volunteer regiment. A regular army regiment passed through them and moved up San Juan Hill along with other advancing units.

Meanwhile, the Rough Riders, with Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt in command, and a regular army regiment, the black dismounted 10th Cavalry, assaulted Kettle Hill, which was located northeast of San Juan Hill. These units evicted the defenders of Kettle Hill without serious opposition and then came to the assistance of the troops moving up the adjacent San Juan Hill. The 500 Spanish defenders on the hilltop at first resisted, but when a battery of three Gatling guns sited at El Pozo opened fire for eight minutes, the enemy troops quickly withdrew to the main line of resistance behind them, leaving the Americans in possession of the heights. The Gatling guns decided the outcome, although the attacking units, which vastly outnumbered the resisting enemy, would most probably have taken San Juan Heights without this assistance.

The projected advance into Santiago de Cuba did not materialize. The delays and difficulties that V Corps encountered at El Caney and San Juan Heights precluded further operations that day. Instead, the exhausted troops constructed field fortifications on San Juan Hill and prepared to repulse a possible counterattack.

Shafter and his subordinate commanders did not grasp the extent of their victory. Deeming their position on San Juan Heights quite dangerous, they contemplated withdrawal and called for reinforcements. When McKinley and the War Department learned of the possible retreat, they immediately ordered Shafter to hold his position, recognizing the negative reaction that might follow any such move. The War Department rapidly sent reinforcements to augment the force at Santiago de Cuba.

General Linares was wounded on July 1, and General José Toral y Vázquez succeeded to the Spanish command. He received reinforcements from Manzanillo, 2,700 troops under Colonel Federico Escario García, who succeeded in getting past the Cuban insurgents assigned to stop them, but this augmentation increased the difficulty of supplying the besieged army and probably did more harm than good. Toral devoted himself principally to negotiations with the Americans during his brief tenure, recognizing the weakness of his position.

When Spanish governor-general Ramón Blanco y Erenas in Havana learned of the defeat on San Juan Heights, he directed Admiral Cervera to leave Santiago de Cuba immediately. Cervera opposed this order, recognizing that he had little or no chance of escaping through the strong American blockade. Blanco persisted, however, and Cervera resigned himself to the probable catastrophe that lay ahead. He rejected a nocturnal departure, which might have allowed

him to achieve surprise, because of navigational difficulties in the narrow channel. At 9:00 a.m. on Sunday, July 3, in broad daylight, his vessels began to pass in single file through the channel to the open sea.

By unlucky chance Admiral Sampson absented himself from the blockade that morning, having steamed in his flagship, the *New York*, eastward toward Siboney to confer with General Shafter. This circumstance left Commodore Schley, the commander of the Flying Squadron, in his flagship *Brooklyn* in charge when the Spanish squadron made its appearance. Sampson reversed course and joined the battle in its final phase but made only a minor contribution.

As the Spanish vessels exited the channel, they came under heavy fire from the blockading squadron, which that morning included seven ships (the battleships *Indiana*, *Oregon*, *Iowa*, and *Texas*; the armored cruiser *Brooklyn*; and the converted yachts *Gloucester* and *Vixen*). An equal number of vessels was absent, including the flagship *New York* and two accompanying gunboats, the battleship *Massachusetts*, two cruisers, and a tender.

Nevertheless, the remaining vessels reacted effectively. All except the fastest of Cervera's six vessels, the armored cruiser *Cristóbal Colón*, were sunk or forced to beach on the coast shortly after clearing the channel one after another and immediately coming under fire. Only the speedy *Cristóbal Colón* managed to slip past the blockaders. It fled on a westerly course toward Cienfuegos with Schley in hot pursuit. The *Brooklyn*, which turned away from the Spanish warships at the beginning of the battle, a serious mistake, led the pursuit. The Spanish ship eventually ran out of good coal and lost headway, allowing the *Brooklyn* to approach within range. The commander of the *Cristóbal Colón* then beached his ship about 50 miles west of Santiago de Cuba. The naval battle at Santiago de Cuba ended like the one at Manila; the American ships destroyed the entire Spanish squadron.

The outcome of the naval battle had profound consequences; the Spanish government decided to seek a cessation of hostilities. To this end it recalled Admiral Cámara's squadron, which had finally begun its voyage to the Philippines, and soon inaugurated peace negotiations with the United States through the good offices of the French government.

At Santiago de Cuba General Shafter and General Toral engaged in exchanges that eventually led to a capitulation on July 17. The Cuban leader, General García, was not allowed to participate in the negotiations. To reach a settlement, the United States agreed to finance the repatriation of Spanish troops in Cuba. This outcome came none too soon. Tropical disease appeared among the Americans and quickly disabled large numbers. A hurried evacuation of V Corps to Montauk, Long Island, soon began, and other troops arrived to occupy Cuba.

During this time Major General Nelson A. Miles, the commanding general of the U.S. Army, stopped briefly at Santiago de Cuba with a large complement of troops on its way to invade Puerto Rico. He was supposed to land at Fajardo near San Juan, but in-

stead he steamed to the south coast of the island to achieve surprise. After landing his troops at Ponce and other ports, he launched several columns on northward routes toward San Juan. These groups encountered little resistance but did not reach the capital city before August 12, the date when the belligerents signed a protocol in Washington that ended the war. Critics later argued that Miles would have encountered little resistance at Fajardo and San Juan and should have followed the original plan.

Meanwhile, the United States sent about 10,000 troops, mostly volunteers, to Manila in three phases during June and July, achieving a much more orderly process than the expedition to Santiago de Cuba. During the voyage of the first contingent the U.S. Navy escort occupied Guam, the southernmost island in the Marianas. Of greater importance was the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. These acquisitions improved the long line of communications across the Pacific Ocean to the Philippines.

After assembling his troops, Major General Wesley Merritt prepared to attack Manila. Admiral Dewey, however, managed to negotiate the capitulation of the Spanish garrison. A new governor-general, Don Fermín Jáudenes y Alvarez, decided to give up after Dewey agreed to a sham battle to preserve the honor of the Spanish Army and promised to prevent Aguinaldo's insurgents from entering Manila. The army brigade commanders who led the assault were not informed of this charade, which involved some casualties during the largely unopposed advance that led to the occupation of the city.

As it happened, the capitulation came on August 13, a day after the signing of the Protocol of Peace. Spain later argued that this circumstance invalidated an American claim to the islands based on the right of conquest, but the United States rejected this contention despite support for it in international law. Although Aguinaldo's army continued to expand its control of areas outside of Manila, Major General Elwell S. Otis, who led the American occupation, followed orders not to recognize the Filipino government, a policy that led to growing tensions.

Meanwhile, the United States and Spain conducted peace negotiations in Paris. The protocol of August 12 specified most of the principal elements of the settlement, including Cuban independence and the American acquisition of Puerto Rico and Guam, but left the disposition of the Philippines to the peace conference.

McKinley did not immediately respond to growing pressure to acquire the archipelago. After undertaking a speaking tour to test national sentiment, he ultimately decided to authorize annexation, arguing that responsibility to humanity along with national unity, duty, and destiny required this action. As in April 1898 when he reluctantly supported armed intervention in Cuba, he bowed to public opinion, again seeking to safeguard the Republican Party's control of the government and the pursuit of various domestic reforms of interest to his political constituency. In the peace treaty of December 10, 1898, the United States agreed to purchase the Philippines for \$20 million. Spain sold its other insular possessions in the Pacific to Germany.

Opponents of overseas expansion publicized cogent arguments against an imperialist policy, among other things claiming the unconstitutionality of overseas territorial acquisitions, the reversal of sound anti-imperialist traditions, its inconsistency with isolationist foreign policy, and disturbance of racial tensions, but these contentions failed to overcome the burst of enthusiasm for expansion after the defeat of Spain. This short-lived but fairly intense reaction to the victory over Spain stemmed from expectation of outlets for trade and investment, the example of European empires, the recent rise to great-power status, and certain irrational feelings such as overblown patriotism and nationalism that stimulated expansionist sentiment.

The turn toward overseas expansion led to difficulties that gradually cooled interest in the modest new empire composed of Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Hawaii, and various small islands in the Pacific, including Midway Island, Wake Island, Guam, and American Samoa. Chief among the developments that inspired disenchantment was the failure of anticipated trade and investment to materialize and the outbreak of an insurgency in the Philippines that exposed the burdens associated with imperialist adventures.

The decision to annex the Philippines greatly exacerbated the festering animosity of Aguinaldo and his supporters. A threatening force of insurgents, denied entrance into the walled city, lay outside the gates in Manila. On February 4, 1899, an American soldier shot a Filipino, an act that precipitated the outbreak of an insurrection against the United States, which today is called the Philippine-American War. This event also influenced the U.S. Senate's consideration of the Treaty of Paris, which was divided in its views. Two days later the Senate gave its advice and consent by a close vote of 57 to 27, barely achieving the required two-thirds margin. The president soon ratified the settlement. The Spanish Cortes (parliament) refused its approval, but the queen regent of Spain overrode this act and ratified the treaty on March 19, 1899.

After winning the Second Battle of Manila, General Otis began a campaign of pacification. The Filipino commander, General Antonio Narciso Luna de St. Pedro, decided to wage conventional warfare, a decision that played into the hands of the Americans. The cautious Otis conducted methodical attacks that gradually wore down Luna's ill-equipped and poorly trained troops. Luna was assassinated, probably with the connivance of Aguinaldo. By the end of 1899, Aguinaldo decided to abandon conventional warfare in favor of guerrilla operations. Otis incorrectly concluded that the insurgency had been defeated and returned to the United States.

His successor, Major General Arthur MacArthur, forced to quell revived opposition, faced a difficult task. Small guerrilla bands operated from secure areas in the countryside where they gained support, either voluntary or coerced, from the local civilian populations. They avoided pitched battles in favor of harassing American garrisons established in many locations throughout the island of Luzon without giving battle. The Americans had to decentralize their forces to cope with widely separated pockets of resistance, which required considerable reinforcements and increased costs.

The development of significant anti-imperialist sentiment in the United States in 1900, spearheaded by the Democratic presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan, led the insurgents to hold out, hoping that the defeat of McKinley would lead to an eventual American withdrawal. This expectation failed to materialize. Filipino resistance suffered after McKinley gained reelection in November 1900, blasting insurgents' hopes for an early grant of independence.

In March 1901 Brigadier General Frederick Funston led a group of pro-American Macabebe tribesmen to Aguinaldo's headquarters in a remote area of Luzon and captured him. Aguinaldo soon swore allegiance to the United States and urged his followers to give up.

This outcome was part of a tactic known as attraction, an application of a policy of benevolent assimilation that included efforts to gain the backing of influential Filipinos and undermine popular support for the insurgency. American efforts to improve education and sanitation gained favorable public notice. A civilian commission headed by William Howard Taft contributed importantly to pacification. Taft later became the first civilian administrator of the Philippines.

Meanwhile, local field commanders developed various means of dealing effectively with the insurgency in differing combat environments. A resort in certain locations to reconcentration of civilians provided a means of depriving the insurgents of essential support. Also in some cases U.S. troops used torture to extort information from captives, a crime that patently violated American law and ethics. Congressional investigations called attention to these acts and aroused considerable public criticism.

After the insurgents attacked a small American garrison in Balangiga on the island of Samar in September 1901, killing 48 Americans and wounding 22, Brigadier General Jacob Smith ordered severe retaliations that caused considerable suffering in the Philippines and extensive public criticism in the United States.

Slowly but surely, isolated bands of insurgents were forced to abandon the field. Among the last leaders to surrender, ending three and a half years of resistance, were General Vicente Lukban on Samar (February 1902) and General Miguel Malvar on Luzon (April 1902).

On July 4, 1902, President Theodore Roosevelt declared an official end to the Philippine-American War, although some pockets of resistance still existed in scattered locations. On the large island

of Mindanao a Muslim population sustained a long resistance that persisted until 1913, but the pacification achieved by 1902 endured in almost all other places.

When the short-lived burst of imperialist enthusiasm came to an end, the idea of granting independence to the Filipinos began to take root and by stages became public policy. In 1934 the Tydings-McDuffie Act authorized commonwealth status for the Philippines and eventual independence. Japan occupied the Philippines during World War II, but the Philippines finally gained its independence in 1946.

The Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War were minor events at the outset of an international crisis that bred a long century of death and destruction. The costs and dangers of overseas expansion soon became apparent to the American people, and the imperialist experiment at the beginning of the 20th century came to an early end.

The international agenda for the United States at the outset of the 20th century ought to have included extensive and sustained participation in international politics with an eye to the restoration and preservation of a just and lasting balance of power by peaceful methods. To support such a policy the United States had to maintain credible armed forces. Almost half a century passed before the United States finally recognized that it must accept an extensive and continuing role in world politics. Future statecraft would have to guarantee the future of all peoples and places and preclude the possibility of another resort to general warfare, an event that would surely cause inconceivable destruction and suffering everywhere.

A turn to such a policy did not occur until the exigencies of World War I forced the United States into the struggle. The postwar departure from the prescription for a revolution in American statecraft and the creation of effective international peacekeeping and reform contributed most importantly to a renewal of warfare from 1939 to 1945 and the long and dangerous aftermath that endured until about 1991. Then, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the international balance was finally restored on a reasonably firm foundation. During the 20th century the great Eurasian empires all fell by the wayside along with the hegemonic ambitions that had flowered on all too many occasions during a long era of unprecedented international instability and total war.

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A

“A Message to Garcia”

See “Message to Garcia, A”

Abril y Ostaló, Mariano

Birth Date: May 25, 1861

Death Date: December 5, 1935

Puerto Rican nationalist, journalist, and historian. Born in San Juan, Puerto Rico, on May 25, 1861, Mariano Abril y Ostaló was first employed as a messenger for a notary public in San Juan. In his free time, however, he wrote various articles for *El Palenque de la Juventud*, a literary journal established by Manuel Quevedo Báez (1865–1955) during the 1880s. Abril used the pseudonym Florete, the Spanish term for a long, flexible steel sword.

Abril’s experience at the journal prepared him for a successful literary career, and he subsequently wrote for *El Clamor del País* and *La Democracia*. In 1895, he was appointed editor of *La Democracia*, a proautonomist periodical founded in 1890 by his friend Luis Muñoz Rivera, who established the Autonomist Party in 1887. In his editorials, Abril warned of encroaching U.S. influence in the Caribbean region and advocated autonomy from Spain as the best solution for his homeland.

In 1896, a Spanish court in Puerto Rico convicted Abril in absentia of criticizing the colonial government. However, Abril managed to escape imprisonment by fleeing to France. After spending a few months in Paris, he went to Spain incognito. Unable to hide his identity from Spanish authorities, however, he was arrested in Spain and briefly imprisoned. In 1896, Spanish minister of overseas territories Tomás Castellano y Villaroya interceded on Abril’s

behalf, and Premier Antonio Cánovas del Castillo granted him a pardon.

Abril lived in Madrid until the end of 1898 and wrote for such periodicals as *El Globo*, *El Herald*, and *El Liberal*. At the outbreak of war between the United States and Spain in 1898, he urged support for Spain and encouraged Puerto Ricans to remain loyal to that country and fight against any U.S. invasion. He repeatedly praised Spanish soldiers for their efforts to defend Cuba and Puerto Rico.

Following the Spanish-American War, Abril returned to Puerto Rico and wrote numerous articles criticizing U.S. occupation of the island. He joined the Unionist Party of Puerto Rico, which was founded in 1904 by Rivera and José de Diego. Like Rivera, Abril was a pragmatist. In an effort to obtain greater autonomy for Puerto Rico, in 1916 both Abril and Rivera abandoned their calls for independence. The result was the 1917 Jones Act, which granted U.S. citizenship to Puerto Ricans and gave the Puerto Rican people more local autonomy by providing for a two-chamber legislative assembly, which included a Senate of 19 members and a House of Delegates of 39 members. In 1920, Abril was elected to represent Guayama in the Senate.

In 1930, Abril, now the author of numerous historical studies such as *Un Antillano Ilustre: Salvador Brau* [Illustrious West Indian: Salvador Brau] (1915), was elected the fourth official historian of Puerto Rico, succeeding Cayetano Coll y Toste. The Office of Official Historian, created in 1903, was first occupied by Francisco Mariano Quiñones. In 1934, Abril was elected first president of the Puerto Rican Academy of History. He died in San Juan on December 5, 1935.

SPENCER C. TUCKER AND MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Cánovas del Castillo y Vallejo, Antonio; Puerto Rico

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Adams, Charles Francis, Jr.

Birth Date: May 27, 1835

Death Date: May 20, 1915

American lawyer, historian, author, railroad executive, and principal figure in the anti-imperialist movement of the 1890s, which adamantly opposed the U.S. acquisition of the Philippines after the Spanish-American War. A member of the distinguished Adams family of Massachusetts, Charles Francis Adams Jr. was born in Boston on May 27, 1835. He was the son of U.S. diplomat Charles Francis Adams (1807–1886), grandson of President John Quincy Adams (1767–1848), and great-grandson of founding father President John Adams (1735–1826).

Adams attended Harvard College and graduated in 1856. He served as an officer in the Union Army during the Civil War (1861–1865) and saw significant action, including the Gettysburg Campaign. He began the war in the 1st Massachusetts Cavalry Regiment with the rank of captain, and by war's end he had earned the brevet rank of brigadier general.

After the war, Adams wrote extensively, becoming well known as an economist, a historian, a journalist, and one of the leading experts on the railroad industry. In 1871, he and his brother Henry wrote *Chapters of the Erie and Other Essays*, which exposed the abuses of price fixing, collusion, preferred rates for large shippers, and monopoly in the railroad industry. A number of additional influential books and articles on the same subject soon followed. *Railroads: Their Origins and Problems* (1878) became the gold standard of railroad history, management, and regulation. Adams's influence contributed to the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, which established federal regulation of railroads. In addition to his civic interests, he also pursued business investments and made a tidy sum in both securities and land speculation.

As chairman of the Massachusetts Board of Railroad Commissioners (1869–1879), Adams earned his stripes as a reformer. In searching for a way to convince rather than coerce the state's railroads to adhere to scrupulous and standardized business practices, he sought to publicize the railroads' shady dealings in an attempt to shame them into good behavior. Known as the Sunshine Commission, the board had a salutary effect on the railroad industry, although it should be noted that Adams was more interested in protecting the interests of business rather than those of the public.

In 1882 Adams became a director for the Union Pacific Railroad, and from 1884 to 1890 he served as that company's president. Following his stint at the helm of the Union Pacific, he wrote a wide variety of books, including numerous histories of Massachusetts

and its environs, a biography of Richard Henry Dana (1890), and his own autobiography (published in 1916). Adams, who had been imbued with a sense of noblesse oblige because of his lineage and wealth, also served as a trustee for his alma mater, Harvard University.

Adams was also active in the anti-imperialist movement that began to gain momentum with the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. Indeed, he was one of the first members of the Anti-Imperialist League, formed in June 1898 to block the annexation of the Philippines. Many of the league's members were quite prominent. They included Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens), Andrew Carnegie, and Samuel Gompers. The Anti-Imperialist League opposed the annexation of extraterritorial possessions on economic, legal, political, and moral grounds.

Following the reelection of President William McKinley in 1900, which the anti-imperialists had opposed, Adams became disillusioned with the anti-imperialists because of their lack of unity, characterizing them as impractical cranks. For all practical purposes, the anti-imperialist movement ended with McKinley's reelection. Over the next two decades, the Anti-Imperialist League slowly withered away before it disbanded completely in 1921. Adams died on May 20, 1915, in Washington, D.C.

JERRY KEENAN AND PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Anti-Imperialist League

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Addams, Jane

Birth Date: September 6, 1860

Death Date: May 21, 1935

American reformer, social worker, peace proponent, women's rights advocate, and a vocal critic of U.S. imperialism. Jane Addams was born in Cedarville, Illinois, on September 6, 1860, the eighth of nine children, to a middle-class family of millers. She graduated from the Rockford Female Seminary (now Rockford College) in Rockford, Illinois, in 1882. She continued her education in Europe after graduation and there became interested in poverty, slums, and the care of the disadvantaged. She is said to have been most affected by a well-circulated British essay titled *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, which detailed the grim circumstances of slum living. In 1887, Addams paid a visit to the renowned Toynbee House in East London, a settlement house that attempted to mitigate the worst effects of poverty through social welfare, education, and job



American sociologist, pacifist, and feminist Jane Addams, cofounder of Hull House, the nation's first true settlement house. Addams was active in advocating for consumer protection and equal rights for women and African Americans. She also helped establish organizations to promote world peace. Addams shared the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931. (National Archives)

training. Her visit to Toynbee House inspired her to create a similar settlement house in the United States.

In 1889, Addams cofounded Hull House, which became the first true settlement house in the United States. It also became the most famous and a model for others that sprang up beginning in the 1890s. Addams chose Chicago because it was then one of the fastest-growing cities in America and was teeming with newly arrived immigrants, many of whom were forced to live in deplorable housing in dangerous and run-down slums. Located at Polk and Halstead streets, an area dominated by Polish and Russian Jews, Italians, Greeks, and Germans, Hull House offered child daycare, an employment registry, a well-stocked library, art exhibits, music instruction, and art classes. It also served as a centralized place where slum dwellers and newly arrived immigrants could receive counseling on vocational training, education, hygiene, and health issues. At a time in which no government welfare services existed, Hull House and other settlement houses became an indispensable part of urban living for the poor.

Over time, Hull House branched out into other endeavors, including labor-management issues, juvenile protection, citizenship

and language classes for immigrants, lobbying for child labor laws, women's suffrage, and more. It also became a laboratory for social issues and social work, which helped the field of social work immensely in its formative years beginning in the 1890s.

Addams was involved in myriad reform endeavors throughout her life, including women's suffrage, civil rights for African Americans and other minorities, poverty mitigation, consumer protection, and the Campfire Girls, to name the most significant. Besides her work in the slums and other forms of social work, she became an impassioned voice for peace and deplored what she termed "American imperialism." When the United States declared war on Spain in April 1898, she was one of the first to come out against the war. When the war ended and the Philippine-American War commenced in 1899, she wrote and spoke widely on what she considered the folly of imperialist adventures.

Addams's commitment to peace continued into the 20th century and took its form in internationalism and multilateral action against armed conflict. In 1915, after the start of World War I, she was a participant in the International Congress of Women in The Hague. She was also a member of the Women's Peace Party and

4 African American Soldiers

kept her pacifist ideology even after the United States went to war in 1917. In 1919, she founded the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and won the Nobel Peace Prize for her efforts in 1931. Addams died on May 21, 1935, in Chicago.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Imperialism; Slums

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African American Soldiers

African Americans made significant contributions in the U.S. Army during the Spanish-American War. At the beginning of hostilities, some 5,500 African Americans were members of the army. They

were formed into four regiments stationed in the American West: the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments. In recognition of the important role played by African Americans on the Union side in the Civil War, Congress had specifically created these four black units following that conflict. All had white officers, including future World War I American Expeditionary Force commander John J. Pershing, who was a brevet major in the 10th Cavalry during the Spanish-American War. The members of these regiments, the so-called Buffalo Soldiers, distinguished themselves in combat with hostile Native Americans. At the time, African Americans were generally forbidden from serving with white soldiers in the same unit. There was also strict segregation in mobilization and mustering-in camps as well as in military hospitals.

Following the declaration of war in April 1898, all four African American regiments were designated for service as part of Major General William R. Shafter's V Corps in the invasion of Cuba. During the subsequent assembly in Florida, there were some racial problems between African American and white soldiers.

Following the U.S. landing in Cuba at Daiquirí, the 10th Cavalry saw action in the Battle of Las Guásimas on June 24, 1898. All four African American regiments took part in the Santiago Campaign



The African American 24th Infantry Regiment leaves Salt Lake City on April 24, 1898. All four African American regiments in the U.S. Army served in the war. (Library of Congress)



Members of the 6th Ohio Colored Volunteer Regiment at Camp Thomas, Chickamauga, Georgia. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

and in the largest land engagement of that campaign, the Battle of San Juan Heights (July 1), where they earned respect and praise from white units. The 9th and 10th Cavalry Regiments won special praise for their performance that day, and 5 African Americans were subsequently awarded the Medal of Honor for their valor under fire. Another 26 African Americans received Certificates of Merit.

During the war, other African American volunteer units were created at the state and national levels, but only Company L of the 6th Massachusetts Regiment saw combat during the war. At the state level, a great many African Americans volunteered for service, but there were problems because few governors were willing to form mixed regiments of African American and white soldiers. Many refused African American volunteers altogether and rejected appeals for the mobilization of black militia units. A few African Americans did serve in white volunteer units, most notably those of Maine and Iowa, but the vast majority were members of all-African American outfits.

Altogether, perhaps 10,000 African Americans served either in the state volunteer units or in the so-called immune regiments that were subsequently formed to go to Cuba for occupation duties. The 8th Illinois, 23rd Kansas, and 9th Immunes all served in the Cuban occupation. The other regiments remained in the United States.

During the war, John Mitchell Jr. of the African American newspaper the *Richmond Planet* called for the commissioning of blacks

to serve as the officers of the African American units. Other African American leaders took up his call, but only three volunteer units were staffed entirely by African American officers: the 3rd North Carolina, the 8th Illinois, and the 23rd Kansas. During the war some 259 African Americans were granted commissions, but following the war in May 1899 the only African American commissioned officers were Lieutenant Charles Young and several chaplains. Also after the war, a number of state governments in the South abolished the African American companies in their state militias.

The four regular African American regiments saw service in the Philippines during the Philippine-American War. Again they performed well. They returned to the United States in 1902 but again served in the Philippines, this time in garrison duty, during 1906–1908.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

African Americans; Las Guásimas, Battle of; Pershing, John Joseph; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Shafter, William Rufus; Washington, Booker T.

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African Americans

It is hardly surprising that in a time of racial segregation in the United States, especially in the South, a large number of the country's 7.5 million African Americans supported independence movements in Cuba and the Philippines. In the run-up to war in the late winter and spring of 1898, Booker T. Washington, then the nation's foremost authority on civil rights and the plight of African Americans, took great pains to point out that 22 African American seamen had died in the explosion of the battleship *Maine* in February 1898. He urged his fellow African Americans to enlist in the armed forces and "prove" their love for and loyalty to their nation. In March 1898, just a month prior to the war declaration, Washington assured Secretary of the Navy John Davis Long that there were at least 10,000 African Americans in the South alone who were willing to show their gratitude by sacrificing themselves for their country. With the beginning of the war, African Americans volunteered for the war effort in significant numbers, and some 15,000 served in either the regular army or volunteer units. Leaders of the African American community hoped that a significant black contribution to the war effort would indeed bolster their cause of full civil rights in the United States.

Opposition to the war—by no means limited to African Americans—grew, however, when the conflict to free the Cubans turned into a war of territorial acquisition, especially in the Philippines where U.S. forces had to fight to subdue a Filipino independence movement. Vocal African American critics of the U.S. acquisition of the Philippines included educators William S. Scarborough of Wilberforce University, Kelly Miller of Howard University, and Washington, then teaching at Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute; African Methodist Episcopal bishops Henry McNeal Turner and Alexander Walters; and influential newspaper editors John Mitchell Jr. of the *Richmond Planet* and William C. Chase of the *Washington Bee*.

For many African Americans, the long fight against the Filipino insurgents and periodic reports of atrocities committed by U.S. troops were all too reminiscent of their long struggle against oppression and injustice in the United States. The violence in the Philippines served as a stark and uneasy reminder that no African American, particularly in the South, was immune from random violence perpetrated by whites. Indeed, lynchings and other acts of violence by whites against blacks were a common occurrence in the United States at the time, and U.S. justice was far from blind when an African American was involved. What made the African American community even more sympathetic toward the Filipinos was the fact that they were not white and were treated with similar disdain by U.S. troops and civilian officials. Some American troops even began to employ the same racial epithets for Filipinos that were used for African Americans. Unfortunately, African American concerns turned out to be prescient, for an end to segregation and full civil rights for African Americans in the United States did not come until the 1960s.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

African American Soldiers; Long, John Davis; Washington, Booker T.

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Agoncillo, Felipe

Birth Date: May 26, 1859

Death Date: September 29, 1941

Filipino lawyer and high-ranking member of the Filipino resistance movement. Emilio Aguinaldo's revolutionary government charged Felipe Agoncillo with the task of representing the Philippines at the negotiations leading to the 1898 Treaty of Paris. Agoncillo is thus considered the first Filipino diplomat. Agoncillo was born on May 26, 1859, in Taal, Batangas, Philippines. His parents, Ramon Agoncillo and Gregoria Encarnacion, were affluent members of Taal's high society. A brilliant student, he earned a law degree from the University of Santo Tomas in Manila.

In the 1880s, Agoncillo returned to Taal to practice law, administer his family's estate, and marry Marcela Mariño. Agoncillo and his wife were ardent nationalists as a consequence of injustices inflicted on the Filipino people by the Spanish colonial government. Much to the ire of Spanish colonial authorities, Agoncillo frequently provided free legal services to the poor. Forewarned that they were about to be arrested for subversive behavior, in 1895 the Agoncillos went into self-imposed exile in Hong Kong, a haven for Filipino exiles.

In December 1897, following the Pact of Biak-na-Bato, Aguinaldo and several revolutionary leaders also went into exile in Hong Kong. Once there, Aguinaldo was a frequent guest at the Agoncillo residence. Following Aguinaldo's instructions, Agoncillo's wife, with the assistance of her daughter Lorenza and José Rizal's niece, Delfina Herbosa Natividad, made the first Filipino flag. Constructed of satin with gold embroidery, the flag was begun on May 12, 1898, and completed in five days. Aguinaldo was delighted with the flag and took it back to the Philippines at the end of May when he resumed his struggle against the Spanish colonial authorities. On June 12, 1898, he unfurled the new flag from the window of his home in Cavite and proclaimed Philippine independence.

On August 7, 1898, Aguinaldo sent Agoncillo to Washington, D.C., to discuss Filipino participation in the peace negotiations to end the Spanish-American War, scheduled to begin in Paris on October 1, 1898. President William McKinley, however, arguing that Agoncillo did not represent a legitimate government, refused to meet with him. Undeterred, Agoncillo met with American Episco-



Felipe Agoncillo, Filipino lawyer, revolutionary leader, and representative at Paris during negotiations that formally ended the Spanish-American War in 1898. (John Clark Ridpath, *Ridpath's History of the World*, 1901)

pal bishops before continuing on to Paris. Excluded from the peace negotiations there, he learned that Spain had sold the Philippines to the United States for \$20 million.

On December 12, 1898, two days after the Treaty of Paris was signed, Agoncillo sent a formal diplomatic note to the delegates at the peace conference. He contended that Spain had no authority to sell the Philippines because it no longer exercised control over the islands. Regardless, on December 21, 1898, McKinley issued a proclamation stating that the United States would use force if needed to establish its sovereignty over the Philippines.

Agoncillo and his family returned to the Philippines after the conclusion of the Philippine-American War in 1902, and Agoncillo resumed his law practice. He served as Philippine secretary of the interior from 1923 to 1925 during the administration of American governor Leonard Wood. Agoncillo died in Manila on September 29, 1941, and was buried in Manila's La Loma Cemetery. In 1949,

the municipality of Agoncillo was created in his honor in Batangas Province.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Filipino Revolutionary Movement; Hong Kong; McKinley, William; Paris, Treaty of; Wood, Leonard

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Aguadores, Battle of

Event Date: July 1, 1898

Battle involving U.S. troops and a fortified Spanish strong point on the western side of the San Juan River some three miles east of the harbor entrance to Santiago, Cuba. The U.S. attack on Aguadores was planned as a diversion during the concurrent principal U.S. attack against San Juan Heights. The plan called for U.S. Navy ships and 2,500 American troops under Brigadier General Henry N. Duffield to attack the Spanish garrison there.

North Atlantic Fleet commander Rear Admiral William T. Sampson had ordered his flagship, the armored cruiser *New York*, and the gunboat *Gloucester* and armed yacht *Suwannee* to commence shelling Aguadores at 6:00 a.m., but Duffield's troops were three hours late arriving, and the naval gunfire did not commence until 9:20 a.m. When the men of the 33rd Michigan Regiment arrived at the 700-foot railroad bridge over the San Juan River, they discovered that the Spanish had blown a 40-foot span on the western side. The Americans were thus never able to secure positions from which they could lay down effective fire against the 274 Spanish defenders at Aguadores. The Americans subsequently came under effective Spanish long-range rifle fire. At about 1:30 p.m., after his men had sustained casualties of 2 killed and 10 wounded, Duffield withdrew to Siboney. While Secretary of the Army Russell A. Alger claimed that the operation had prevented the Spanish from reinforcing San Juan Heights, there is no evidence to support this conclusion.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; Duffield, Henry Martyn; Sampson, William Thomas; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign

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Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio

Birth Date: March 22, 1869

Death Date: February 6, 1946

Filipino resistance leader. Of Chinese and Filipino Tagalog ancestry, by 1897 Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy was the acknowledged military leader of the Filipino rebellion against first Spanish and later U.S. rule. He was also president of the short-lived Philippine Republic from 1898 to 1901. Although the republic never received foreign recognition, Filipinos consider Aguinaldo to be their first president. Aguinaldo was born into a Chinese-mestizo family in Cavite El Viejo (now Kawit) in Cavite Province on the island of Luzon on March 22, 1869. He was the seventh of eight children of Crispulo Aguinaldo and Trinidad Fanny. Aguinaldo's father was the town head, and the family enjoyed relative wealth.

Aguinaldo received his primary education in the town and attended secondary school at the Colegio de San Juan de Letran, but he left school in his third year to assist his widowed mother in running the family farm. At age 17 he was elected head of a barrio of Cavite El Viejo, and in 1895 he was elected head of the town government.

By the end of the 19th century, Spain's once powerful colonial empire was crumbling. In both Cuba and the Philippines, revolutions were under way prior to the Spanish-American War. Aguinaldo was relatively late to join the Filipino revolutionary movement. He joined it in 1896 after the execution of José Rizal. The movement, known as the Katipunan (Highest and Most Respected Association of the Sons of the Country), had been founded by Andrés Bonifacio in 1892. Although Bonifacio was the principal figure in the movement, many lesser local leaders who sought to strengthen their own positions joined the cause, often to the detriment of the larger organization. Aguinaldo, who supported a more secular approach to Philippine nationalism, soon came into conflict with Bonifacio.

The charismatic Aguinaldo quickly attracted a large following, and his great victory over the Spanish at the Battle of Imus on September 3, 1896, propelled him to the forefront of the revolutionary movement. By late March 1897, growing dissatisfaction with the movement, due partly to jealousies within the Katipunan as well as a fresh Spanish resolve to crush the rebellion, led Aguinaldo to create a new revolutionary party, of which he became president.

Bonifacio became a minority figure, and in subsequent weeks it was alleged by Aguinaldo's followers that Bonifacio planned a coup against the new leadership. Based on this allegation, Bonifacio was arrested, charged with treason, and executed on May 10, 1897, probably on Aguinaldo's orders (although this has never been proven). With Bonifacio dead, Aguinaldo was the unchallenged leader of the Filipino revolutionary movement.

The struggle for power, however, led to the defection of many of Bonifacio's followers, and the Spanish had severely mauled Aguinaldo's forces. In these circumstances and wishing to avoid a protracted guerrilla war, the Spanish offered Aguinaldo attractive



Filipino Emilio Aguinaldo led the fight for independence, first against Spain and then against the United States. He was president of the short-lived Republic of the Philippines during 1898–1901. (Library of Congress)

terms, which he accepted. The surrender agreement of December 1897 is known as the Pact of Biak-na-Bato for the location of its signing near Manila. Under its terms, Aguinaldo was allowed to go into exile in Hong Kong with 40 followers. Spain also agreed to pay the Filipino leader \$500,000 in return for his neutrality. Aguinaldo arrived in Hong Kong on December 31, 1897. As it turned out, both sides were less than serious in their intent to comply. Spain proved delinquent in its payment, and Aguinaldo prepared to return to the Philippines, something he had probably planned to do anyway.

As the United States and Spain edged closer to war, Aguinaldo opened communications with U.S. officials, including Lieutenant Commander Edward P. Wood and U.S. consul in Hong Kong Rounseville Wildman. When one of the members of the junta sued Aguinaldo for a share of the Spanish payment, Aguinaldo fled to Singapore. There he also held conversations with U.S. consul E. Spencer Pratt. Aguinaldo claimed in his *True Version of the Philippine Revolution* (1899) that all of these individuals had encouraged him to return to the Philippines. Then, following U.S. commodore George Dewey's victory over the Spanish squadron in

the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, he cabled Aguinaldo and asked him to return.

Aguinaldo arrived in the Philippines on May 19 in the U.S. revenue cutter *McCulloch*. He then met with Dewey, who provided him both arms and ammunition with which to fight the Spanish. Establishing his headquarters at Malolos 30 miles north of Manila, on May 24 Aguinaldo announced the formation of a provisional government. Then, on June 12, 1898, an assembly proclaimed an independent Philippine Republic. On June 23, Aguinaldo formed a new government with himself as president. He held that position until April 1, 1901. President William McKinley's administration did not recognize Aguinaldo's government, however, and Secretary of the Navy John D. Long instructed Dewey not to have any political discussions with Aguinaldo or his followers. Meanwhile, Aguinaldo's forces easily routed isolated Spanish garrisons in the islands and soon had Manila under siege.

In June 1898, units of the U.S. VIII Corps began to arrive in the Philippines, and on July 25, U.S. Army major general Wesley Merritt took command of the expeditionary forces. Since U.S. objectives would be better served if the insurgents were excluded from any peace talks with the Spanish, Merritt was under strict orders from Washington not to cooperate with the revolutionary forces. In any case, Merritt had a low opinion of Aguinaldo, whom he referred to as a "half-breed Chinese adventurer." Merritt refused any communication between his forces and those of the Filipino leader.

The tenuous relations between Aguinaldo and the U.S. military steadily deteriorated during the summer of 1898. The tense situation was exacerbated when his forces were excluded from participation in the sham First Battle of Manila (August 13, 1898). U.S. troops then prevented the Filipino Republican Army from entering the city following the Spanish garrison's surrender to the Americans.

Merritt then left the islands to travel to Paris for the peace talks with Spain, but his successor, Major General Elwell S. Otis, had a similarly poor opinion of Aguinaldo, whom he held to be little more than a robber whose army was bent on looting the islands.

Although the fighting between Spain and the United States ended with the signing of the Protocol of Peace on August 12, 1898, Aguinaldo continued to maintain a strong military presence in the Manila area. The tension between American and Filipino forces worsened, with Otis setting out to humiliate Aguinaldo. Evidence also suggests that Otis deliberately provoked an armed clash. On the night of February 4, 1899, fighting erupted and quickly turned into full-scale war.

With the outbreak of the Philippine-American War (or Philippine Insurrection, as it is sometimes still referred to), Aguinaldo at first attempted to fight the United States on conventional terms. Superior U.S. weaponry and training prevailed, however, forcing Aguinaldo to resort to guerrilla warfare. Although he was generally regarded as the Filipino leader, there was considerable divisiveness within the overall revolutionary movement, as local leaders sought to further their own ambitious designs.

If Aguinaldo possessed charismatic qualities, his military and political leadership left much to be desired. His decision to try to engage U.S. forces in conventional warfare was a serious error in judgment because his army, lacking weapons and disciplined training, was ill-prepared for such a fight. Aguinaldo, however, held out hope that William Jennings Bryan would defeat McKinley in the 1900 election and that the United States would then give the islands their independence.

By the end of 1899, Aguinaldo had withdrawn to Palanan in northeastern Luzon. He also quarreled with the able Filipino general Ant3nio Narciso Luna de St. Pedro, who was an Ilocano; Aguinaldo and most of his followers were Tagalogs. In June two soldiers from Cavite who were loyal to Aguinaldo assassinated Luna, and many blamed Aguinaldo for the deed, further reducing his influence. By now, military operations against the Americans were in the hands of local commanders and not Aguinaldo.

On March 23, 1901, Aguinaldo was captured by forces under the command of Colonel Frederick Funston and taken to Manila. Perhaps believing that further resistance against the United States was futile or simply realizing that his own influence had deteriorated too much to warrant a continuation of the struggle, Aguinaldo signed an oath of allegiance to the United States and encouraged his followers to do the same.

Despite signing the oath, Aguinaldo felt no strong sense of attachment to the United States. During World War II, he tried unsuccessfully to have the Japanese occupiers appoint him president. Sensing that he had no major following, they rejected his request. He did live to see the Philippines granted full independence from the United States in July 1946. Aguinaldo died in Quezon City on February 6, 1946, at age 95.

JERRY KEENAN AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Bonifacio, Andr3s; Dewey, George; Funston, Frederick; Long, John Davis; Manila, Second Battle of; McKinley, William; Merritt, Wesley; Otis, Elwell Stephen; Pratt, E. Spencer; Wildman, Rounsevelle

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Aibonito Pass

See Asomante Hills, Engagement at

Aleandrino, José

Birth Date: December 1, 1870

Death Date: June 1, 1951

Filipino revolutionary and politician. José Aleandrino was born into an affluent family in Binondo, an enclave of Manila primarily inhabited by Chinese, on December 1, 1870. After studying at the Ateneo Municipal School, he earned a Bachelor of Arts degree at the University of Santo Tomas. He pursued graduate studies in Spain and at the University of Ghent in Belgium, where he graduated with a degree in chemical engineering.

During his stay in Spain, Aleandrino became a close friend of fellow Filipino revolutionary José Rizal. On December 13, 1888, a group of Filipinos, including Aleandrino, formed a nationalistic movement known as La Solidaridad (Solidarity) in Barcelona. On February 15, 1889, they launched a political propaganda newspaper, also called *La Solidaridad*, calling for colonial reform. Aleandrino was a frequent contributor to the revolutionary newspaper until its last issue on November 15, 1895.

On November 21, 1896, after the Filipino Revolution erupted, Aleandrino returned to the Philippines. He immediately sought out Emilio Aguinaldo in Cavite to offer his services to the revolution. Aguinaldo charged Aleandrino with obtaining weapons in China for the revolution. Aleandrino immediately departed for Hong Kong, where he helped to organize the Revolutionary Council with Felipe Agoncillo. Unlike many Filipino revolutionaries such as José Basa who preferred eventual annexation to the United States, Aleandrino and Agoncillo staunchly supported complete and unconditional Filipino independence.

Because he was able to procure only a limited number of weapons in Hong Kong, Aleandrino left the British colony for Japan in February 1897. There he also had little success in securing arms and financial assistance. Returning to Hong Kong, he then sailed to the Philippines with U.S. commodore George Dewey's Asiatic Squadron and thus witnessed the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898. That September, Aleandrino helped to draft the revolutionary government's constitution. Because of Aleandrino's skills, Aguinaldo appointed him the commander of the revolutionary army's corps of engineers.

During the early months of the Philippine-American War (1899–1902), Aleandrino fought with the troops of General Antonio Narciso Luna de St. Pedro. Aleandrino's skills as an engineer enabled him to direct the construction of defensive works throughout the Philippines. Aguinaldo subsequently promoted Aleandrino to brigadier general and made him acting secretary of war of the revolutionary government. During the final months of hostilities against the Americans, Aguinaldo placed Aleandrino in charge of military operations in Central Luzon and named him military governor of Pampanga. In September 1899, Aleandrino attempted to initiate negotiations with U.S. Army major general Elwell Stephen Otis to suspend hostilities between the revolutionary forces and the United States. Otis, however, rebuffed Aleandrino's efforts. Indeed,

Otis insisted that "Fighting, having begun, must go on to the grim end." After Brigadier General Arthur MacArthur replaced Otis in 1900, Aleandrino once again attempted to negotiate a suspension of hostilities with the Americans. In May 1901, two months after Aguinaldo had surrendered to MacArthur's subordinate, Brigadier General Frederick Funston, Aleandrino surrendered to Funston in Arayat.

In August 1901, U.S. military governor William Howard Taft appointed Aleandrino to be second city engineer for Manila. Within a year, however, Aleandrino retired from public life until 1925. Philippine governor Leonard Wood appointed him senator for the 12th Senatorial District during the seventh legislature from 1925 to 1928. In 1933 Aleandrino published *La Senda del Sacrificio* (The Price of Freedom), his personal account of the Filipino revolution against Spanish colonialism and the Philippine-American War. Aleandrino's account provides detailed personal insight into the vagaries of war not found in usual documentary evidence. In his account, Aleandrino chastised the United States for not granting immediate independence to the Philippines and for having caused the Philippine-American War. Aleandrino died in Manila on June 1, 1951.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Agoncillo, Felipe; Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Asiatic Squadron; Dewey, George; Funston, Frederick; Luna de St. Pedro, Antonio Narciso; MacArthur, Arthur; Manila Bay, Battle of; Otis, Elwell Stephen; Rizal, José; Taft, William Howard; Wood, Leonard

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Alemán, José Braulio

Birth Date: March 26, 1864

Death Date: January 30, 1930

Cuban revolutionary, journalist, and the primary author of the 1896 Cuban Constitution, which was the template for the 1901 Cuban Constitution. José Braulio Alemán was born into a wealthy family in Santa Clara, Las Villas Province, Cuba, on March 26, 1864. After briefly studying law at the University of Havana, he left the university to pursue a career in journalism. He was the owner and editor of *La Defensa*, a liberal newspaper in Santa Clara. A staunch supporter of independence from Spain, he eagerly joined the revolutionary struggle to liberate Cuba initiated by José Martí in 1895.

During the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898), Alemán served as a brigadier general and as secretary of war for the Cuban

revolutionary government. He used his skills acquired as an investigative journalist to gather and sort intelligence reports and initiate espionage activities against Spanish civil and military forces. His considerable network of spies informed him of Spanish troop movements, which allowed Cuban insurgents to attack the weakest points in the Spanish defense. His spy network facilitated correspondence between the various Cuban generals in the field, which facilitated their ability to coordinate attacks against Spanish troops. Alemán also instituted the use of balloons to observe Spanish troop movements, especially over the fortifications at La Trocha.

In addition to using his formidable journalistic skills to support the revolutionary effort on the battlefield, Alemán employed his journalistic and legal skills to write the 1896 Cuban Constitution, which was proclaimed at Yara. The site was chosen for significant historical reasons. On October 10, 1868, Carlos Manuel de Céspedes y del Castillo had initiated the Ten Years' War at La Demajagua, his sugar plantation, in Yara. For his service in the war against the Spanish, Alemán was promoted to major general.

After the Spanish-American War, Alemán served as governor of Las Villas, senator, minister of education, and ambassador to Mexico. As minister of education, he integrated the public school system and established vocational schools. Politically, he was one of the earliest supporters of women's suffrage in Cuba. When the Cubans drafted the 1901 Cuban Constitution, it was a virtual copy of the 1896 constitution he had written. Before the Cubans would be granted independence, however, the United States insisted on the inclusion of the 1901 Platt Amendment in the Cuban Constitution. The Platt Amendment allowed the United States to intervene in Cuban affairs when it deemed necessary and limited Cuban sovereignty.

Alemán strongly opposed the inclusion of the Platt Amendment in the constitution. Arguing that the amendment merely replaced Spanish imperialism with American imperialism, he insisted that Cuba should remain free and sovereign. Regardless, the majority of Cuban political leaders in 1901 realized that failure to accept the Platt Amendment would further delay Cuban independence.

After a political career spanning three decades, Alemán died on January 30, 1930, in Havana. To honor his memory, city officials in Las Villas renamed the Calle San Agustín, one of the main boulevards in the city, in his honor.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Céspedes y del Castillo, Carlos Manuel de; Cuban War of Independence; Journalism; Martí y Pérez, José Julián; Platt Amendment; Ten Years' War; Trocha

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Alfonso XII, King of Spain

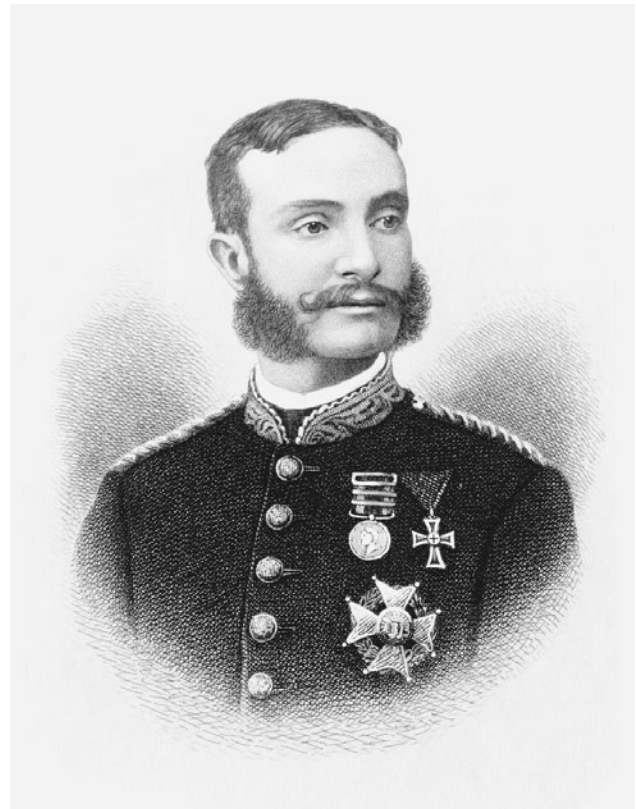
Birth Date: November 28, 1857

Death Date: November 25, 1885

King of Spain (1874–1885). Born on November 28, 1857, in Madrid, Alfonso was the son of Queen Isabella II and her homosexual husband, Fernando de Asís. Although his legal paternity is not contested, Alfonso's biological paternity remains a mystery. Enrique Puig y Moltó, the captain of the queen's guard, is perhaps the most likely candidate.

Isabella II (1830–1904) was proclaimed queen when her father, Ferdinand VII, died in 1833. However, Ferdinand's brother, Carlos, contended that he was the rightful heir to the throne, which set off the first of three Carlist Wars during the 19th century. The Carlists, who supported Carlos and his heirs, envisioned a Spanish monarchy characterized by both absolutism and Catholicism. The supporters of Isabella and her heirs, however, envisioned a Spanish monarchy based on more liberal principles.

The chaotic nature of Isabella's reign was exacerbated by the queen's proclivity for intrigue, conspiracies, and favoritism. As



Alfonso XII, king of Spain during 1874–1885. During his reign, Spain fought rebels in Cuba. (Library of Congress)

such, she was a highly unpopular queen. In 1868, a revolution launched by a coalition of liberal generals sent the queen, her consort, and her young son Alfonso into exile. The matter of the succession led to a plan fostered by Prussian minister-president Otto von Bismarck to name Catholic German prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen as king of Spain. Word of the plan leaked out before it could be consummated and led to an exchange of notes between the French and Prussian governments and the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871). In 1870, the Spanish Cortes (parliament) proclaimed Amadeus I, the second son of Italy's Victor Emmanuel II, the king of Spain. However, court intrigue, continued Carlist violence, and revolution in Cuba convinced Amadeus I to abdicate in 1873. At this point, the Cortes proclaimed a republic.

While the Spanish royal family resided in exile in Paris, Alfonso went to the Theresianum in Vienna to study. In 1870, he returned to Paris, where his mother abdicated in his favor. On December 1, 1874, while studying at the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst, England, Alfonso, then age 17, proclaimed himself the sole representative of the Spanish Bourbon family. At the end of that same month at Sagunto, forces led by Arsenio Martínez de Campos proclaimed Alfonso king and quickly marched on Valencia, taking control of the city by the end of the year.

Alfonso XII returned to Spain in early 1875 and was greeted with great acclaim in Barcelona, Valencia, and Madrid. Although no previous monarch of united Spain ruled under the name Alfonso, he assumed the name Alfonso XII. He chose to do this to reestablish the historical legacy of Spain's ancient past, as 11 kings of Castile and León were of that name. In 1876, forces loyal to him defeated the Carlists, which ended the militant phase of Carlism. In 1878, troops led by Martínez de Campos successfully ended the Ten Years' War in Cuba. On December 29, 1879, Alfonso XII married María Cristina of Austria.

During his reign, Alfonso reestablished fiscal stability and administrative order in Spain and in its possessions abroad. The enhanced prestige of the Bourbon monarchy coupled with the restoration of order and stability enabled Spain to avoid revolution during the disastrous war fought with the United States in 1898. A wise and pragmatic monarch, Alfonso XII died in Madrid of tuberculosis on November 25, 1885, three days before his 28th birthday. His son, Alfonso XIII (1886–1941), born several months after Alfonso XII's death, became the next king.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Alfonso XIII, King of Spain; María Cristina, Queen Regent of Spain; Martínez de Campos, Arsenio; Ten Years' War

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Alfonso XIII, King of Spain

Birth Date: May 17, 1886

Death Date: February 28, 1941

King of Spain (1886–1931). Alfonso was born in Madrid on May 17, 1886, six months after the death of his father, King Alfonso XII. Alfonso XIII's mother, María Cristina of Austria, acted as regent until 1902, when he assumed full power on his 16th birthday. He was thus king of Spain during the Spanish-American War but had no impact on events.

In 1906, Alfonso XIII married Scottish-born princess Ena of Battenberg (Victoria Eugenie), niece of King Edward VII and granddaughter of Queen Victoria of Britain. Alfonso and Ena had seven children. During Alfonso XIII's reign, Spain lost its last colonies in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines, and its armies were also defeated in several wars in Morocco. Alfonso became increasingly autocratic and was in constant conflict with Spanish politicians. In 1909, the army brutally suppressed a general strike in Barcelona, and Alfonso ordered the execution of the radical Catalan leader Francesc Ferrer i Guardia.

Alfonso kept Spain neutral during World War I, with the country benefiting from trade with both sides. Economic unrest followed the war, and in 1923 Alfonso encouraged General Miguel Primo de Rivera y Orbaneja's military coup yet abandoned him in 1930 when social



Alfonso XIII was king of Spain during 1886–1931, a time of great social and political upheaval for the once powerful European nation. During his reign, Spain lost much of its overseas empire. (Library of Congress)

tensions in the country forced him to agree to democratic elections. When the Spanish people voted overwhelmingly for a republic, Alfonso departed Spain on April 14, 1931, for France without formal abdication, the day the Second Spanish Republic was proclaimed.

When the Spanish Civil War began in July 1936, Alfonso announced that he favored the military uprising against the government. General Francisco Franco, however, declared in September 1936 that the Nationalists would not reinstate Alfonso as king. Alfonso XIII moved to Italy and died in Rome on February 28, 1941, leaving his successor rights to his son Juan, father of current Spanish king Juan Carlos.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Alfonso XII, King of Spain; María Cristina, Queen Regent of Spain

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Alger, Russell Alexander

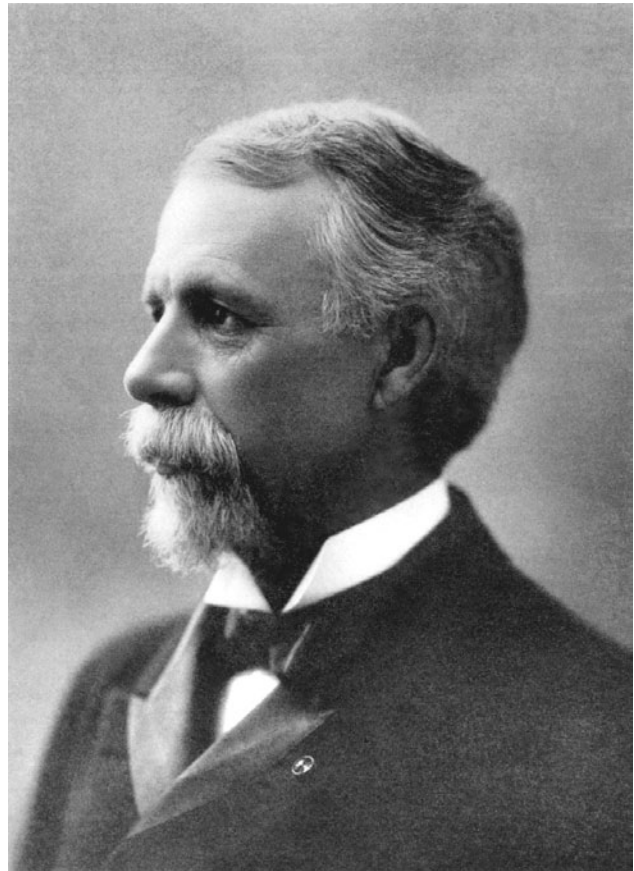
Birth Date: February 27, 1836

Death Date: January 24, 1907

U.S. secretary of war (1897–1899). Born in Medina County, Ohio, on February 27, 1836, Russell Alexander Alger may have been a distant relative of Horatio Alger. Russell Alger was in fact a success story himself. Orphaned at age 11, he managed to support himself and two younger brothers through various jobs, including farm labor. He also acquired sufficient education to teach school. He went on to study law and was admitted to the Ohio bar at age 21. In 1860, he moved to Michigan.

During the American Civil War (1861–1865), Alger secured a commission as a captain in the 2nd Michigan Cavalry Regiment, eventually rising to the rank of colonel in the 5th Michigan Cavalry in Brigadier General George Armstrong Custer's brigade. A capable field commander, Alger served with distinction in the eastern theater of war and saw service in the Battle of Gettysburg (July 1–3, 1863) and the Battle of the Wilderness (May 5–7, 1864). He distinguished himself in Major General Philip Sheridan's Shenandoah Valley Campaign in 1864 and won special mention for his cavalry charge in the Battle of Trevilian Station (June 11, 1864). In June 1865, Alger was breveted major general of volunteers.

Following the war, Alger settled in Detroit and headed the firm of Alger, Smith & Co. and the Manistique Lumbering Company. He also founded the Michigan chapter of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) and served as its national commander in 1889.



Businessman and politician Russell Alexander Alger was U.S. secretary of war during the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

Elected governor of Michigan, Alger served in that post during 1885–1887. During the 1896 presidential campaign, he organized Civil War veterans in support of William McKinley, who named him his secretary of war on March 5, 1897.

As secretary of war, Alger was regarded as the most militant member of McKinley's cabinet and an outspoken proponent of war with Spain. Alger told the president that a failure to go to war would destroy the Republican Party. In any case, Alger came to be seen as an inept civilian head of the army. He would perhaps have been a more able administrator in quieter times, but in the frantic preparation for war with Spain in 1898, he lacked the aggressive approach that many, including Theodore Roosevelt, believed was necessary. Alger was also constantly at odds with the army's senior officers, especially commanding major general Nelson A. Miles.

Alger did respond to the call to arms with a certain dedication. The passage of the so-called Fifty Million Dollar Bill in March 1898 was intended to put the United States on a war footing. With the amount apportioned to the army (about \$19 million), Alger directed various army bureaus to increase their inventories. However, it soon became clear that the army's infrastructure was unprepared to handle a massive buildup. Alger also rather naively assumed that a larger number of men could be prepared for war in a short period of time. To his credit, Alger and the army's adjutant

general, Henry C. Corbin, did much to streamline the movement of supplies and equipment to the expeditionary forces. Nonetheless, problems abounded, and these were, rather unfairly, all laid at the doorstep of the secretary of war. Indeed, the miscues and bungling resulted in the creation of the term “Algerism,” which became synonymous with incompetent officialdom.

Eventually the real director of the nation’s military affairs came to be President McKinley, in part because he had served in the army himself and was interested in military affairs but also because Alger proved to be an ineffective secretary of war. Alger’s constant squabbling with Miles and other senior officers diverted energies away from the prosecution of the war and forced McKinley to involve himself more actively than might have otherwise been the case.

During the war, Alger, who held strongly xenophobic and anti-immigrant views, became involved in the Immunes, stating that as a rule men of color were not to be commissioned above the rank of lieutenant. After Cuba was secured, Alger believed that U.S. troops should remain on the island despite outbreaks of yellow fever, malaria, and typhoid, which had laid low many in Major General William Shafter’s V Corps. As these diseases spread, the press criticized Alger, who finally ordered the bulk of the troops back to the United States. Unfortunately, upon reaching Camp Wikoff at Montauk Point, New York, which had been designated as the separation point, the troops found that there were no facilities to accommodate them. Alger was also much criticized in the press for his feud with Miles over the so-called Embalmed Beef Scandal.

Within the year, McKinley became convinced that a new secretary of war was necessary and requested Alger’s resignation. However, the secretary refused to step down and instead asked for and received a formal hearing. The Dodge Commission, the body that heard his case, found that Alger had done his best to deal with problems that were largely beyond his control. Following a bitter meeting with McKinley, Alger resigned in July 1899 and was replaced by Elihu Root.

The criticism of his conduct as secretary of war did little to harm Alger’s reputation in the United States. He published his own version of events, *The Spanish-American War*, in 1902. In it he blamed the lack of army preparedness for war on insufficient congressional appropriations. He also remained a political power in Michigan and was appointed to finish the term of U.S. senator James McMillan, who died in 1902. Alger remained in the Senate until his own death in Washington, D.C., on January 24, 1907.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Corbin, Henry Clark; Embalmed Beef Scandal; Immunes; McKinley, William; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Root, Elihu; Shafter, William Rufus; United States Army; Xenophobia

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Allen, Charles Herbert

Birth Date: April 15, 1848

Death Date: April 20, 1934

U.S. assistant secretary of the navy. Born in Lowell, Massachusetts, on April 15, 1848, Charles Herbert Allen attended both public and private schools before graduating from Amherst College in 1869. He then worked for his father in the firm of Otis Allen & Son, which specialized in lumber and wooden boxes.

Allen’s first foray into public service came with the Lowell School Committee. He was then a Republican member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives during 1881–1882 and served one term in the state Senate during 1883. In 1885 he won election to the U.S. House of Representatives from Massachusetts, serving there until 1889 when he declined to run for reelection. He ran for governor of Massachusetts on the Republican ticket but was defeated in 1891 by Democrat William E. Russell. During 1897–1898, Allen was Massachusetts prison commissioner.

When Theodore Roosevelt resigned his post as assistant secretary of the navy to join the army at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898, Secretary of the Navy John D. Long picked Allen, with whom he had served in Congress, to fill the vacancy. Allen took up his duties on May 11, 1898. While he lacked Roosevelt’s great energy, Allen proved a solid, competent assistant secretary.

In 1900 President William McKinley appointed Allen to be the first civilian governor of Puerto Rico. Allen held that post until 1902, when he returned to Lowell. During his tenure as governor of the island, he built up a treasury surplus.

Allen became active in banking after his return to Lowell. He served on the boards of a number of firms and was vice president of the Morton Trust Company and of the Guarantee Trust Company of New York. He was also president of the American Sugar Refining Company. Allen was a member of the board of trustees at Amherst College and was a recognized painter of landscapes and maritime subjects. He died in Lowell on April 20, 1934.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Long, John Davis; McKinley, William; Roosevelt, Theodore; United States Navy

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Allen, Henry Tureman

Birth Date: April 13, 1859

Death Date: August 29, 1930

U.S. Army officer and founder of the Philippine Constabulary. Henry Tureman Allen was born in Sharpsburg, Kentucky, on April 13, 1859. He attended Georgetown College in Kentucky but transferred to the United States Military Academy, West Point. Graduating from there in 1882, he accepted a commission in the cavalry. Thereafter, he spent time on frontier duty in the West, commanded an exploring expedition in Alaska (1885–1886), served as an instructor at West Point, and was a military attaché to various American legations in Europe, including Russia (1890–1895) and Berlin (1897–1898) as a first lieutenant. With the beginning of the Spanish-American War in April 1898, Allen left Germany, and by June he was commanding Troop D of the 2nd Cavalry Regiment.

Soon after, Allen, now a major of volunteers, was ordered to Cuba, where he and his men performed escort duty and scouting during the Santiago Land Campaign and fought with distinction at the Battle of El Caney on July 1, 1898. Allen took command of the town but subsequently contracted yellow fever and returned to the United States to recover.

In the fall of 1898, Allen was promoted to captain in the regular army and returned to Berlin as an attaché. Hoping to see action, he transferred to the 43rd Volunteer Regiment in 1899 with the rank of major. Arriving in the Philippines on New Year's Eve 1899, he took command of the 3rd Battalion stationed on the island of Samar, where he fought against insurgents and recruited members for the Philippine Scouts.

With Samar pacified, Allen commanded one of the three sections of Leyte, where he often personally led patrols and insisted on strict observance of the laws of war. He treated the civilian population fairly and undertook numerous improvement projects. For his strict but humane governing style, the locals called him “Iron Commandante.”

During April–June 1901, Allen served briefly as governor of Leyte before being selected to organize the Philippine Constabulary. He secured this appointment as a result of his record on Leyte, Spanish-speaking ability, and success in recruiting members for the Philippine Scouts. The constabulary was meant to fill a gap between Filipino police and American forces in the islands. Among other purposes, it helped to suppress the insurrection, provided intelligence, guarded jails, and restored law and order. He retained command of this group until 1907, rising to the temporary rank of brigadier general commanding more than 10,000 men. The constabulary, consisting of American officers and Fil-

ipino constables, became a highly reliable force and a source of stability in the islands.

Allen left the Philippines in the spring of 1907 and returned to the United States, reverting to his permanent rank of major. In 1910 he joined the General Staff as a cavalry expert, rising to lieutenant colonel in August 1912 and to colonel in July 1916, when he assumed command of the 8th Cavalry Regiment, which he led in Brigadier General John J. Pershing's punitive expedition into Mexico that sought to capture Pancho Villa.

Following U.S. entry into World War I, Allen was advanced to brigadier general in May 1917. That August, now commanding the 90th Infantry Division, he was appointed to temporary major general. After the war, he commanded American troops in occupation in the Rhineland of Germany during 1919–1923. Allen retired in 1923, the same year in which he was promoted to permanent major general. He died in Burne Spring, Pennsylvania, on August 29, 1930.

GREGORY C. FERENCE

See also

Atrocities; El Caney, Battle of; Pacification Program, Philippine Islands; Philippine Constabulary; Philippine Scouts; Samar Campaigns; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign

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Allianca Incident

Event Date: March 8, 1895

International incident involving a U.S.-registered merchant ship and the Spanish Navy. On March 8, 1895, a Spanish gunboat fired on the *Allianca*, a 3,000-ton merchant ship registered in the United States, heightening tensions between the United States and Spain. The ship, which was returning to New York City from Colón, carried a cargo of wine, bananas, rubber, mustard seeds, and cocoa. The incident occurred in the Windward Passage off Cape Maisi, more than three miles beyond Cuba's territorial waters. Undoubtedly the Spanish commander assumed that the ship had been involved in transporting arms to rebel forces in Cuba.

The timing of the incident could not have been worse, coinciding as it did with the beginning of the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898). Jingoists immediately seized upon this “Spanish affront against the American flag,” alleging that the attack was intentional. The U.S. yellow press, meanwhile, delighted in having another story about Spanish malfeasance. The Spanish gunboat

Conde de Venadito had failed in its attempts to stop the American ship, firing upon it and chasing it for approximately 20 miles. While the *Allianca* was not damaged, the incident illustrated the fragile state of relations between Washington and Madrid over Cuba. As a gesture to appease the United States, Spain eventually transferred the commander of the Spanish gunboat.

During Grover Cleveland's second administration (1893–1897), Washington had maintained an official policy of neutrality toward the Cuban insurrection. Following the *Allianca* Incident the president steadfastly refused to send additional naval units to the region. Despite criticism of this stance, Cleveland maintained that such action was unnecessary during the period of investigation and negotiations. During Cleveland's administration, the issue of Spain's rule in Cuba increasingly became a subject of debate in both Congress and among the business community.

At the same time, private interests and filibusters continually sent supplies to the Cubans by sea, and the Spanish Navy could not interdict all the vessels bringing aid to Cuban insurrectionists. Newspapers of the period were replete with the names of vessels and their military cargoes destined for Cuba. Although the U.S. government attempted to prevent such violations of American law, it was unable to halt all such activity.

Although Madrid issued a formal apology to the United States regarding the *Allianca* Incident, this and the *Competitor* Incident of a year later contributed to the increasingly explosive situation that eventually led to the Spanish-American War.

ARTHUR STEINBERG

See also

Cleveland, Stephen Grover; *Competitor* Incident; Cuba; Cuban War of Independence

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Almodóvar del Río, Duque de

Birth Date: 1859

Death Date: June 23, 1906

Spanish nobleman, diplomat, and minister of foreign affairs (1898–1899, 1901–1902, and 1905–1906). Juan Manuel Sánchez y Gutiérrez de Castro, the 8th Duque de Almodóvar, was born in Jérez, Spain, sometime in 1859. His parents were António Sánchez Romante and Isabel Gutierrez de Castro y Cossio, the 1st Duquesa de Algeciras. Sánchez became the 8th Duque de Almodóvar del Río when he married Genoveva de Hoces y Fernández de Córdoba, the 8th Duquesa de Almodóvar del Río.

The duke was an ardent supporter of the Liberal Party. Because of the Spanish-American War, Spanish prime minister Práxedes

Matoe Sagasta chose to reorganize his cabinet on May 24, 1898. Sagasta then replaced Pío Gullón y Iglesias with the Duque de Almodóvar del Río. It was thus the duke's task to represent Spanish foreign interests during the Spanish-American War and oversee negotiations leading to the 1898 Treaty of Paris.

Following a series of disastrous military campaigns for Spain, in mid-July 1898 Sagasta came to the conclusion that the war was lost. He thus instructed Almodóvar to begin the process that would lead to Spain's surrender. On July 18, 1898, the duke sent a telegram to the Spanish ambassador in Paris charging him with the task of obtaining French assistance in securing a suspension of hostilities and the start of peace negotiations. That same day, French ambassador to the United States Jules-Martin Cambon sent a message to U.S. president William McKinley informing him that Spain wished to cease hostilities and begin the peace process.

On July 28, 1898, the duke announced that Spain was willing to relinquish control of Cuba to the United States. On July 30, McKinley presented Cambon with the American conditions for a cease-fire. With reservations regarding jurisdiction over the Philippines, Almodóvar accepted McKinley's proposal on August 2, 1898. Hostilities between the United States and Spain ended on August 12, 1898.

Almodóvar represented Spain throughout the peace negotiations conducted in Paris. On November 21, 1898, American negotiators insisted that Spain sell the Philippines to the United States for \$20 million and relinquish control of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Guam. The United States, however, accepted neither sovereignty over Cuba nor responsibility for the debts that might have come with that sovereignty. Spain was given one week to respond or face the possibility of the resumption of hostilities. Almodóvar agreed, and the Treaty of Paris was signed on December 10, 1898. Resentment against Sagasta resulted in the termination of his government on March 4, 1899, at which time Almodóvar left government service. He was subsequently minister of foreign affairs from March 6, 1901, to December 6, 1902, and from December 3, 1905, to June 23, 1906. On July 3, 1902, he signed the Treaty of Friendship and General Relations with the United States, which entered into force on April 14, 1903. He represented Spain at the 1906 Algeciras Conference, which mediated the First Moroccan Crisis between France and Germany. Almodóvar died in Madrid on June 23, 1906.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Cambon, Jules-Martin; McKinley, William; Paris, Treaty of; Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo

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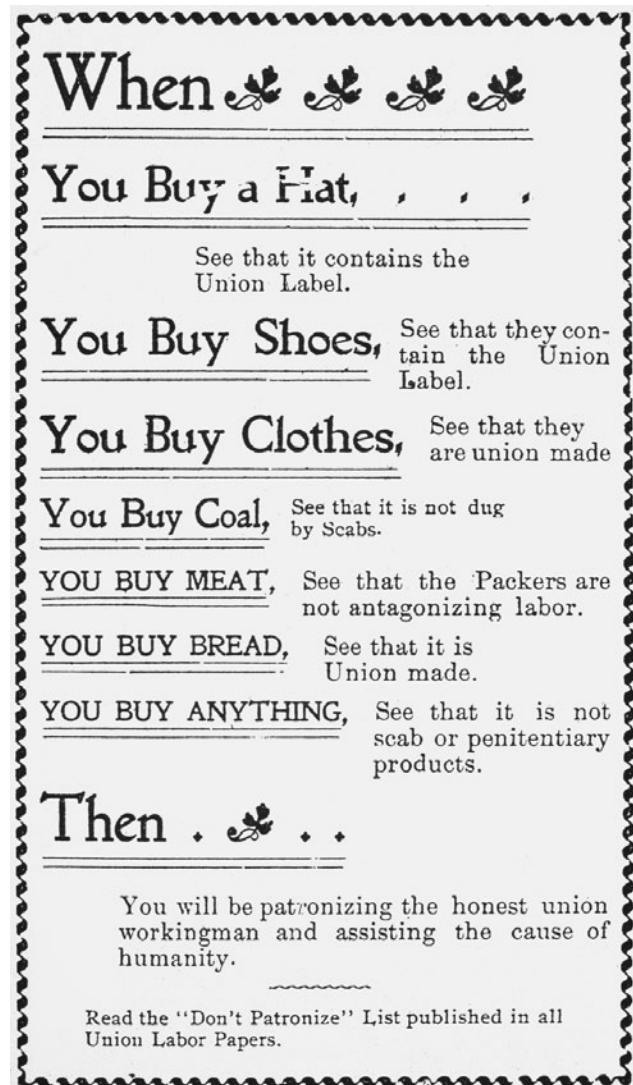
American Federation of Labor

American labor union federation founded in 1886 by Samuel Gompers. Initially designed to organize only skilled workers, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) would go on to become one of the largest and most powerful labor organizations during the 20th century in the United States. The AFL was actually a confederation of many smaller labor unions, mostly craft unions that represented highly skilled workers such as typesetters, machinists, carpenters, electricians, and musicians, among others. Gompers, himself a highly skilled cigar maker from New York City, was steadfast in his refusal to organize semiskilled or unskilled workers, whom he considered to be incapable of organization or group cooperation. The AFL was founded in Columbus, Ohio, on December 8, 1886, as a successor to the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, which had been founded in Indiana in 1881.

Earlier in his life, Gompers had advocated fairly radical means by which to force workers' rights from employers, and much of his mind-set was socialistic in nature if not in rhetoric. He had also advocated confrontation if necessary to compel employers to meet workers' demands. By the time the AFL was founded, however, Gompers had abandoned his confrontational approach to labor-management relations and instead sought accommodation wherever possible. He now believed that concrete, sensible goals such as higher pay, better benefits, and job security should be the top priorities of labor unions. As such, the AFL's approach to labor-management relations was a conservative one in that it did not advocate the overthrow of free-market capitalism and believed that industrialists and big business were entitled to their profits as long as they took proper care of their employees. Issues such as set work hours and the improvement of working conditions were not top priorities of the AFL in its early decades because they often did not apply to the skilled laborers who belonged to the group.

Notably, Gompers shrewdly steered clear of political favoritism during his long reign as the head of the AFL (he served until his death in 1924 except for one year). This allowed him to work with Democratic, Republican, and Populist politicians and helped the AFL avoid the spasms of violence that shook and destroyed other labor organizations in the 1890s. Yet the AFL's cautious, conservative, and relatively impartial approach to unionization provoked the ire of many labor unions that were not allowed to join. It also brought accusations that the group was elitist and cared only for workers who were perhaps in least need of organization and representation.

At the time of the AFL's founding in 1886, its chief rival was the Knights of Labor (KoL), a somewhat amorphous federation of labor unions that had coalesced during the 1870s and had grown rapidly thereafter. Unlike the AFL, the KoL, which had some 700,000 members by the late 1880s, prided itself on its all-inclusive membership, which after 1883 included women and African Americans, both of whom had been traditionally barred from



Poster issued by the Missouri State Federation of Labor, a member of the American Federation of Labor, advising customers to buy union-produced goods, circa 1895. (Getty Images)

unions in this era. The KoL had a large contingent of railroad workers, and early on it enjoyed some successes in wresting concessions from the railroad companies. But the KoL was not particularly organized, and centralized control was badly lacking. It also had rather pie-in-the-sky methods, which included allowing employers to join the group and discouraging the use of strikes to achieve labor demands. By the early 1890s, the KoL was a moribund organization. Many of its members had joined other federations, including the AFL, and the violent repression of its workers during the May 1886 Haymarket Riots and the 1892 Homestead Steel Strike had badly eroded its power base.

In its initial years, the AFL had pointedly not excluded African Americans or other minority groups, although its skilled-only membership policy effectively excluded them nevertheless. By the

early 1900s, however, the AFL admitted unions that had blatantly discriminatory membership policies that excluded not only African Americans but many newly arrived immigrants groups as well. Women were unlikely to be found at any level in the AFL until well into the 20th century.

With the demise of the KoL by the late 1890s, the AFL had no real competitor, despite the rise of some new unions such as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in 1905, a strange hybrid of quasi-socialists and grassroots democrats. Gompers had wisely forsaken the catastrophic confrontation with management that had undone the KoL in the 1890s and continued to eschew political affiliations. This set the AFL up as the most influential labor federation in the United States by 1900. As more unions joined the organization and as its membership requirements became a bit less restrictive, the AFL's membership exploded in size. Its growth continued unabated after Gompers's death in 1924, and its influence grew dramatically during the 1930s and 1940s, which was the high-water mark for organized labor in the United States. In 1955, the AFL merged with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), and the resultant AFL-CIO continues to be the leading labor federation in the nation today.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Gompers, Samuel; Homestead Steel Strike; Knights of Labor; Pullman Strike

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American National Red Cross

Organization founded on May 21, 1881, by Clara Barton and intended to offer humanitarian assistance in the event of war or natural disasters. Organized into state chapters with numerous subchapters, the American National Red Cross (ANRC) offered relief to the victims of floods, hurricanes, tornadoes, and rail disasters across the United States prior to the Spanish-American War.

During her 23-year stewardship of the organization, Barton exercised a tight grip on the ANRC's activities, frequently alienating its middle-class and wealthy patrons who sought greater roles in its administration. Exercising full right of veto over all requests for assistance, which she reviewed personally, Barton often left the national headquarters in Washington to direct relief efforts on-site, frequently acting at cross-purposes to the actual need and local capabilities. Hence, the ANRC was occasionally criticized as being poorly run and subject to the whims of its founder.

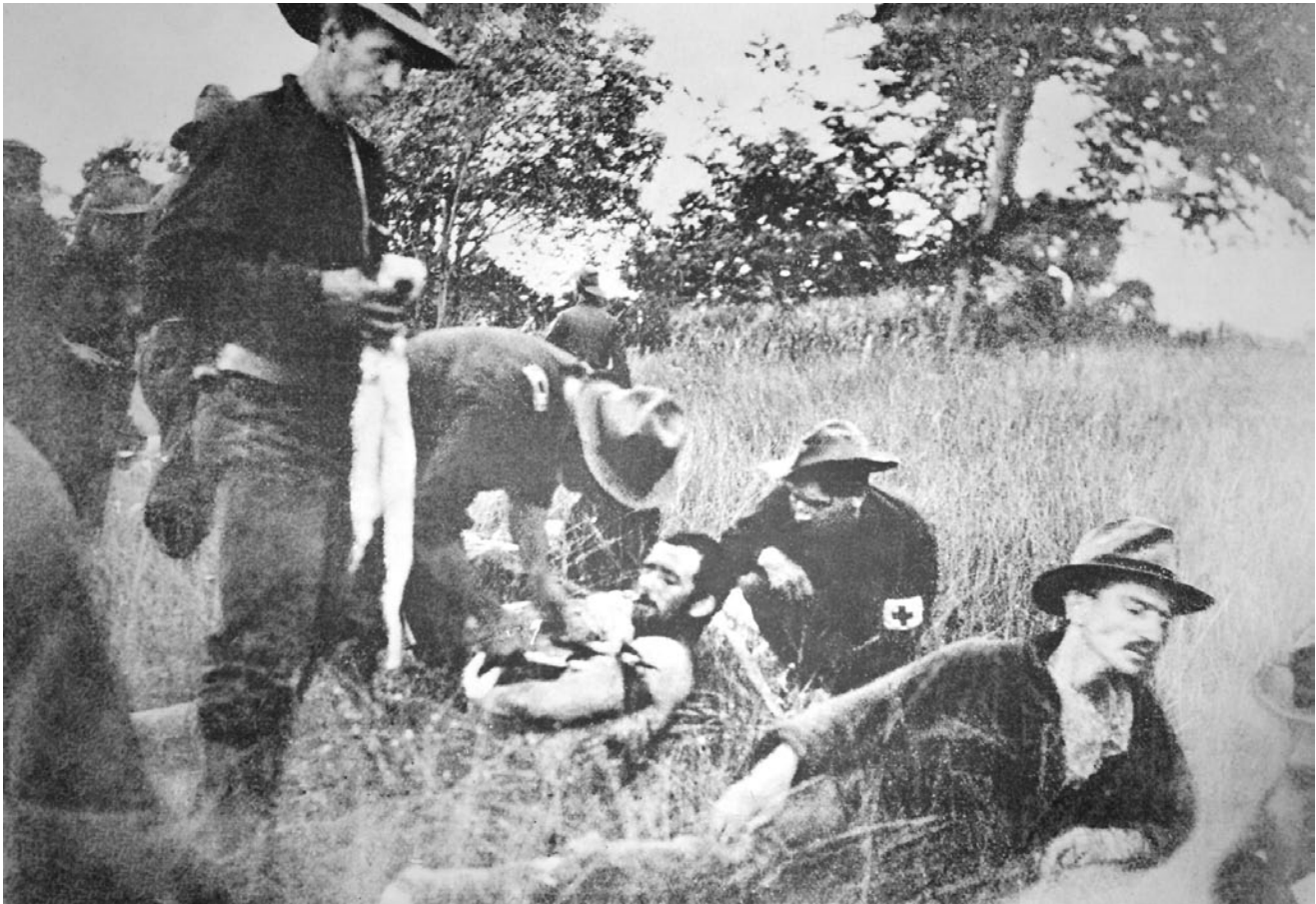
Even before the Spanish-American War, the ANRC was active in Cuban relief efforts, with Barton herself visiting Havana in 1897 and again in early 1898. There, beginning on February 9, 1898, she personally oversaw relief for victims of the Spanish regime's policies in Cuba. She also took an active role in revealing the extent of Spanish abuses, accompanying numerous American visitors, including U.S. senator Redfield Proctor (R-Vt.), on tours of the bleak and squalid *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) camps. These visits served a dual purpose: they highlighted Spanish indifference to the plight of civilians and the charitable impulse of Americans toward the war's unfortunate victims.

In late March, Barton returned to the United States, where on April 1 she chartered a freighter, the *State of Texas*, in Key West, Florida. As war appeared imminent, she hurriedly arranged for 1,400 tons of food, clothing, and supplies to be loaded on the ship for one final delivery of humanitarian supplies to Cuba before war broke out. Events overtook her efforts, however. The *State of Texas* was ordered by the U.S. Navy to remain in port, as Rear Admiral William T. Sampson's North Atlantic Squadron instituted the blockade of Cuba on April 22, 1898.

With the official outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Spain on April 21, 1898, the flaws in Barton's personal administration style became readily apparent. ANRC efforts to mount a wartime relief program were hamstrung by its leader's absence and the overall lack of structure in the organization. While Barton remained with the *State of Texas* in Key West, ANRC representatives in Washington were struggling to gain recognition and permission from the War Department to work in the military volunteer camps scattered throughout the United States. Accordingly, and without clear direction at its head, the ANRC's response drifted aimlessly, with individual members and chapters taking the initiative and acting without coordination. Across the country, local relief committees raised money, gathered supplies, and provided support to volunteer militia and National Guard units as they departed for their mustering camps. The range of support from local ANRC chapters was varied and included collecting reading material and tobacco products, outfitting special-diet kitchens and laundry facilities for regimental and brigade hospitals, and purchasing field surgical kits for volunteer regiments.

Compounding the problems of disorganization was the appropriation of the ANRC's name and insignia by various independent and temporary relief groups. Many of these organizations ultimately competed with the ANRC for support from local philanthropists and volunteers. Without strong leadership at the helm in Washington, the ANRC was helpless to act against its competitors. As a result, the general public came to see the ANRC's response to the war as fragmented and chaotic.

The chief obstacle to direct coordination between the ANRC and the U.S. War Department was Surgeon General George Miller Sternberg. Mindful of Barton's tendency toward meddling and interference with army physicians during the Civil War (1861–1865), Sternberg was willing to accept any supplies and material support



A member of the American National Red Cross assisting the wounded in a field hospital in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

donated by the group. He was far less charitable toward the prospect of ANRC volunteers in camp hospitals, however, where he believed that they would cause more harm than good.

The typhoid fever epidemic forced Sternberg to revise this position. Following a July 16 interview with representatives of the ANRC Committee on Maintenance of Trained Nurses, he agreed to allow ANRC female nurses to serve in general hospitals in the United States, Cuba, and the Philippines. ANRC nurses, however, never gained the full access that Sternberg had accorded to the volunteer nurses under the direction of Anita Newcomb McGee.

Meanwhile, on June 25, 1898, the *State of Texas* finally departed Key West for the V Corps beachheads at Daiquirí and Siboney, Cuba. In fact, Barton and her supplies arrived in the immediate aftermath of the Battle of Las Guásimas. On July 1, after the battles at El Caney and San Juan Heights, V Corps commander Major General William Shafter sent a request to Barton for all essential medical supplies. Barton then commandeered two army wagons, loaded them with supplies, and personally delivered the material to the front. After two weeks in hospitals caring for American and Spanish wounded, Barton and her delegation traveled throughout V Corps offering supplies and assistance to sick soldiers as needed. After the August truce, she turned her attention toward civilian

relief, offering clothing and food to the poor and opening several relief hospitals in Havana.

Despite, or perhaps because of, Barton's efforts in Cuba away from the ANRC's headquarters in Washington, several members began to agitate for her retirement after the war. During the next four years, a group opposed to Barton's stewardship coalesced around the efforts of Cleveland socialite Mabel L. Boardman. The struggle for leadership continued until 1904, when Barton finally resigned in the face of growing opposition. A year later the ANRC was reorganized, and a new charter was granted to the organization by the U.S. Congress.

BOB WINTERMUTE

See also

Barton, Clara; Camps, U.S. Army; V Corps; Medicine, Military; Proctor, Redfield; Shafter, William Rufus; Sternberg, George Miller; Typhoid Fever

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Anderson, Edwin Alexander, Jr.

Birth Date: July 16, 1860

Death Date: September 23, 1933

U.S. naval officer. Edwin Alexander Anderson Jr. was born in Wilmington, North Carolina, on July 16, 1860. He was appointed to the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, in 1878; graduated in 1882; served an obligatory two years' duty at sea; and was commissioned an ensign on July 1, 1884. Owing to the large number of officers and the navy's policy of advancement based on seniority, he did not make lieutenant, junior grade, until 1894. In late January 1897, he reported for duty aboard the cruiser *Marblehead* and was serving in that assignment when the Spanish-American War began in April 1898.

The primary U.S. Navy goal at the beginning of the war was to blockade Cuba and sever its communications with Spain. In pursuit of this objective, on May 11, 1898, the *Marblehead* and the light-draft gunboat *Nashville* shelled a Spanish cable house and barracks on the coast at Cienfuegos, Cuba. As part of the mission, men were sent in small boats to cut the Spanish telegraph cables in shallow water.

Lieutenant Cameron Winslow had charge of the four launches from the two ships designated to carry out the order. Anderson had command of the two boats from the *Marblehead*: a steam launch crewed by 5 seamen, 3 sailors manning a 1-pounder Hotchkiss gun, and 6 marine marksmen and a sailing launch crewed by 16 men, including Anderson, who were armed with rifles and revolvers. The plan was for the sailing launch crews to cut the cables while the steam launches provided fire support.



U.S. Navy lieutenant Edwin Alexander Anderson Jr. served with distinction in the Spanish-American War and, as rear admiral, commanded a squadron in World War I. (Library of Congress)

The steam launches from both ships moved to between 150 and 200 yards of the beach and cable house and began to direct fire ashore. Meanwhile, the sailing launches located two armored cables about 30 yards from the beach. Fire from the shore intensified as the Spanish employed rifles and machine guns against the launches during a three-hour span. Anderson took over the steering of his launch when his coxswain was wounded; four other members of his crew were also wounded. The launch took on water from numerous bullet holes, requiring constant bailing to keep it afloat in the rough water. Nevertheless, the two American boat crews were able to drag the sea floor with grappling hooks, pulling up two cables and cutting them with hacksaws. Lieutenant Winslow reported on the coolheadedness, bravery, and intelligence demonstrated by Anderson while under fire and eventually had to order Anderson to desist from further cable cutting. Unfortunately, a smaller cable that was not cut during this operation enabled the Spanish to maintain communications until additional cable-cutting expeditions occurred in the following weeks.

By 1901, Anderson had been promoted to captain and held a variety of commands, including that of the battleship *Iowa*. He was recognized for his heroism in 1898 and was awarded the Medal of Honor for leading naval forces ashore at Veracruz, Mexico, during the U.S. intervention there in 1914. He was also decorated by the Japanese government for providing humanitarian assistance after a devastating earthquake and tsunami there in 1923. Anderson retired as a rear admiral in 1924 and died in Wilmington on September 23, 1933. A World War II destroyer was named in his honor.

GLENN E. HELM

See also

Cables and Cable-Cutting Operations; Cienfuegos, Naval Engagements off; Naval Strategy, U.S.

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Anderson, Thomas McArthur

Birth Date: January 21, 1836

Death Date: May 8, 1917

U.S. Army general. Born in Chillicothe, Ohio, on January 21, 1836, Thomas McArthur Anderson attended St. Mary's College in Maryland and graduated from Cincinnati Law School in 1858. He was admitted to the bar in Cincinnati the same year.

When the American Civil War (1861–1865) began, Anderson enlisted as a private in the 65th Ohio Volunteer Regiment. Through

the influence of his uncle, Brigadier General Robert Anderson, hero of Fort Sumter, the younger Anderson was soon commissioned a second lieutenant of the 5th Cavalry. He served in the cavalry throughout the war and advanced to the rank of captain. Remaining in the army after the war, he eventually rose to the rank of colonel and commanded the 14th Infantry Regiment.

During the Spanish-American War, holding the temporary rank of brigadier general, Anderson commanded the first U.S. expeditionary force to the Philippines. Arriving at the Presidio in San Francisco on May 23, 1898, he sailed with his 2,500-man VIII Corps two days later. On June 21, his forces captured Guam en route to the Philippines. They arrived at Manila on June 30 and established headquarters ashore at Cavite. There on July 1 he met with Rear Admiral George Dewey and Filipino nationalist leader Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy. Anderson assured Aguinaldo that the United States was not seeking colonies.

Prior to the First Battle of Manila on August 13, Anderson, now in command of the 1st Division of VIII Corps under Major General Wesley Merritt, notified Aguinaldo not to take his troops into the city. When insurgents entered the Manila suburbs, Anderson ordered Aguinaldo to remove them, which he did. Anderson remained in the Philippines on the conclusion of peace with Spain and briefly commanded U.S. forces during the Philippine-American War until he was succeeded by Major General Henry W. Lawton. Anderson retired from the army as a brigadier general in 1900. He wrote afterward that the origins of the Philippine-American War dated to U.S. refusal to allow Aguinaldo's troops to participate in the capture of Manila. In retirement Anderson moved to Vancouver, Washington. He died in Portland, Oregon, on May 8, 1917.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Dewey, George; Lawton, Henry Ware; Manila, First Battle of; Merritt, Wesley

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Anita Expedition

Start Date: March 1898

End Date: May 1898

Expedition that was in reality a propaganda mission to Cuba organized and outfitted by newspaper publisher William Randolph Hearst (of the *New York Journal*) and composed of a group of U.S. lawmakers and their families. The *Anita* Expedition was alternatively known as the Congressional Cuban Commission or the *Journal* Commission. The legislators whom Hearst selected and

recruited for the venture held similar jingoist views to his own and included Senators Henrando Money of Mississippi, John M. Thurston of Nebraska, and J. H. Gallinger of New Hampshire. U.S. Representatives William Alden Smith of Michigan and Amos Cummings of New York rounded out the group. Smith and Cummings held particular significance in that they were members of the House Foreign Affairs and Naval Affairs committees, respectively.

The expedition derived its name from the ship that transported them to Cuba, the *Anita*, the largest press boat belonging to Hearst's *New York Journal*. Formerly, it had served as one of the publisher's personal yachts. Hearst planned the mission to Cuba to give the lawmakers a firsthand look at conditions there in 1898. At the same time, dispatches sent back to the United States by the politicians would be published by Hearst's papers, helping to stoke the war fever that the publisher sought to ignite.

The *Anita* departed from Fort Monroe, Virginia, in early March 1898. When the ship arrived in Havana on March 11, the lawmakers aboard the *Anita* quickly began writing accounts of the suffering caused by the *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) system's camps created by Governor-General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau in his attempt to deny the Cuban insurgents the support of the populace. The dispatches sent back to the United States graphically depicted the camps and the destitution on the island in highly emotional language, which fed the yellow journalism prevalent in Hearst's papers at the time. Hearst's cause received a boost when Senator Thurston's wife died from a heart attack while the yacht was anchored at Matanzas, Cuba. Hearst's papers portrayed this as a reaction to the deplorable conditions she had witnessed. In reality, Mrs. Thurston had been ill prior to the junket. When the commissioners returned to the United States in May, they also spoke before the houses of Congress, praising the work of Hearst's publications in awakening America to the atrocities taking place in Cuba and declaring that his newspaper's reporting was not exaggerated.

JAMES R. MCINTYRE

See also

Atrocities; Hearst, William Randolph; Jingoism; Newspapers; *Reconcentrado* System; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano; Yellow Journalism

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Anti-Imperialist League

A national organization formed in the United States on June 15, 1898, that represented a powerful voice against extraterritorial expansionism during its brief existence. The Anti-Imperialist



An anti-imperialist political cartoon from 1898 satirizing the colonial policy of the United States. The cartoon depicts the United States as Danish king Canute, the 11th-century monarch who ruled Denmark, Norway, England, and part of Sweden. (Library of Congress)

League's first major crusade was an attempt to block the annexation of the Philippines after the Spanish-American War. The organization began as a series of smaller leagues in the eastern United States that spread westward during 1898–1899. At one time, the league was thought to number some 30,000 individuals, including some of the most prominent and influential men in the country. They included former president Grover Cleveland; labor leader Samuel Gompers; Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens); Jane Addams; Carl Schurz; E. L. Godkin, editor of *The Nation*; Samuel Bowles, editor of *The Republican* in Springfield, Massachusetts; Charles Francis Adams Jr.; and the industrialist Andrew Carnegie, whose vast fortune helped fund the league's activities.

The Anti-Imperialist League was absolutely opposed to the U.S. annexation of Hawaii and the Philippines, arguing that the U.S. Constitution did not allow for the acquisition and governing of foreign colonies. The league also viewed Filipinos and other peoples of color as inferior and not deserving of being enfranchised as U.S. citizens. Besides legal and racial issues, many anti-imperialists argued that economic and governmental concerns also militated against the construction of an overseas empire. Realizing that protecting overseas colonies militarily would be expensive, the Anti-Imperialist League feared that increased defense expenditures would increase the size—and power—of the federal government and lead to the institutionalization of a large standing armed force, two concepts that were, until this point, antithetical to American governmental ideology. There was also a concern that the addition

of extraterritorial possessions would tax the U.S. economy and might result in a mass influx of immigrants to the United States who would compete for jobs and drive up unemployment. During the long debate over the annexation of Hawaii, Gompers held that Hawaiian annexation would result in an influx of cheap Asian labor. Despite Gompers's opposition, however, President William McKinley received strong support from the labor community over annexation issues.

Not surprisingly, the Anti-Imperialist League was vehemently opposed to ratification of the Treaty of Paris, signed in December 1898, that formally ended the war and ceded Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines to the United States. The league campaigned vigorously against President McKinley's reelection in 1900 but failed in that effort as well. McKinley's reelection and congressional ratification of the Treaty of Paris effectively ended the league's clout and resulted in a splintering of the group into competing factions that only further diluted its efforts.

In general, the Anti-Imperialist League included among its membership individuals who embraced the concepts of free trade, small government, and the gold standard as a monetary policy. As such, they had supported neither McKinley nor William Jennings Bryan in the pivotal 1896 elections, preferring instead to support the fledgling National Democratic Party, which ultimately performed poorly in the election. In the 1900 election, many anti-imperialists found themselves in the uncomfortable position of supporting Bryan, who was campaigning on an anti-imperial platform but who also opposed the gold standard. Several league members tried to cobble together a third party that would stand for the league's principles, but that attempt fell apart. The Anti-Imperialist League then endorsed Bryan's candidacy but was not an enthusiastic supporter. League members were particularly opposed to the Philippine-American War that pitted the U.S. Army against Filipino rebels.

In the years that followed, the Anti-Imperialist League steadily lost membership and influence. In 1921, it was formally disbanded.

JERRY KEENAN

See also

Adams, Charles Francis, Jr.; Bryan, William Jennings; Carnegie, Andrew; Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Gompers, Samuel; Hawaiian Islands; Imperialism; McKinley, William; Paris, Treaty of; Philippine-American War, U.S. Reaction to; Twain, Mark

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Antilles

A long and varied archipelago of islands forming the greater part of the West Indies and located in the Caribbean Sea between South and North America. The Antilles range from the northern coast of Venezuela as far west and north as Cuba, their largest island. The island chain is divided into two principal groups: the Greater Antilles and the Lesser Antilles. From Puerto Rico north and west, the larger islands of the Caribbean are the Greater Antilles. The four major islands in order of size are Cuba, Hispaniola (Haiti and the Dominican Republic), Jamaica, and Puerto Rico. These islands are usually considered part of North America and form part of a series of underwater mountain chains. All of the Antilles have a tropical climate, although temperatures are lower in the mountainous high-altitude regions.

Cuba is 745 miles long and averages 80 miles in width, with the widest point being 124 miles. It has several good harbors including Havana, Guantánamo, Cienfuegos, and Santiago de Cuba. The average rainfall is 51.7 inches a year, with two-thirds falling between June and the beginning of November, which is also hurricane season. Cuba's rich soil, plentiful rainfall, and warm climate made it an agricultural center, with the Spaniards exploiting this natural wealth as early as the mid-1500s. By the early 19th century, Cuba was the world's largest single producer of sugarcane.

Hispaniola, lying to the south and east of Cuba, has a similar climate and is just a bit more than half the size of Cuba. There are numerous mountain ranges, and what is now Haiti contains the highest point in the entire Caribbean (Pic la Selle, at 8,973 feet). The main ports are Port-au-Prince in the west and Santo Domingo in the east. The western third of the island was colonized by the French, who were overthrown during an indigenous slave uprising between 1791 and 1801. In 1801 Toussaint L'Ouverture conquered the Spanish-held part of the island. After Napoleon's failed attempt to restore French control, Haitians and Spain fought for control over the island until Pedro Santana established the Dominican Republic in 1844. Hispaniola has since been periodically torn by violence, and its inhabitants have been chronically poor.

Puerto Rico, the third largest of the Greater Antilles, is about 100 miles long. It has four small mountain ranges, with the highest peak being 4,389 feet. The ranges run east to west. Most of the island's small rivers are on the north side of the ranges and fall to a small coastal plain. The south has a wider coastal plain. The main harbor is San Juan. As with Cuba and Hispaniola, colonial Puerto Rico's major industry was plantation-style farming that relied on slave labor.

Jamaica is 146 miles long and about 50 miles wide at its broadest point. It is situated 90 miles south of Cuba and 120 miles west of Hispaniola. Until 1655, Jamaica was a Spanish territory known as Santiago. The island then came under the control of the British Empire and was one of the world's chief sugar producers. The plantation system there became so dependent on imported slaves from West Africa that by the early 1800s whites were outnumbered by blacks 20 to 1. Although Parliament voted to abolish slavery

throughout the British Empire in 1833 mainly out of the fear that a slave revolt in Jamaica would quickly overwhelm the ruling whites, it took five years to achieve emancipation in Jamaica because slave owners were entitled to compensation and had to present their claims in London. Jamaica was granted full independence in 1962. The chief ports of Jamaica are Montego Bay and Kingston.

The Lesser Antilles, which lie to the south and east of the Greater Antilles, are made up of the Windward and Leeward islands and the Leeward Antilles, situated off the coast of Venezuela. Unlike the islands to the north and west, the Lesser Antilles are both volcanic and coral islands. Their climate is tropical (except at high elevations), although Aruba, Curaçao, and especially Bonaire are quite arid. At the time of the Spanish-American War, neither the Spanish nor the Americans had a naval base in the Lesser Antilles. Some of the Lesser Antilles include Saint Martin, Saint Kitts, Montserrat, Antigua, Barbados, Grenada, Trinidad and Tobago, Aruba, Curaçao, and Bonaire. All of these islands were controlled by either the Spanish, the French, the English, or the Dutch and were valued both for their agricultural potential and natural resources and for their position in the sea routes from Europe. The Bahamas are Atlantic and are not considered part of the Antilles.

During the Spanish-American War, the Lesser Antilles were used as neutral bases by both belligerents. Spanish rear admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete used both French-held Martinique and Dutch-controlled Curaçao as ports of call and coaling stations on his voyage to Cuba. The United States frequently had its scout cruisers visit West Indian harbors for information, dispatches, and coaling.

European colonial powers sought to enforce neutrality laws in their territories, protect their commercial interests, and gain lessons from the war. The Netherlands dispatched a warship to the Netherlands Antilles to help enforce its neutrality in the West Indies, while France added a second cruiser to that station. Italy almost had a protected cruiser attacked by the battleship *New York* in the first days of the war when the Italians innocently saluted the ship at sea, sending the crew of the *New York* to battle stations. After the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3, 1898, an Austro-Hungarian armored cruiser was momentarily mistaken for the Spanish battleship *Pelayo* and narrowly missed being fired on by USS *Brooklyn*.

More importantly but less dramatically, naval operations in the Antilles disrupted the flow of grain from the United States to Europe, increasing prices for foodstuffs. In Italy, this led to bread and pasta riots.

JACK GREENE

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Cuba; Pearl of the Antilles; Puerto Rico

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Antilles, Pearl of the

See Pearl of the Antilles

Armistice Protocol

See Peace, Protocol of

Arroyo, Puerto Rico

Town on the southeastern coast of Puerto Rico bordered by the Caribbean Sea. Arroyo is the seaport for Guayama, located five miles inland. On August 1, 1898, under the threat of naval bombardment, U.S. forces came ashore and peacefully occupied Arroyo. Spanish forces had already evacuated the port by the time the U.S. gunboat *Gloucester* and armed yacht *Wasp* arrived. Navy lieutenant Richard Wainwright landed with a party of three dozen men from the *Gloucester* who were then greeted enthusiastically by a large crowd of Puerto Rican citizens. Mayor José María Padilla surrendered the town without protest, offered U.S. forces the use of launches in the harbor, and surrendered all Spanish government property and documents under his control.

On August 3, 5,000 men under the command of Major General John R. Brooke came ashore at Arroyo. Subsequent to the landing there was a brief skirmish between U.S. troops and perhaps 40 mounted Spanish guerrillas on the outskirts of Arroyo. On August 4, Brooke ordered U.S. troops under Brigadier General Peter C. Haines to move on Guayama and secure it. On the morning of August 5, they engaged in a skirmish with Spanish forces on Guayama's outskirts.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Brooke, John Rutter; Guayama, Battle of; Puerto Rico Campaign; Wainwright, Richard

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Artillery

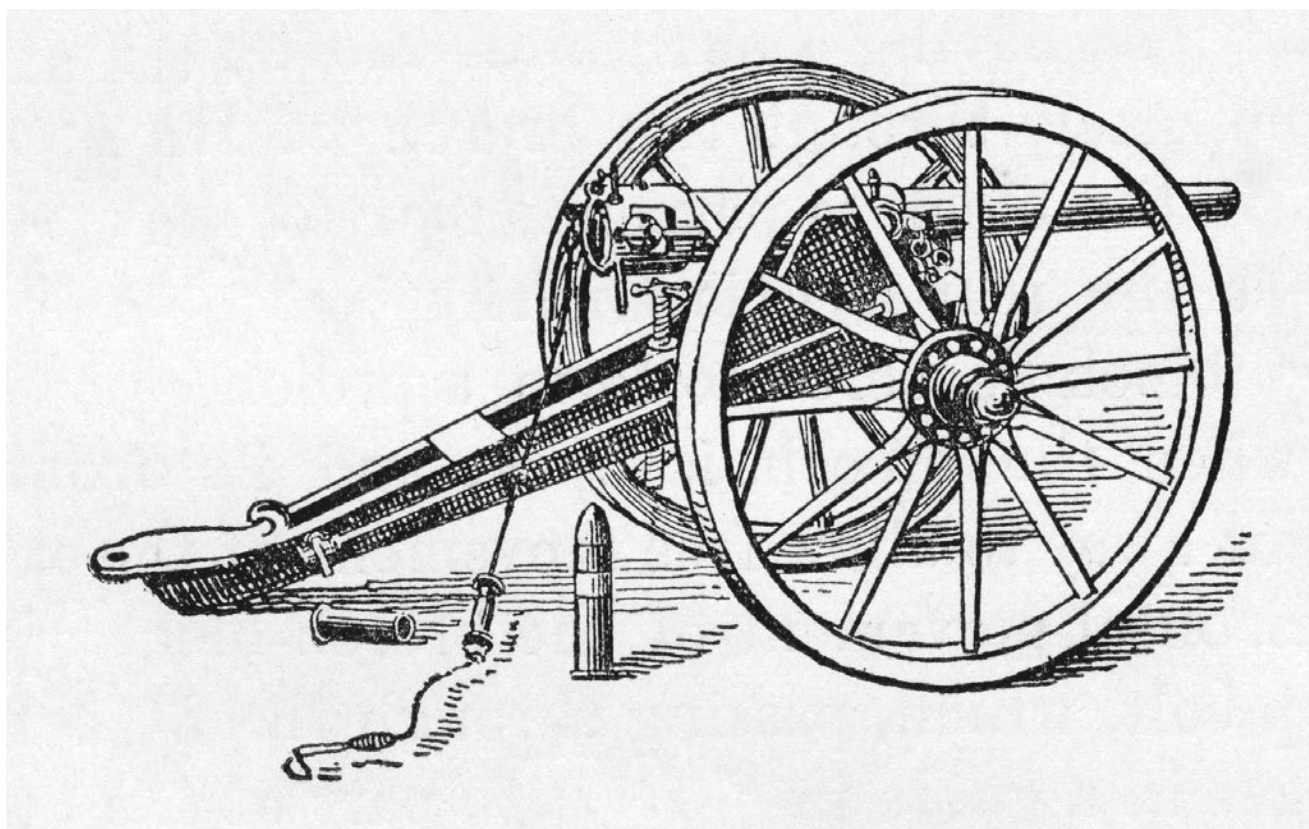
In 1898 both Spanish and U.S. artillery lagged far behind that of most major European powers. Late 19th-century conflicts such as the 1866 Austro-Prussian War and the 1870–1871 Franco-Prussian War had served as proving grounds for the belligerents' theories and weaponry. In the ensuing years these countries moved decisively to modernize their respective artillery equipment and organizations. Austria, Prussia, and France quickly integrated their

artillery into the general command structure of their armies, and they established professional schools of gunnery to train officers in the latest theories and methods of scientific warfare.

In contrast to much of Europe, the artillery organizations of both the United States and Spain were in deplorable states of readiness. In the decades following the American Civil War, the United States had done little to modernize its arsenal, and the army's command structure had degenerated into bureaucratic inefficiency. For its part, Spain's artillery was in an even more chaotic state than that of its opponent. Although the Spanish Army had some relatively modern weapons, many of its batteries were still armed with bronze muzzle loaders more suitable as museum pieces. Significantly, the most advanced pieces used by both the United States and Spain were not domestically produced but instead were procured from abroad.

During the rapid demobilization following the American Civil War, Congress turned its fiscal attention away from the military and toward the country's economic recovery and settlement of the frontier. Lacking lucrative wartime contracts, most private ordnance manufacturers in the United States subsequently either fell into bankruptcy or retooled for civilian manufacturing. The vast majority of artillery production was thus divided between the two major government arsenals, Watervliet Arsenal in New York and Rock Island Arsenal in Illinois. Although these arsenals registered some significant advances in coastal artillery technology, there was little practical use for modern artillery on the frontier during the Indian Wars, and field artillery languished. Thus during the Spanish-American War, a number of U.S. artillery batteries fought with 3.2-inch bag guns, essentially stop-gap weapons that, although breechloaders, required a separate powder bag rather than the one-piece metallic fixed cartridges used in the modern quick-firing pieces.

The most advanced U.S. field pieces used during the war were designed and manufactured in France by expatriate American engineer Benjamin B. Hotchkiss (1826–1885) at his firm Société Anonyme des Anciens Établissements Hotchkiss et Cie. The 1.65-inch Hotchkiss Mountain Gun first entered U.S. service in 1876 as a replacement for the Civil War–vintage 12-pounder mountain howitzer. At 362 pounds, the Hotchkiss was extremely lightweight and could be transported easily on pack mules or by horse-drawn limber. Both the barrel and carriage were constructed of steel, and the weapon's simple breech mechanism made it easy to operate and maintain in the field. Although accurate and with a respectable range of 3,500 yards, the 1.65-inch Hotchkiss was limited by its light caliber. Too small to be effective with shrapnel ammunition, its loadings were restricted to common shell and canister. The 2.62-pound common shell could accommodate either nose- or base-fused projectiles, and the canister round was filled with 30 lead balls for close-range antipersonnel use. Although the Hotchkiss accepted a fixed metallic cartridge, its rate of fire was somewhat limited, as it was not fitted with an integral primer and thus required a friction primer and lanyard for ignition. In addition, the U.S. Army,



The lightweight (362-pound) U.S. Army 1.65-inch Hotchkiss mountain gun provided effective service during the Spanish-American War. (A. B. Dyer, *Handbook for Light Artillery*, 1908)

unlike its Spanish counterpart, had not yet made the transition from using black powder to the new smokeless powder. As a result, each discharge from a U.S. battery gun produced a dense cloud of white smoke that both revealed the firing position and obscured the gunners' field of view.

Facing stiff competition on the international arms market from the German Krupp firm's powerful 75-millimeter (mm) mountain gun, Hotchkiss redesigned the 1.65-inch gun and introduced the heavier 3-inch Hotchkiss Mountain Gun. Weighing just 570 pounds and with a range of 4,000 yards, the new Hotchkiss proved very effective, firing 12-pound common shell and canister as well as the deadly long-range antipersonnel shrapnel round. Although the 3-inch Hotchkiss proved a match to the 75-mm Krupp, it tended to recoil violently and required considerable effort to be manhandled back into firing position after each discharge. John Jacob Astor IV, scion of one of the country's greatest fortunes, earned the rank of colonel by investing \$100,000 from his personal funds to equip his newly organized Astor Battery with six 3-inch Hotchkiss pieces. The unit fought with distinction in Cuba and later at Manila.

The United States also fielded an early machine gun. Originally patented by Richard Jordan Gatling (1818–1903) and manufactured by Colt in Hartford, Connecticut, the Model 1895 Gatling gun saw service with both the U.S. Army and the U.S. Navy during the war.

Weighing 594 pounds, the Model 1895 mounted 10 .30-caliber barrels attached to a conventional artillery carriage by a traversable mount. Firing was accomplished by turning a crank mounted to the rear of the piece that, in turn, rotated the barrels and automatically loaded the chambers from a vertical box magazine, cocked the mechanism, fired the round, and ejected the spent casing.

In Cuba, Major General William Shafter's V Corps included Lieutenant John Henry Parker's hastily organized Gatling Gun Detachment. Parker and his detachment faced a number of obstacles in that the weapons were new to the men who had recently been reassigned from infantry units and had no previous training in their use. Moreover, no spare parts or repair tools were provided. Parker's detachment, however, performed with distinction at the Battle of San Juan Hill in which it provided close supporting fire to the infantry assault, the first use of machine guns in that role by the U.S. Army. Three of Parker's four guns expended 6,000 rounds of ammunition per gun and proved a key factor in the assault's success.

The primary Spanish field piece during the war was the 75-mm Krupp Mountain Gun, a product of the German arms firm. Designed by Alfred Krupp, it was of all-steel construction and entered production in 1895. It was a relatively modern breechloading rapid-fire gun weighing 855 pounds and had a range of 4,210 yards. It accepted modern smokeless ammunition and was equally effective firing common shell, shrapnel, and canister.

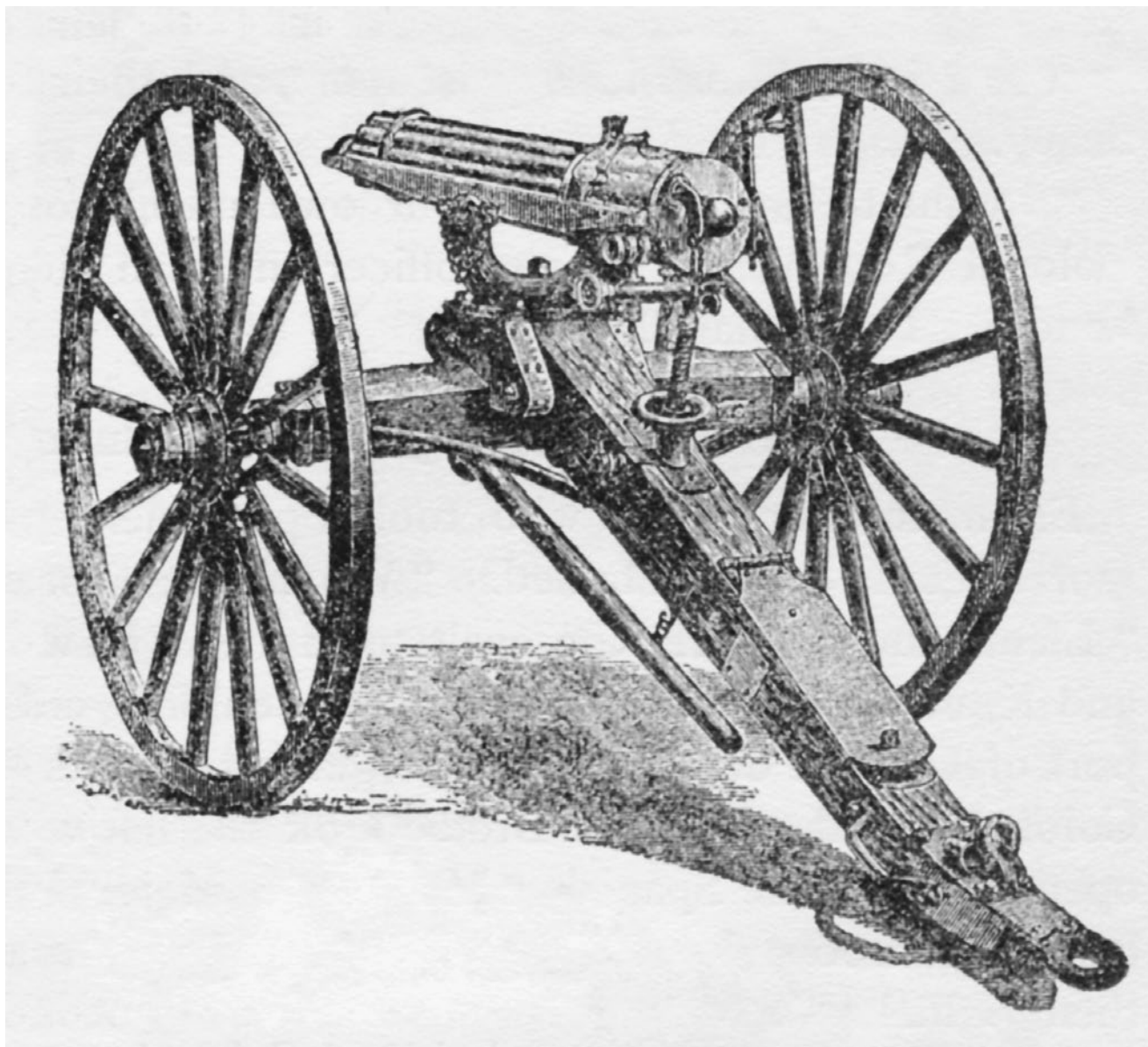


Illustration of the Gatling gun, Model 1895. The Gatling Gun Detachment of the U.S. Army V Corps played an important role in the Santiago Campaign in Cuba. (James Rankin Young and J. Hampton Moore, *History of Our War with Spain*, 1898)

Although artillery played a role in all campaigns of the war, it played its most critical and celebrated role in the July 1, 1898, Battle of San Juan Hill. The Spanish defenses, positioned along the ridge line, consisted of a series of trenches and a blockhouse manned by some 750 troops supported by 5 field pieces. The attacking forces included 15,000 American troops as well as 4,000 local guerrillas equipped with 12 field pieces and 4 Gatling guns. Shortly after dawn, the American artillery opened fire on the blockhouse on San Juan Heights at a range of approximately 2,600 yards. The Spanish then returned fire with shrapnel, and counterbattery fire ensued as the infantry and dismounted cavalry made preparations for the assault. When the infantry finally began the attack in the early afternoon, both the artillery batteries and the Gatling Gun Detachment provided steady and effective supporting fire.

Following the battle, the artillery advanced to the top of the hill's ridge line where, on July 2, the 10th Cavalry's artillery detachment helped repel a Spanish counterattack.

JEFF KINARD

See also

Black Powder; Gatling Gun; Machine Guns; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Smokeless Powder

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Artists and Illustrators

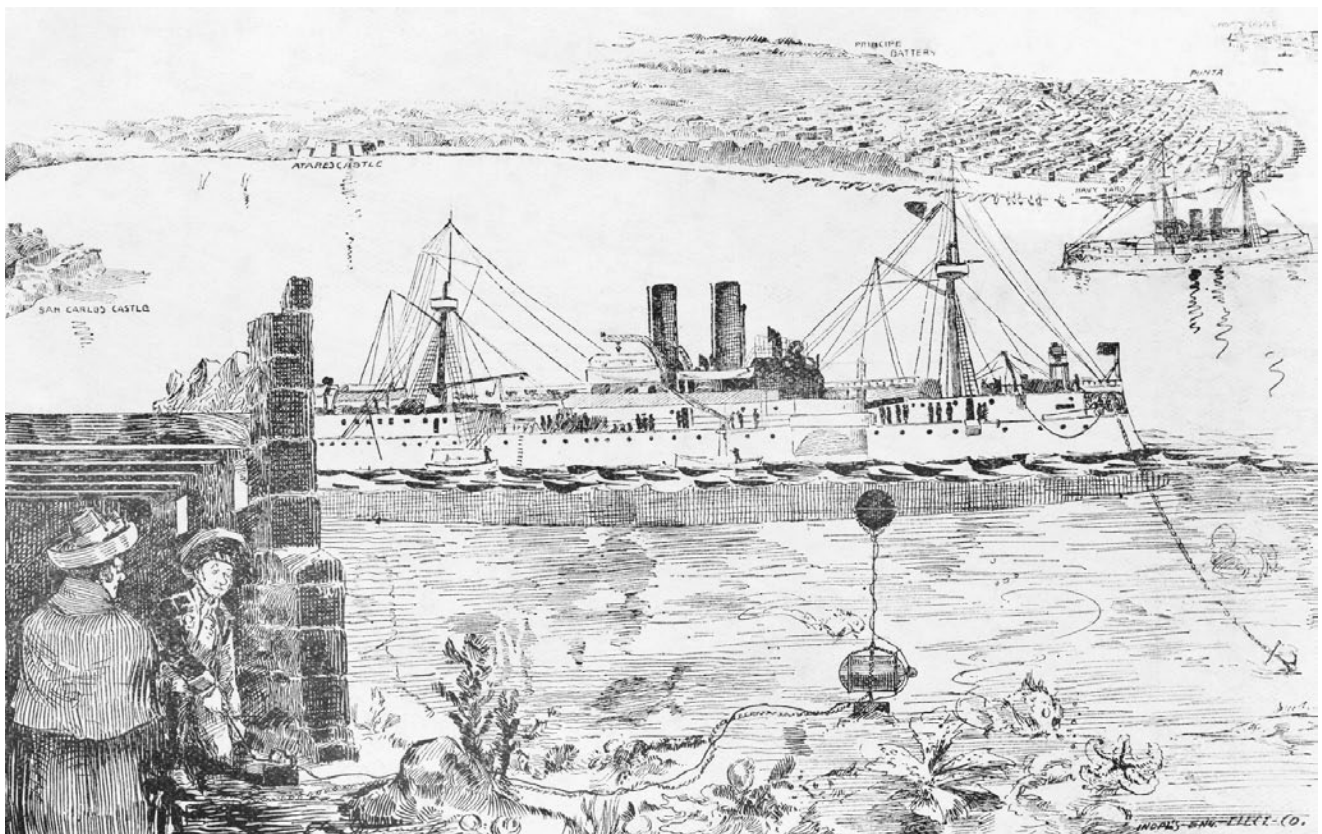
Artists and illustrators played an important role in the Spanish-American War. U.S. newspapers and journals frequently used the drawings and illustrations of prominent artists and illustrators to stimulate and enhance the American spirit of national assertiveness, the American will to fight, American sympathy for the Cuban revolutionaries, and American disenchantment with autocratic Spanish colonial rule in Cuba.

Although the drawings and illustrations did not by themselves create the hostile American public sentiment that led to the Spanish-American War, they did reflect the growing war fever in the United States and brought it to the forefront of public awareness. Ultimately, this enhanced jingoistic tendencies among the American public. Two newspaper publishers in particular, William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer, already engaged in a fierce competition for readers, saw in the impending conflict with Spain a chance to increase newspaper circulation.

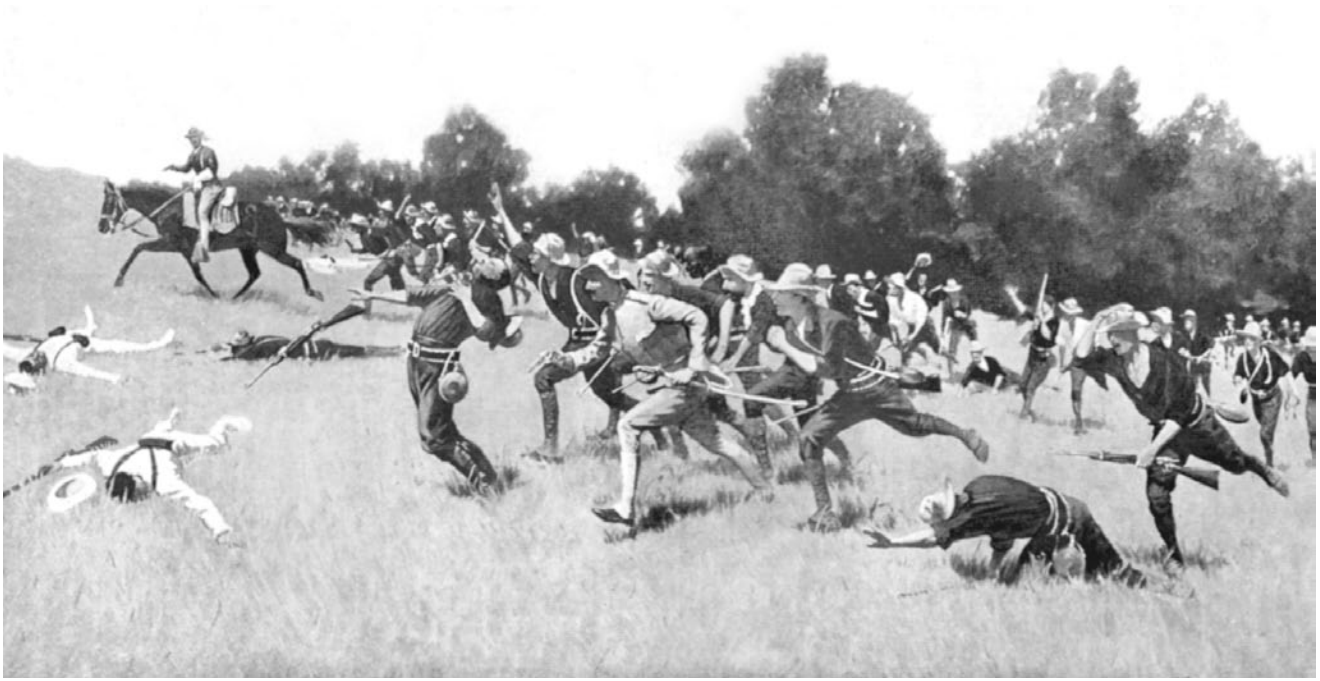
Capitalizing on growing American national aggressiveness in the months leading up to the Spanish-American War, Hearst and Pulitzer published vivid anti-Spanish articles augmented with graphic drawings and illustrations. The articles as well as the drawings and illustrations that accompanied them enraged an American public already predisposed to forcibly ending Spanish colonial

rule in Cuba. These illustrations, which illuminated Spanish brutality during the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898), seldom depicted Cuban acts of barbarism. Drawings vividly depicting the explosion of the U.S. battleship *Maine* in February 1898 inflamed American sentiment against continued Spanish occupation of Cuba. In conjunction with the work of yellow journalists, these drawings and illustrations roused American national sentiment to the point of demanding war with Spain.

Hearst, the owner of the *New York Herald*, took great interest in the plight of Cuban revolutionaries during the Cuban War of Independence. He saw the uprising in Cuba as a chance to boost circulation of his newspaper over his chief rival, Pulitzer, the owner of the *New York World*. When Hearst arrived in New York City in 1896, Pulitzer was already successfully making use of yellow journalism. The term “yellow journalism” came from a popular *New York World* comic strip “Hogan’s Alley” that featured the “Yellow Kid,” named for the color of his clothing. Hearst copied Pulitzer’s sensationalistic style and lured “Hogan’s Alley” artist Richard Felton Outcault, credited with making the comic strip a permanent part of American popular culture, to the *New York Herald* with a substantially increased salary. Pulitzer then hired George B. Luks to draw a second Yellow Kid, and the battle between the Yellow Kids was launched. Both Hearst and Pulitzer



A fanciful illustration from 1898, “A solution to the *Maine* explosion,” depicting two men about to blow up the *Maine* with an underwater mine. Although there was no proof of this, speculation was rife in the American press that the Spanish government was behind the destruction of the American warship. (Library of Congress)



Frederic Remington's painting *Charge of the Rough Riders at San Juan Hill* was very popular and helped foster the image of his friend Colonel Theodore Roosevelt as a war hero. (Wildside Press)

used graphic illustrations and incendiary cartoons to increase circulation. They sent artists and illustrators to record events in Cuba and emphasize (or exaggerate) the most violent aspects of Spanish attempts to end the Cuban War of Independence. Graphic renditions of Spanish brutality usually enhanced the articles written for the yellow journalism tabloids.

In 1896, the Spanish government appointed General Valeriano Nicolau y Weyler to quell the Cuban War of Independence. Weyler's *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) policy, which resulted in the deaths of thousands of Cubans, was a favorite target of American artists and illustrators. Hearst, who nicknamed Weyler "the Butcher," bombarded the American public with gruesome illustrations of atrocities in the concentration camps. Drawings and illustrations of starving children and mass executions appeared on the front pages of the major newspapers. For example, the front page of the March 19, 1897, *Indianapolis News* featured an illustration titled "An Unexpected Feast for Havana Reconcentrados" that portrayed starving Cubans eagerly devouring dead cattle that had washed ashore.

After the Spanish government recalled Weyler to Spain and initiated a more conciliatory policy in late 1897, Hearst searched for new justifications for U.S. intervention in Cuba. To boost readership and further his agenda, he sent Frederic Remington, one of the most popular illustrators of the day, to find new atrocities. Remington, unable to uncover any definite Spanish malfeasance in Cuba, reported to Hearst, "Everything quiet. No trouble here. There will be no war. I wish to return." Hearst reportedly replied, "Please remain. You furnish the pictures and I will furnish the war."

The sinking of the *Maine* on February 15, 1898, increased newspaper coverage of events in Cuba, fueled tensions between the United States and Spain, and increased pressure on President William McKinley to declare war on Spain. Published illustrations purported to show how Spanish saboteurs had fastened an underwater mine to the hull of the ship and then had detonated it from shore. Most American newspapers, without any solid evidence, asserted that the sinking of the *Maine* was not an accident. Americans across the country, fueled by the persuasiveness of yellow journalism, felt justified in demanding that McKinley demand that Spain relinquish control of Cuba. On April 4, 1898, the *New York Journal* issued a 1 million-copy press run dedicated to the war in Cuba. American war sentiment, fueled by yellow journalism and augmented by its vivid illustrations, was an important factor in convincing McKinley to ask Congress for a declaration of war later that month.

Once the war began, American artists and illustrators regularly accompanied American troops into battle. The artists and illustrators highlighted the exploits of American heroes such as Commodore George Dewey and especially Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. Artist Howard Chandler Christy accompanied Roosevelt in the fighting on Kettle Hill and San Juan Hill. Artist Henry Reuter dahl, one of America's leading maritime painters, painted prominent U.S. Navy warships during the war. In October 1898, William Glackens, the only artist sent by the popular *McClure's Magazine* to Cuba, published a series of five drawings depicting Roosevelt's assault on San Juan Heights. His eyewitness account effectively captured the atmosphere of the battle. Remington's *The*

Charge of the Rough Riders vividly (and inaccurately) portrays the charge of the Rough Riders up Kettle Hill and Roosevelt's heroism. Indeed, Remington's portrayal of Roosevelt as a war hero was crucial to the latter's political success after the war.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Cuban War of Independence; Hearst, William Randolph; Journalism; *Maine*, USS; McKinley, William; Pulitzer, Joseph; *Reconcentrado* System; "Remember the *Maine*"; Remington, Frederic Sackrider; Roosevelt, Theodore; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano; Yellow Journalism

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Aserraderos Conference

Event Date: June 20, 1898

Meeting between top U.S. military commanders and Cuban revolutionary General Calixto García y Iñiguez on June 20, 1898, at Aserraderos, Cuba. Aserraderos is located along the coast in the eastern part of the island some 21 miles west of Santiago de Cuba. Sometimes referred to as the Shafter-García Conference after its two principal figures—General García and U.S. Army major general William R. Shafter—the meeting was convened with the purpose of coordinating U.S. and Cuban Revolutionary Army military efforts in eastern Cuba. This was in anticipation of an imminent American landing in the region. Indeed, on the same day of the conference, June 20, some 16,000 U.S. troops (comprising V Corps) under the command of Shafter had arrived in the territorial waters of eastern Cuba.

On June 19, García had met with Rear Admiral William T. Sampson onboard the battleship *New York* in order to discuss overall strategy for the upcoming campaign. It was agreed upon at that time that García would parley with Shafter the following day. The June 20 conference was held in García's personal tent that doubled as headquarters for the rebels in eastern Cuba. Participants in addition to García and Shafter included Brigadier General William Ludlow, Rear Admiral Sampson, and one of García's aides. Shafter was reportedly immediately impressed with García and his assessment of the strategic situation.

First on the agenda were the details of the landing of U.S. forces on Cuba. Here García urged the Americans to use Daiquirí as an embarkation point and beachhead, counsel that the Americans

wisely followed. García ensured that the Cuban insurgents would demonstrate against the Spanish, drawing the Spanish on themselves in order to allow a rapid and uneventful U.S. landing. He also provided the Americans with intelligence on Spanish positions and troop strength.

With Sampson's apparent agreement, Shafter informed García that he planned for his men to take and occupy all of the defensive positions at the mouth of the harbor at Santiago, which would presumably give American naval forces unfettered access to the Spanish squadron bottled up there. This meant, at least according to unbiased observers, that taking the city of Santiago de Cuba was secondary to the main goal of destroying the Spanish squadron.

The meeting lasted for one and a half hours. What would later make it controversial had nothing at all to do with García or the Cubans. Rather, as the U.S. landing progressed, it quickly became clear that Shafter intended to capture and occupy Santiago de Cuba and, further, to engage in a lengthy land campaign on the eastern part of Cuba. This seemed to have been in contradiction to his pronouncement at Aserraderos as well as his assurances to Sampson. While Shafter's instructions from the War Department authorized him to both seize Santiago de Cuba and aid in the destruction of Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's naval forces, he construed it to mean that the city should be taken first before the Spanish squadron was neutralized. Shafter's change in plans—although he denied having done so—resulted in a major rift between the U.S. Navy and the U.S. Army and embroiled Shafter in significant controversy during and after the naval battle at Santiago Bay of July 3, 1898.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Daiquirí Beachhead, Cuba; V Corps; García y Iñiguez, Calixto; Ludlow, William; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Shafter, William Rufus

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Asiatic Squadron

U.S. Navy squadron formed to protect American interests in the Far East. Since 1835 the United States had maintained in Asia a small naval presence originally known as the Asiatic Station. The chief focus of U.S. interest was China and Japan.

In early January 1898, when Commodore George Dewey assumed command at Nagasaki, Japan, the Asiatic Squadron numbered only four ships: the protected cruisers *Olympia* (flagship) and *Boston*, the gunboat *Petrel*, and the side-wheel steamer *Monocacy*. Resupply was a major problem until February of that year when the gunboat *Concord* arrived with much-needed ammunition. Anticipating hostilities



The protected cruiser *Olympia*, flagship of the U.S. Asiatic Squadron, in Hong Kong just prior to the start of the Spanish-American War. The cruiser had been repainted from peacetime white and buff to wartime gray. (Naval Historical Center)

with Spain, Dewey relocated the squadron to Hong Kong. His ships remained at that British colony until the beginning of the war in April.

The squadron was augmented by the arrival in Hong Kong of the protected cruisers *Baltimore* and *Raleigh* and the revenue cutter *McCulloch*. Dewey also purchased two supply steamers, the *Nanshan* and the *Zafiro*. Upon the outbreak of war and the British government's proclamation of neutrality, Dewey was obliged to quit Hong Kong. He moved his ships to Mirs Bay in Chinese territorial waters some 30 miles distant.

On April 23, Dewey received the anticipated orders from Washington to operate against the Spanish Navy squadron in the Philippines. Destruction of the Spanish warships was a necessary condition prior to the dispatch of any U.S. ground troops to the islands. After receiving intelligence on Spanish naval dispositions in the Philippines, Dewey departed Mirs Bay on April 27.

The Asiatic Squadron entered Philippine waters on April 30, 1898. Early on the morning of May 1, Dewey's ships engaged and defeated Spanish rear admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón's Philippine Squadron in the Battle of Manila Bay. Dewey then blockaded the city of Manila from the bay and landed limited forces to secure the principal Spanish naval base at Cavite, where he awaited the arrival of American ground forces. Over the next months, additional U.S. warships joined the squadron. These included the protected cruiser *Charleston* and the double-turreted monitors *Monadnock* and *Monterey*. Following the arrival of the U.S. VIII Corps, the squadron provided gunfire support during the First Battle of Manila on August 13, 1898.

The Asiatic Squadron also played an important role in supporting the China Relief Expedition of 1900 against the Boxer Rebellion. U.S. marines and sailors from the squadron participated in the operations at Tianjin (Tientsin), which had been taken over by the Boxers. In 1902, the Asiatic Squadron was redesignated the Asiatic Fleet.

JASON M. SOKIERA AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Dewey, George; Manila, First Battle of; Manila Bay, Battle of; Montojo y Pasarón, Patricio; Philippine Islands; Spain, Navy; United States Auxiliary Naval Force; United States Navy

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Asomante Hills, Engagement at

Event Date: August 12, 1898

Skirmish between American and Spanish forces that occurred on August 12, 1898, at Aibonito Pass, Puerto Rico. Alternately known as the Battle of Asomante Hills and Aibonito, it was the last engagement of the Puerto Rico Campaign. On August 9, 1898, Spanish forces retreated to the stronghold of Aibonito after their battle

with American forces at Coamo earlier that day. Aibonito is located within the Cayey mountain range to the east of Coamo in east-central Puerto Rico. The terrain between Aibonito and Coamo features many ravines and impassable ridges that made regular military operations through them nearly impossible. Travel between the two cities was conducted on the paved military road, which twisted through crooked valleys, doubled around sharp promontories, skirted steep overhanging cliffs, and hugged the sides of the precipitous slopes.

To prevent Spanish forces from destroying the much-needed bridges along the road, Major General James H. Wilson deployed Troop C (Brooklyn) of the New York Volunteer Cavalry commanded by Captain Bertram T. Clayton to pursue the fleeing Spaniards. Just over five miles beyond Coamo, Clayton's troops came under fire from Spanish batteries placed on two hills north of Aibonito: Asomante and El Penon. Along with the batteries, the Spanish infantry had entrenched four companies of the Cazadores Patria Battalion, 70 mounted guerrillas from the 6th Provision Battalion, two provisional companies from the civilian guards, police units, and the 9th Volunteers. In all, there were some 1,280 Spanish troops on the slopes below their artillery batteries. This gave the Spanish complete coverage of the highway for several miles in either direction. The cross fire produced by the batteries and troops forced Clayton, under heavy Spanish fire, to halt his pursuit.

After reconnoitering the Spanish forces at Aibonito on August 11 and 12, Wilson became convinced that a frontal assault was entirely impossible. The Spanish positions on Asomante and El Penon commanded the steep road, allowing the Spanish to fire down on the Americans and preventing American batteries from deploying. Wilson's men then found two practical routes around both the Spanish positions, which would place American troops across the Spanish line of retreat. Both routes were obscured from Spanish troops and were exceedingly steep paths, but the trail to the left was the shorter distance. Wilson decided to utilize this route for his turning movement, and on the morning of August 12, he instructed Brigadier General Oswald H. Ernst to take the mountain trail that branched westward and northward over the divide to Barranquitas. Once at Barranquitas, Ernst would travel down the highway from the village of Honduras, placing the American forces to the rear of Aibonito.

Knowing that at any minute he might receive word of an armistice, Wilson delayed Ernst's flanking movement and sent Colonel Tasker H. Bliss under a flag of truce through the Spanish lines demanding their surrender. The message was also forwarded to the governor-general in San Juan. While the Americans waited for a response, Spanish forces at Aibonito were being reinforced from Caguas, bringing the total number of Spanish defenders to some 1,300 men. The Spanish then refused the American demands. Wilson now instructed Ernst to begin his flanking movement.

To divert Spanish attention from Ernst's movement, Wilson directed Captain R. D. Potts's Battery F of the 3rd U.S. Artillery with its six 90-millimeter (mm) field pieces to take up a position on a

low ridge some 2,150 yards from the batteries on Asomante and 400 yards below them. Opening fire at 1:25 p.m., the Spanish artillery pieces were silenced by 2:15. The American guns now turned their attention to the Spanish infantry entrenched on the slopes, driving many from their trenches. Subsequently, it appeared that the Spanish had received reinforcements, with the Americans finding themselves under a hail of shells and bullets. With Battery F's position untenable, the guns were withdrawn. The battery suffered one killed (a lieutenant commanding one of the guns) and six wounded.

Shortly before Ernst began his flanking movement, Major General Nelson A. Miles sent word to Wilson that hostilities had been halted with Spain. The Spanish-American War and the engagement at Aibonito were now concluded.

RONALD RAY ORTENSIE

See also

Bliss, Tasker Howard; Coamo, Battle of; Ernst, Oswald Hubert; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Puerto Rico Campaign; Wilson, James Harrison

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Astor, John Jacob, IV

Birth Date: July 13, 1864

Death Date: April 15, 1912

Investor, businessman, and member of a prominent and wealthy American family who served as a lieutenant colonel during the Spanish-American War. John Jacob Astor IV was born at his family's estate in Rhinebeck, Dutchess County, New York, on July 13, 1864. He was the son of William Backhouse Astor Jr. and the great-grandson of John Jacob Astor, the first American multimillionaire. John Jacob Astor IV studied at St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire, before graduating from Harvard University in 1888. In 1891, he married Ava Lowle Willin, daughter of a wealthy Philadelphia family.

Astor increased his fortune by wisely investing in real estate. In 1897, he built the Astoria Hotel in New York City that became the Waldorf-Astoria when joined to the adjoining hotel built by his cousin William Waldorf Astor. John Jacob Astor also built New York's storied Hotel St. Regis in 1905 and the Hotel Knickerbocker in 1906.

In April 1898, at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Astor had just returned from a cruise to Cuba on his yacht, the *Nourmahal*.



Businessman John Jacob Astor IV was the great-grandson of John Jacob Astor, America's first millionaire. Astor IV served as a lieutenant colonel in the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

Favoring war with Spain since 1897, he immediately went to the War Department to volunteer for military service. As a member of one of the wealthiest families in the United States, he could have easily avoided military service. Nevertheless, much like future president Theodore Roosevelt whose family also lived in Dutchess County, Astor believed that it was his patriotic duty to serve his country. Appointed a lieutenant colonel, he received command of a battalion of volunteers. He spent \$100,000 of his own money to equip an artillery battery of volunteers. The Astor Battery served effectively in Cuba as well as the Philippines. He also lent his yacht to the War Department for the duration of the war. He was promoted to the rank of colonel when he was discharged from service in September 1898.

The Spanish-American War was the first U.S. war in which the motion picture camera played a role. Astor appeared in *President McKinley's Inspection of Camp Wikoff* (1898), which reveals the

vastness of the quarantine camp in New York to which the troops arriving home from Cuba were sent to be certain that they were free of communicable diseases. He also appeared in *Col. John Jacob Astor, Staff and Veterans of the Spanish-American War* (1899).

Astor divorced Ava in 1909 and two years later married 18-year-old Madeline Talmadge Force. The marriage caused a scandal in New York high society, and the Astors took an extended honeymoon in Europe and Egypt to avoid incessant gossip. Astor's wife became pregnant on the trip and insisted that the couple return to the United States so that their child could be born on American soil. The Astors booked passage on the maiden voyage of the *Titanic*. Although his wife survived, Astor was one of more than 1,500 people who died when the ship sank in the North Atlantic on April 15, 1912.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Roosevelt, Theodore

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Atrocities

Acts of extreme cruelty against individuals or groups during wars or insurrections and that may involve military personnel or civilians. Atrocities were known to have taken place in Cuba and the Philippines. Some occurred prior to the outbreak of war in April 1898, while others took place after the war had officially ended during the ensuing American occupation of the Philippines and the Philippine-American War (1899–1902). No side was immune from committing such acts, which involved the Spanish, the Americans, the Cuban rebels, and the Filipino rebels. Atrocities of this period are somewhat hard to establish for two primary reasons: alleged incidents were often sensationalized by the salacious yellow press, and actions that would today be perceived as atrocities were not always seen that way at the time.

During Cuban efforts to throw off Spanish control during the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898), both sides engaged in atrocities. Although perceived Spanish brutality in Cuba was a key factor in the U.S. decision to declare war on Spain, the perception that the Spanish deliberately and routinely committed atrocities was primarily the creation of the yellow press, which ran stories reported by Cuban revolutionaries without scrutiny or investigation. Spanish governor-general Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau attempted through his *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) policy of 1896 to weaken the insurgency in the countryside. Weyler initially ordered civilians in one province to detention camps near garrisoned military headquarters. He also gave military commanders wide powers to execute people who evaded the requirement to register, and he subjected those who aided the rebels to military law. Later, the reconcentration camps

Prominent Robber Barons during the Gilded Age

Name	Industry
John Jacob Astor IV	Real estate
Andrew Carnegie	Steel
Henry Clay Frick	Coal, steel
Jay Gould	Railroads
J. P. Morgan	Banking
John D. Rockefeller	Oil
Cornelius Vanderbilt	Shipping, railroads



Starving Cubans in Matanzas, 1898. Many innocent civilians suffered as a result of Spanish governor-general Valeriano Weyler's *reconcentrado* policy. (Library of Congress)

were greatly expanded. The camps were overcrowded, and shelter consisted mostly of dilapidated warehouses without plumbing. The government also failed to provide adequate food or arable land for the internees. Between 200,000 and 400,000 civilians in the camps died from diseases such as yellow fever and smallpox or starvation during the two years that the policy was in effect.

The Cuban rebels also committed atrocities as part of their military strategy, but few of these are well documented. One major exception is José Maceo Grajales's march at the head of 6,000 men through Havana Province in the spring of 1897. In an effort to put economic pressure on Spain to end its rule of the island, the rebels raided fellow Cubans' shops and killed civilians working on railways and in sugarcane fields.

Atrocities were relatively few during the brief Spanish-American War of the following year. One grisly act occurred when Americans in the Cuban village of El Caney placed some prisoners of war captured during the Battle of San Juan Hill under the control of Cuban rebels, who murdered 40 of the prisoners by decapitation. Some historians have argued that the U.S. Navy's bombardment of the city of Santiago de Cuba for two days prior to the August 12, 1898, truce may also be considered an atrocity.

The irregular character of the Philippine-American War was more brutal and involved frequent atrocities committed by both the American and Filipino insurgents, although actual evidence of Filipino atrocities were somewhat rare. The infamous Sandiko Order, a document supposedly issued by General Teodoro Sandiko in early 1899 that called for Filipinos in Manila to kill all whites in the city, was actually a creation of American propaganda. After con-

ventional methods of resistance failed, Filipino leader Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy adopted guerrilla warfare tactics that Americans considered barbaric and atrocious. In the most remarkable instance of this, the Balangiga Massacre of September 28, 1901, insurgents concealed bolo knives in children's coffins and under women's clothing to prepare for a surprise attack on an American camp at Balangiga on the island of Samar. More than 90 percent of Company C of the U.S. 9th Infantry Regiment became casualties.

American newspapers also routinely reported that Filipino insurgents killed captives and regularly mutilated American military dead. Although the veracity of the accounts is questionable and Aguinaldo had prohibited such behavior, it is likely that there were isolated instances of this.

Americans certainly believed the stories they heard of Filipino cruelty and reacted in part by considering noncombatants to be legitimate targets. One infamous example is Brigadier General Jacob H. Smith's orders to Marine Corps major Littleton W. T. Waller regarding the treatment of natives on Samar. Smith ordered Waller to "kill and burn," to take no prisoners, to turn the interior of Samar into "a howling wilderness," and to regard every male over the age of 10 as a combatant who could be executed. Although Waller refused to apply Smith's standard, his 6th Separate Brigade of 300 marines routinely burned entire villages and slaughtered livestock during an aggressive pacification campaign in the autumn of 1901. Later, Waller ordered the execution of 11 supposedly mutinous Filipino porters without a trial because he did not have the personnel to monitor prisoners.

Another example of atrocities in the Philippines revolved around Brigadier General James Franklin Bell's decision to create concentration camps in the southern province of Batangas on the island of Luzon. Civilians were ordered to move with their possessions into American-controlled areas. All property, including homes and farms, outside the secured areas was subject to destruction to deny support to insurgents. Anyone outside the fences was to be captured or shot. The overcrowded and unsanitary conditions in the camps led to the deaths of more than 11,000 Filipino civilians. With regard to the insurgents themselves, American soldiers are reported to have killed prisoners and those in the act of surrendering. There is also some evidence that the soldiers were occasionally ordered to do so.

In January 1902, Republican senator Henry Cabot Lodge's Committee on Insular Affairs convened hearings on American atrocities, which revealed that American soldiers believed that extreme measures in the Philippines were justified for a variety of reasons. Witnesses testified that American soldiers burned villages and routinely employed torture. Four years later many newspapers condemned Major General Leonard Wood's attack against Moro insurgents holed up in Bud Dajo Crater (March 5–8, 1906) as an atrocity because American artillery killed or wounded many women and children as well as insurgents.

While atrocities have been a part of warfare since the beginning of history, the modern press's reporting of such acts and increased

government scrutiny of them before, during, and after the Spanish-American War led to a general heightened awareness of such acts.

MATTHEW J. KROGMAN

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Balangiga Massacre; Bell, James Franklin; Bud Dajo, Battle of; Committee on the Philippines; Cuban War of Independence; Luzon Campaigns; Pacification Program, Philippine Islands; Philippine-American War; *Reconcentrado* System; Samar Campaigns; Smith, Jacob Hurd; Waller, Littleton Tazewell; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano; Yellow Journalism

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Augustín y Dávila, Basilio

Birth Date: 1840

Death Date: 1910

Spanish Army general and governor-general of the Philippines. In a surprise move on the eve of war with the United States, on April 11, 1898, Spanish premier Práxedes Mateo Sagasta appointed Lieutenant-General Basilio Augustín y Dávila captain-general and governor-general of the Philippines, replacing General Fernando Primo de Rivera y Sobremonte in these posts. Knowing that there would be no military support from Spain before an American attack, Augustín attempted to mobilize the civilian population. On April 23, he issued a proclamation calling on all Filipinos to rally to the “glorious Spanish flag.” He claimed that the United States was responsible for the war and that U.S. naval forces would be coming to the Philippines to destroy the Catholic Church and kidnap Filipinos to serve as agricultural and industrial laborers. He also predicted that Spain would win the war. Commander of the U.S. Asiatic Squadron Commodore George Dewey later distributed Augustín’s proclamation to his ships with instructions that it be read to the crews, who greeted it with derision. Augustín also instituted martial law in Manila.

Believing that Spain could win a naval confrontation with Dewey’s squadron, Augustín opposed Rear Admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón’s request that his squadron leave Manila. At the same

time, however, in an effort to control the insurgents, Augustín scattered most of his troops throughout the islands in isolated garrisons instead of concentrating them at Manila. As a consequence, the insurgents were able to defeat many of the isolated garrisons.

As an additional move to mobilize the population, Augustín established an advisory assembly led by Pedro A. Paterno that called on Filipinos to rally to Spain. Infiltrated by proindependence Filipinos, however, it soon disbanded.

Following the American victory in the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, Augustín established a Consultative Assembly and a Filipino militia on May 4 in the hope of winning broader Filipino support. This effort was a failure by the end of May. With insurgent forces increasingly active, Augustín was forced to withdraw his scattered troops around Manila back to the Zapote Line, a system of blockhouses just outside the city established to prevent an invasion of Cavite Province. It soon proved untenable as well. Augustín was convinced that an attack on Manila was forthcoming and did everything he could to strengthen the immediate city defenses. He realized, however, that he could not defend the city without significant reinforcements from Spain. His appeals to Madrid were supported by Admiral Montojo. These appeals led the Spanish government to order a naval squadron to the Philippines under Admiral Manuel de la Cámara y Liber Moore with supplies and reinforcements.

When he learned that Cámara’s squadron had been recalled to Spain and with insurgent strength growing and unwilling to negotiate with them, Augustín opened surrender talks with Dewey. Learning of this and hoping for a more vigorous prosecution of the war, the Sagasta government replaced Augustín on August 4, 1898, with General of Division Fermín Jáudenes y Alvarez. Augustín was surreptitiously evacuated by a German cruiser the next day.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Dewey, George; Manila, First Battle of; Manila Bay, Battle of; Montojo y Pasarón, Patricio; Primo de Rivera y Sobremonte, Fernando; Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo

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Auñón y Villalón, Ramón

Birth Date: 1844

Death Date: 1925

Spanish Navy admiral and minister of the navy. Ramón Auñón y Villalón was born in Morón, Spain, in 1844. Joining the navy at age 15, he took part in campaigns in Africa (1859–1860), Santo Domingo (1863), and Cuba (1879). He enjoyed a reputation in the



Spanish Navy captain Ramón Auñón y Villalón replaced Segismundo Bermejo as Spanish minister of the navy following Commodore George Dewey's victory over Rear Admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón's squadron in the Battle of Manila Bay. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War, 1898*)

navy as an effective manager and had commanded a battleship. In a conference of senior naval officers held in Madrid on April 25, 1898, Auñón sided with the majority that supported sending Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron to the West Indies. Following Commodore George Dewey's victory over Rear Admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón's squadron in the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, Captain Auñón replaced Segismundo Bermejo y Merelo as minister of the navy on May 18.

Auñón had an unrealistic view of the military situation. Political pressure led him on May 19 to cancel the May 12 order by his predecessor for Cervera's squadron to return to Spain. Auñón also ordered part of the Spanish Navy to attack U.S. coastal cities, only to cancel that order on June 15 when he commanded Manuel de la Cámara y Libermore to sail to Manila and engage the American squadron under Dewey.

Auñón was soon forced to deal with the deteriorating situation at Santiago. Captain-general of Cuba General Ramón Blanco y Erenas urged that the squadron sortie and engage Rear Admiral William T. Sampson's much more powerful U.S. North Atlantic Fleet blockading Santiago, while Cervera recommended that the squadron be scuttled to save lives. Cervera considered it ridiculous to risk sacrificing 2,000 lives for the sake of honor. Ultimately Auñón sided with Blanco and placed Cervera under his command, explaining that he had taken this step "to give perfect unity to conduct of war in [the] island." Blanco then ordered Cervera to sortie, and the result was the destruction of the Spanish squadron in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3. On July 23, Auñón ordered Cámara to return to Cádiz.

Upon leaving the post of naval minister, Auñón served as captain-general of the Maritime Department of Cartagena. Awarded the title of Marqués de Pílares for his services to the nation, he died in 1925.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Bermejo y Merelo, Segismundo; Blanco y Erenas, Ramón; Cámara y Libermore, Manuel de la; Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Dewey, George; Manila Bay, Battle of; Montojo y Pasarón, Patricio; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Spain, Navy

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Auxiliary Naval Vessels

See Naval Vessels, U.S. Auxiliary

B

Bacon Amendment

Amendment that would have rejected U.S. acquisition of the Philippine Islands. Introduced in the U.S. Senate on January 11, 1899, by Democrat Augustus O. Bacon of Georgia, the Bacon Amendment was strongly supported by antiexpansionist members of the Democratic Party and by members of the Anti-Imperialist League. It was opposed by most Republicans and those who wanted the United States to acquire an overseas empire. The Bacon Amendment disclaimed any intention by the United States to exercise permanent sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the Philippines. Because Bacon believed strongly that the Philippines should become an autonomous nation, the amendment also advocated early recognition of Philippine independence as soon as the islands established a stable government.

Following an animated debate, the Bacon Amendment was defeated by a vote of 30 to 29. Vice President Garret A. Hobart, a Republican, cast the tie-breaking vote.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Anti-Imperialist League; Democratic Party; Hobart, Garret Augustus; Paris, Treaty of; Philippine Islands, U.S. Acquisition of; Republican Party

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Bacoor Bay

Shallow inlet located off Manila Bay in Cavite Province, the island of Luzon, in the Philippines. Bacoor Bay is about 10 miles south of Manila. During the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, two of the warships of Rear Admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón's squadron, the gunboats *General Lezo* and *Velasco*, as well as the transport *Manila* were anchored in Bacoor Bay for repairs. Following the battle, the Spanish burned the *General Lezo* and the *Velasco*, but the U.S. Navy captured the *Manila* on May 4 and used it to transport American troops.

In August 1898, the nearby small town of Bacoor served as the temporary headquarters for Filipino nationalist leader Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy and his nationalist forces.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Manila Bay, Battle of; Montojo y Pasarón, Patricio

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Bagley, Worth

Birth Date: April 6, 1874

Death Date: May 11, 1898

U.S. Navy officer and the first U.S. officer of any service to be killed in the Spanish-American War. Born in Raleigh, North Carolina,



U.S. Navy ensign Worth Bagley, the first American officer killed in the Spanish-American War. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

on April 6, 1874, Worth Bagley attended the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, where he starred on the football team and graduated in 1895. He served two years on the battleships *Indiana* and *Maine*. Promoted to ensign on July 1, 1897, he was assigned to the new torpedo boat *Winslow* and became its executive officer on its commissioning.

On the morning of May 11, 1898, the *Winslow*, commanded by Lieutenant John B. Bernadou, accompanied the gunboat *Wilmington* and the armed revenue cutter *Hudson* and entered Cárdenas Harbor, Cuba. There the U.S. ships came under fire from several Spanish gunboats. In the engagement, the *Winslow* was hit and largely disabled. Bagley was supervising the backing of the torpedo boat toward the *Hudson* when the torpedo boat was struck by another Spanish shell. He and four sailors were killed by the shrapnel. The *Hudson* was eventually able to tow the *Winslow* to safety.

Bagley was the only U.S. naval officer killed in battle during the Spanish-American War. His funeral in Raleigh, North Carolina, saw a massive patriotic outpouring, attracting thousands of people. Four U.S. Navy ships—a torpedo boat and three destroyers—have been named for Bagley (the last destroyer for both Bagley and his brother, Admiral David D. Bagley).

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cárdenas, Cuba; Torpedo Boats

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Baker, Edward Lee, Jr.

Birth Date: December 28, 1865

Death Date: August 26, 1913

African American soldier and Medal of Honor winner. Born in Laramie County, Wyoming, on December 28, 1865, Edward L. Baker Jr. enlisted in the U.S. Army in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1882. He served with both the famed African American 9th and 10th U.S. Cavalry in the American West during the Indian Wars and attained the rank of sergeant major in 1892.

Following the start of the Spanish-American War, Baker went to Cuba with V Corps and fought in the Battle of Las Guásimas on June 24, 1898. Twice wounded during the Battle of San Juan Hill on July 1, 1898, he left cover and, while under hostile fire, rescued a wounded comrade in danger of drowning. This heroic act earned him the Medal of Honor in 1902.

Following the Spanish-American War, Baker was promoted to captain in the Philippine Scouts and saw service in the Philippine-American War, commanding an African American infantry unit. He retired from the army in 1902. Baker died in Los Angeles, California, on August 26, 1913.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

African Americans; Las Guásimas, Battle of; San Juan Heights, Battle of; United States Army

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Balangiga Massacre

Event Date: September 28, 1901

Ambush and killing of U.S. soldiers at Balangiga on the island of Samar by Filipino insurgents on September 28, 1901. During the Philippine-American War (1899–1902), American troops sought to end insurrections on dozens of islands throughout the Philippines. The Americans utilized a wide variety of means to accomplish this. The campaign on the island of Samar, directed by Brigadier General J. Franklin Bell, witnessed some of the bloodiest incidents of the entire war, including the Balangiga Massacre.

During August and September 1901, Company C of the 9th U.S. Infantry Regiment occupied the town of Balangiga, increasing tensions between American troops and Filipino inhabitants. On September 28, 1901, approximately 200 Filipinos, wielding bolos, axes, and farm implements, attacked the American garrison while it was at breakfast. The U.S. troops were completely unprepared, and their firearms were stacked in a separate building. Some of the soldiers managed to resist their attackers with improvised weapons, but 54 of the 78 members of the company were hacked to death in the initial onslaught. Only 4 men emerged unwounded from the vicious assault. The survivors fled from the village, leaving their dead and dying comrades behind. The Balangiga Massacre was one of the worst U.S. defeats in the entire war, and the American response to it would provoke outrage in the United States and throughout the world.

The following day, two American companies returned to Balangiga, which they now found deserted. They recovered the American bodies and subsequently burned the village to the ground. Upon hearing of the incident, Brigadier General Jacob H. Smith received command over the pacification of Samar. Smith promptly ordered Marine Corps major Littleton Waller to take no prisoners in the subjugation of the island. Rather, he and his troops were to burn every settlement and kill any person capable of resistance who did not surrender and immediately collaborate with U.S. forces. In short, Smith ordered Waller to turn Samar into "a howling wilderness." To justify his orders, Smith cited General Orders Number 100, initially issued in April 1863 during the American Civil War as a guide to American troops in the field.

Smith's orders resulted in a massive assault against Filipino civilians. The inhabitants of Samar were massacred by the thousands. Those who were not killed by American troops faced starvation when Smith ordered all trade to Samar halted. He essentially terrorized the population into ceasing support for Filipino guerrillas led by General Vicente Lukban. Although American troops continually patrolled the interior of the island, burning houses and killing inhabitants, they could do little to hinder guerrilla operations.

When the behavior of American troops in Samar and the specific orders issued by Smith became public knowledge in the United States, Americans were outraged. Although subordinate commanders did not pursue Smith's goals to the fullest extent of their capabilities, thousands of civilians died in the American reprisals for the Balangiga Massacre. In 1902 both Waller and Smith were court-martialed for their actions on Samar, including charges of mass attacks upon civilians and the execution of prisoners. Smith was reprimanded and lost his command but received no other formal punishment. Waller was acquitted of all charges, primarily on the grounds that he was a marine and thus not subject to an army court-martial.

To this day, the Balangiga Massacre and the American reprisals remain among the most controversial events of the war. The lack of Filipino records and the scarcity of American survivors have clouded the details of the initial attack. Likewise, the full extent of

American retaliation will probably remain unknown and open to historical debate. Had these incidents occurred in the latter half of the 20th century, they most likely would have been characterized as war crimes.

PAUL J. SPRINGER

See also

Bell, James Franklin; Lukban, Vicente; Samar Campaigns; Smith, Jacob Hurd; Waller, Littleton Tazewell

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Baldwin, Frank Dwight

Birth Date: June 26, 1842

Death Date: April 22, 1923

U.S. Army officer. Born in Manchester, Michigan, on June 26, 1842, Frank Dwight Baldwin entered the U.S. Army during the American Civil War from his native state in September 1861. Commissioned a second lieutenant, he advanced to captain during the war and was awarded the Medal of Honor for his role in the Battle of Peachtree Creek, Georgia, on July 20, 1864.

Baldwin remained in the U.S. Army after the war, accepting a commission as a second lieutenant. Posted to Kansas with the 5th Infantry Regiment, he won a second Medal of Honor (1 of only 19 servicemen to be awarded the medal twice), for an engagement at McClellan's Creek, Texas, on November 8, 1874, during the Red River War in which he freed white captives held by Native Americans. He also fought in the Great Sioux War of 1876–1877 and took part in the capture of Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce in 1877. Promoted to captain, Baldwin served on the board that investigated the Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890.

At the beginning of the Spanish-American War, Baldwin, then a major, was assigned as inspector general. Promoted to lieutenant colonel in the regular army in 1900, he was assigned to the Philippines with the 4th Infantry Regiment in Cavite Province in southern Luzon. There he took a leading role in conducting sweeps to capture suspected guerrillas. Commanding troops of the 4th and 46th U.S. Infantry Regiments in January 2, 1902, Baldwin spread his men out along a line from Imus to San Francisco de Malabon to conduct such a sweep, during which his men rounded up more than 1,700 Filipino males of military age for questioning and marched them before informants, often former guerrillas, who identified 61 as insurgents.

Promoted to colonel, Baldwin took command of the 27th Infantry Regiment and sailed to Mindanao, where he established his

forces in the south of the island. On April 13, 1902, following three ambushes of American troops by Moro insurgents, Major General Adna R. Chaffee, military governor of the Philippines, issued a declaration demanding that the *datus* (chiefs) hand over stolen property and the killers of American troops. He also authorized an expedition against Moro strongholds. At the end of April, Baldwin led the 27th Infantry with an attached battery of mountain artillery in a punitive expedition into the interior.

On May 2, 1902, near Lake Lanao, Baldwin's force of nearly 500 men attacked a Moro cotta (fort) in what came to be known as the Battle of Bayang or the Battle of Pandapatan. The Americans found the Moro defenses unexpectedly strong, with 10-foot-high walls and several bronze guns. On the second day, the Americans employed hastily constructed scaling ladders and moat-bridging tools to break through the Moro fortifications. This led to hand-to-hand combat in four lines of ditches under the walls of Pandapatan, resulting in more than 300 Moros killed including all the leading *datus*. Some 84 Moros were taken prisoner. U.S. losses were 8 killed and 41 wounded.

After this battle, Baldwin established Camp Vicars a mile south of Pandapatan. Brigadier General George W. Davis, however, believed that Baldwin had been too quick to use force and assigned Captain John J. Pershing to Baldwin's command as an intelligence officer and director of Moro affairs. This led to an unworkable arrangement in which Pershing, who was three ranks junior to Baldwin, had veto power over his superior's use of force against the Moros. This tenuous arrangement was shortly tested when survivors of the Battle of Bayang began building another cotta at Bacolod. Baldwin wanted to move immediately against the hostile Moros, but Pershing believed that continued force would only create an anti-American coalition of the surrounding *datus* and that patient diplomacy could establish friendly relations with the majority of the Moros and isolate the hostile minority. Baldwin, who was usually quick to react, grudgingly agreed.

On June 30, 1902, Davis appointed Pershing to assume command at Camp Vicars after Baldwin returned to Malabang on being promoted to brigadier general three weeks earlier. In February 1903, Baldwin assumed command of the Department of the Colorado, a post he held until his retirement from the army in June 1906. He died in Denver, Colorado, on April 22, 1923.

RONALD RAY ORTENSIE

See also

Bayang, Battle of; Chaffee, Adna Romanza, Sr.; Cottas; Lake Lanao Campaigns; Mindanao; Moros; Pershing, John Joseph

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Baler, Philippines, Siege of

Start Date: July 1, 1898

End Date: June 2, 1899

The protracted siege of Baler in the Philippines was the last action of the Spanish-American War and an event of considerable pride for the Spanish military. Baler is the capital and oldest municipality of Aurora Province on the east coast of the Philippine island of Luzon. The town of Baler, originally known as Kinagunasan, was founded in 1609. In 1898, it was largely cut off from the outside world and could be reached only by water or on foot by jungle trails.

At Baler an isolated garrison of 57 Spanish soldiers of the 2nd Expeditionary Rifle Battalion came under attack by a large force of Filipino insurgents. At the time the Spanish defenders knew nothing of the American naval victory in the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898. Captain Enrique de Las Morenas y Foaai had command and was well aware of the threat posed by Filipino insurgents in northern Luzon. On June 1 he had ordered his men to dig a well, lay in food supplies and ammunition, and fortify the church compound of San Luís de Toledo in the town square against possible insurgent attack.

On June 28, the town residents fled into the surrounding jungle, and the next day some 800 Filipino troops under Colonel Calixto Villacorte bombarded the church with primitive cannon formed of hollowed-out palm tree trunks strengthened with iron bands. Their stone shot did little damage, however. Las Morenas rejected a demand that day as well as repeated demands thereafter that he surrender.

The insurgents then completely surrounded the church, and the siege began on July 1. Conditions for the besieged Spanish steadily deteriorated. Sanitary conditions grew steadily worse in the close confines of the church, and the food supply rapidly dwindled through consumption and spoilage. Casualties from insurgent fire claimed some of the defenders, but most of the Spanish fatalities resulted from medical conditions such as beriberi, dysentery, and fever. In September, Las Morenas came down with beriberi. His second-in-command, Lieutenant Juan Alonzo Zayas, died of wounds. When Las Morenas himself died in October, command devolved to Lieutenant Saturnino Martin-Cerezo.

Although in mid-November, under a flag of truce, the insurgents left newspapers on the church steps detailing the course of the war and the signing of the Protocol of Peace of August 12, 1898, Lieutenant Martin-Cerezo regarded it as a Filipino ruse. Nor would he believe several Spanish officials, including a uniformed Spanish officer, also under flags of truce. By December there were only 35 Spanish soldiers left alive. In a sortie in December, the defenders set fire to a nearby house, destroying it. The fire spread to adjacent homes used by the insurgents. During this time, the Spaniards managed to recover some food and vegetable seeds. Then, in early March, the defenders were able to shoot and kill a water buffalo that had wandered near the church. They recovered the carcass and butchered it for their first real meat in months.

In April U.S. lieutenant commander James Gilmore and 25 marines from the gunboat *Yorktown* arrived and attempted to rescue the Spanish, but shortly after coming ashore Gilmore and the marines were ambushed by the Filipino forces. Several marines were wounded, and Gilmore was captured and held prisoner for eight months before he escaped and managed to make his way to Manila.

Among other attempts to get Martin-Cerezo to surrender was the appearance of yet another Spanish officer under a flag of truce on May 28, 1899. Although he too was turned away, he left a copy of a Madrid newspaper, which the lieutenant initially dismissed as bogus until he read in the social column of an upcoming wedding of a fellow officer, whom he knew. The details of this notice convinced Martin-Cerezo that the paper was indeed genuine and that the war was over. On June 2, 1899, he communicated to the Filipinos that he was now ready to surrender on condition that the men be allowed to march out and be granted safe conduct to return to Spain. The Filipinos agreed. The siege had lasted 337 days.

Of the 57 men who entered the church on June 27, 1898, 35 survived. Nineteen men died, 15 from diseases. Only 2 men died from wounds, and they were the only battle casualties. Five men deserted from the garrison, 2 of them Filipino natives. Two men who had assisted in the desertion of 1 of the 5 and who had been held prisoner in the baptistery of the church thereafter were executed on the orders of Martin-Cerezo on June 1, 1899, the day before the surrender.

On September 1, the 33 Spanish survivors, including Martin-Cerezo, arrived in Barcelona to a hero's welcome. All were awarded high Spanish military decorations. Martin-Cerezo was advanced in rank to major and went on to become a major general.

On November 1, 1901, the Americans established a municipal government in Baler. The Spanish role in the siege there so impressed U.S. Army brigadier general Frederick Funston that he had Martin-Cerezo's memoir translated in 1909 and presented copies of it to his officers.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Funston, Frederick; Luzon; Manila Bay, Battle of

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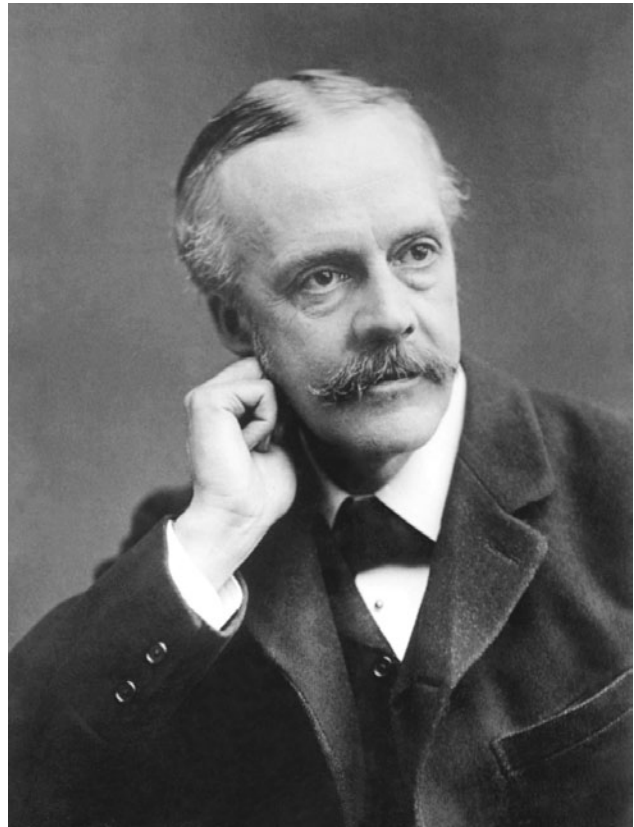
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Balfour, Arthur James

Birth Date: July 25, 1848

Death Date: March 19, 1930

British political leader. Born in Edinburgh, Scotland, on July 25, 1848, Arthur James Balfour was a member of the politically powerful and wealthy Cecil family. Balfour attended Eaton and Trinity



Arthur James Balfour was British foreign secretary during the Spanish-American War and a staunch supporter of U.S. policy. (Library of Congress)

College, Cambridge University, where he studied philosophy. He soon entered politics and rapidly rose in the Conservative-Unionist Party.

In 1874 Balfour was elected a member of Parliament for Hertford and represented that constituency until 1885. In 1878 he became private secretary to his maternal uncle, Lord Salisbury, who in 1885 made Balfour president of the Local Government Board and, in 1886, secretary for Scotland with a seat in the cabinet. In 1887 Balfour became chief secretary for Ireland. In this position he rigidly enforced the Crimes Act, earning the nickname "Bloody Balfour" for this but gaining considerable political respect. Balfour was a staunch opponent of Irish home rule.

In 1891, Balfour became first lord of the Treasury and leader of the House of Commons. When the Liberals won the election of 1892, he became the leader of the Opposition in Parliament. On the return of the Conservatives to power in 1895, he resumed leadership of the House of Commons.

During the illness of Lord Salisbury in 1898 and again during the latter's absence abroad, Balfour took charge of the Foreign Office. Much of his time was spent on negotiations with Russia over its railroads in northern China and on diplomacy in southern Africa. Believing that Great Britain would need the future support of the United States, Balfour repeatedly rejected overtures by the

Spanish government and assured U.S. ambassador to Great Britain John Hay that Britain would support U.S. policy regarding Cuba. Balfour also rejected the request of British ambassador to the United States Julian Pauncefote for a Great Power meeting in Washington in April 1898 that might have forestalled the Spanish-American War because he believed that it would undermine President William McKinley.

In 1902 Balfour succeeded Lord Salisbury as prime minister and held that post until 1905. He continued as leader of the parliamentary Opposition until 1911, when he returned as a member of a coalition cabinet, serving as first lord of the Admiralty (1915–1916) and foreign secretary (1916–1919). As foreign secretary, in November 1917 he issued the Balfour Declaration by which the British government supported a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine.

Balfour played a major role in the peacemaking process at the end of World War I. Although he resigned as foreign minister in October 1919, he continued in the cabinet as president of the council and led the British delegation to the first meeting of the League of Nations in 1920 and to the Washington Naval Conference of 1921–1922. He resigned in 1922 and that same year was created Earl Balfour, Viscount Traprain. He was again president of the

council during 1925–1929. Balfour, who was also the author of several influential books of philosophy, died at Woking outside London on March 19, 1930.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Great Britain, Policies and Reactions to the Spanish-American War;
McKinley, William; Pauncefote, Julian

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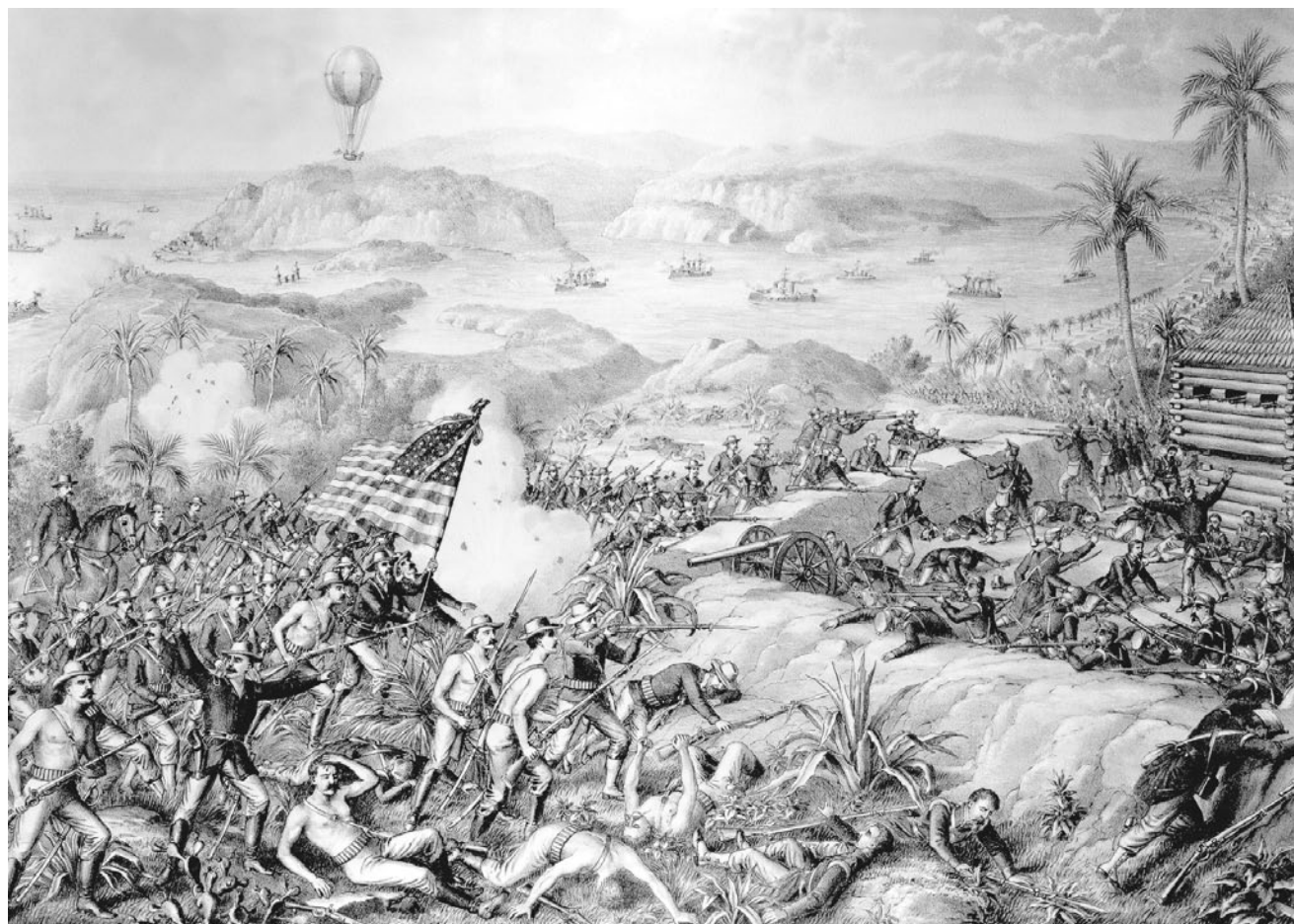
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Balloons, U.S. Signal Corps

A single balloon was used in just one battle during the Spanish-American War. On June 30 and July 1, 1898, a hydrogen-filled bal-



A single Signal Corps balloon provided observation support for U.S. forces in the Battle of San Juan Heights on July 1, 1898. Unfortunately, it also revealed the location of U.S. troops for the Spanish artillery. (Library of Congress)

loon was used by the U.S. Army Signal Corps to provide observation support during the land advance to Santiago de Cuba in the attack on San Juan Heights (July 1). Although observation balloons had been employed by both Union and Confederate forces during the American Civil War (1861–1865), these capabilities had been eliminated from the army until Brigadier General Adolphus Washington Greely, chief signal officer of the army, initiated a new balloon program in 1893. As tensions increased prior to the Spanish-American War, Greely ordered the balloon unit to the New York City area with the intent of providing coastal surveillance against a potential raid by the Spanish Navy. However, before the balloons could be utilized in this role, the unit was ordered to Tampa, Florida, for transport to Cuba with its single available balloon.

On joining the U.S. invasion force, the unit became the 1st Balloon Company, U.S. Army Volunteer Signal Corps. Commanded by Major (later Lieutenant Colonel) Joseph E. Maxfield, the company consisted of 4 officers and 24 enlisted personnel, including Sergeant Ivy Baldwin, an experienced balloonist responsible for the original construction of the balloon taken on the expedition. The company traveled to the landing site on the transport ship *Rio Grande* as part of the main invasion convoy to Cuba.

Major General William R. Shafter, commander of the V Corps expeditionary force, did not order the 1st Balloon Company to land immediately but instead brought it ashore to perform reconnaissance flights as he prepared for the assault on Santiago. The company finally came ashore on June 28, 1898, but was slowed by bad weather and the deterioration of the balloon's skin caused by the railcar and shipboard conditions. The balloon, which was not new, had been named *Santiago*.

The balloon was repaired sufficiently to fly three missions on June 30. The first flight carried no crew and was conducted to test its airworthiness. The second flight carried an officer of the Cuban insurgent forces. The third ascension was a formal reconnaissance mission conducted by Major Maxfield and Lieutenant Colonel George McClellan Derby, chief engineering officer for Shafter.

The reconnaissance confirmed that the ships of Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's Spanish squadron were still in Santiago Harbor and provided some general information on the terrain and routes of approach to the Spanish defenses before Santiago. However, the observers were unable to accurately locate the Spanish forces or to learn specific details of their defensive positions.

To improve the quality of the reconnaissance in support of the attack on San Juan Heights on the morning of July 1, Derby ordered a mission conducted closer to the Spanish lines. Maxfield and Derby moved to a low altitude, and then the wagon that contained the winch device for altitude control was pulled forward, bringing the balloon into a more advantageous position. Unfortunately, the balloon moved along the primary line of advance for the troops moving up for the assault, and the progress of the force was therefore clearly marked for the Spanish defenders. As the balloon unit reached a location approximately 2,000 feet from the Spanish lines, it drew considerable artillery and rifle fire. As the crew attempted

to raise the balloon to a higher altitude to allow the desired observation effort, the balloon began losing gas and was forced down.

Contemporary reports indicated substantial dissatisfaction among combat forces that the balloon had marked their location for the Spanish artillery, especially in the area of action known as Hell's Corner. Although the 1st Balloon Company did not have any substantial effect on the outcome of the battle, it did provide some useful information and suggested the potential value for aerial reconnaissance in future conflicts.

JEROME V. MARTIN

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Shafter, William Rufus

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Bandholtz, Harry Hill

Birth Date: December 18, 1864

Death Date: May 7, 1925

U.S. Army officer and prominent American colonial official in the Philippines. Harry Hill Bandholtz was born on December 18, 1864, in Constantine, Michigan. He graduated from the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1890. Until 1898, he saw duty at various military installations and outposts and lectured at the Michigan Agricultural College (now Michigan State University). Once the Spanish-American War began in April 1898, he was deployed to Cuba.

In 1900 during the Philippine-American War (1899–1902), Bandholtz was assigned to the Philippines as a captain in the 7th Infantry Regiment and saw action in numerous skirmishes with Filipino rebels. Initially, he served on Marinduque Island, south of Luzon. On one occasion, with only an aide, he entered a guerrilla encampment and convinced its chief to give up his entire force. Bandholtz was indeed talented as a diplomat and worked closely with Filipino locals. In 1901, he transferred to Tayabas Province in southern Luzon, where he served in the quartermaster and intelligence units at Lucena. Now a major, he helped track down guerrillas and bandits, aided the Philippine Commission in establishing local administration, and collected data on enemy leader Brigadier General Miguel Malvar's following in the region. While in Tayabas, Bandholtz became popular with the provincial aristocracy. He mastered Spanish and acquired some understanding of Tagalog. The municipal councils of Filipinos that he helped to establish backed

the U.S. regime, and he gained the friendship of the province's planters, traders, attorneys, physicians, and clergy.

In February 1902, municipal authorities in Tayabas selected Bandholtz as governor to succeed Colonel Cornelius Gardener. Bandholtz occupied that post for just more than 12 months, and during his tenure he held most of the political authority in the province. He gained the trust of local chiefs and, through the use of threats and incentives, brought about a gradual pacification of the region. His political skills were evident in dealings with local and provincial officeholders as he acquainted himself with the socio-political cliques in most of the significant towns.

In April 1903, Bandholtz resigned his governorship to accept a colonelcy in and command of the newly created Philippine Constabulary's 2nd District in southeastern Luzon. He became well known for arranging the capitulation of guerrilla commander Simeon Ola in Albay Province. As constabulary chief, Bandholtz's dominion ranged from Sorsogon Province to Tayabas.

In October 1905, Bandholtz was made commander of the constabulary's 1st District with jurisdiction over central and southern Luzon and its base in Manila. Before departing for Manila, he groomed for leadership some of the younger native political leaders. His best-known pupil was Manuel Quezon. Bandholtz became Quezon's adviser and continued close personal ties with the future president of the Commonwealth of the Philippines. Following his transfer to Manila, Bandholtz instructed his successor, Colonel James G. Harbord, to aid Quezon. The following year, Bandholtz endorsed Quezon for the governor's office in Tayabas. In 1907, Bandholtz became director of the Philippine Constabulary. He thus maintained his influence over Philippine political affairs until his exit in 1913, following 13 years of service in the archipelago.

Bandholtz failed in his bid to secure appointment as head of the Bureau of Insular Affairs in Washington, D.C., and in 1913 he began a four-year stint of garrison service in the United States. He served as a military instructor at the Plattsburg training camp and saw duty along the Mexican border with the New York National Guard. When the United States entered World War I in 1917, he deployed to France and served with Allied and U.S. contingents there. For a short time Brigadier General Bandholtz served as provost marshal general, commanding the military police of the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF). In August 1919, he arrived in Budapest, Hungary, as part of the Inter-Allied Military Mission to supervise the disengagement of Romanian troops from Hungary.

Subsequent to his return to the United States, Bandholtz helped to resolve a miners' strike in West Virginia in 1921. He lived in the Washington, D.C., area until his retirement from the military on November 5, 1923. Bandholtz died of heart disease on May 7, 1925, in Constantine, Michigan.

Bandholtz is today remembered by a statue in Szabadság tér (Freedom Square) in Budapest facing the U.S. Embassy. On the night of October 5, 1919, mainly through bluff and armed only with a riding crop, he prevented Romanian soldiers from removing Transylvanian treasures from the National Museum. The statue

was erected in 1936 and stood throughout World War II with the English inscription "I simply carried out the instructions of my Government, as I understood them, as an officer and a gentleman of the United States Army." During the period of communist rule, the statue was removed, but it was replaced in its original location in 1989. The new inscription reads "General Harry Hill Bandholtz, head of the American Military Mission, who on October 5, 1919, blocked the removal of the treasures of the National Museum to Romania."

RODNEY J. ROSS

See also

Benevolent Assimilation; Malvar, Miguel; Marinduque; Pacification Program, Philippine Islands; Philippine-American War; Philippine Commission; Philippine Constabulary; Philippine Islands

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Barbosa, José Celso

Birth Date: July 27, 1857

Death Date: September 21, 1921

Puerto Rican political leader, doctor, and sociologist. Born in Bayamón, Puerto Rico, on July 27, 1857, the descendant of African slaves, José Celso Barbosa was the first mixed-race Puerto Rican to graduate from the Jesuit Seminary in Puerto Rico. He then tutored students to gain money to attend college in the United States.

In 1875 Barbosa moved to New York City and learned English. He had planned to become a lawyer, but a serious illness led to his decision to become a doctor. In 1876 he was admitted to the medical school of the University of Michigan from which he graduated first in his class in 1880, the first Puerto Rican to secure a U.S. medical degree.

Barbosa then returned to Puerto Rico to practice medicine, but Spanish authorities on the island refused to recognize the validity of his degree. It took intervention by the U.S. consul to prompt the authorities to relent. Barbosa then practiced medicine on the island, introducing the practice of employers paying a fee to cover future medical expenses of their employees.

In 1893, Barbosa founded the first Puerto Rican cooperative. He was an early supporter of the Autonomous Party led by Román Baldorioty de Castro but resigned from that party as a result of ideological differences. Barbosa was a minority member of the autonomous government but withdrew from it shortly before the U.S. invasion. Following the end of the Spanish-American War, he became a staunch advocate of U.S. statehood for Puerto Rico,

founding the prostatehood Puerto Rican Republican Party on July 4, 1899.

In 1900 Barbosa became a member of the executive cabinet, a position he held until 1917. He then served in the Puerto Rican Senate from 1917 to 1921. In 1907 he founded *El Tempo*, the first bilingual newspaper in Puerto Rico. Barbosa died in San Juan, Puerto Rico, on September 21, 1921. In honor of his accomplishments, Puerto Rico declared his birthday, July 27, an official holiday.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Foraker Amendment; Puerto Rico

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Barrett, John

Birth Date: November 28, 1866

Death Date: October 17, 1938

U.S. diplomat. Born on November 28, 1866, in Grafton, Vermont, John Barrett studied at both Vanderbilt University and Dartmouth College, graduating from the latter institution in 1889. As a jour-



John Barrett was a war correspondent during the Spanish-American War. He went on to be a diplomat and director general of the Pan-American Union. (Library of Congress)

nalist, he so impressed President Grover Cleveland that the president appointed Barrett as the U.S. minister to Siam in 1894. He served in that post until 1898 and became identified as a staunch advocate of U.S. commercial expansion in East Asia.

Barrett then returned to his career as a journalist and was a war correspondent during the Spanish-American War. He attempted to join Commodore George Dewey's squadron at Hong Kong but arrived there after it had already sailed for the Philippines. Newspaper publisher William R. Hearst then asked Barrett to report on the war for the *New York Journal*. On his arrival in the Philippines, Barrett also served as an adviser to Dewey. Barrett was a staunch advocate of U.S. acquisition of the Philippines, a position he trumpeted in his articles.

Barrett was a delegate to the Second Pan-American Conference during 1901–1902. He then served as U.S. minister to Argentina during 1903–1904, to Panama during 1904–1905, and to Colombia in 1905–1906. During 1907–1920, he was director general of the Pan-American Union. Barrett died at Bellows Falls, Vermont, on October 17, 1938.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Dewey, George; Imperialism; Philippine Islands, U.S. Acquisition of

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Barton, Clara

Birth Date: December 25, 1821

Death Date: April 12, 1912

Nurse, philanthropist, humanitarian, and founder of the American National Red Cross (ANRC). Clara (Clarissa) Harlowe Barton was born in Oxford, Massachusetts, on December 25, 1821. A former schoolteacher, she first attracted attention for her humanitarian work during the American Civil War when she nursed wounded soldiers in army camps and also searched for those missing in action. Barton cared for both Union and Confederate soldiers, and her experience after the 1861 First Battle of Bull Run (Manassas) convinced her that the federal government was not adequately organized to deal with mass casualties. Thus, she created a local agency in Washington, D.C., that cared for wounded soldiers and distributed supplies to them. In the summer of 1862, she was permitted to extend her work behind the combat lines. From then on, her work was done chiefly on the battlefields, where she administered to soldiers from the North and the South.

Beginning in 1865, with the blessing of President Abraham Lincoln, Barton aided in the search for soldiers missing and killed in



Universally hailed as the “Angel of the Battlefield,” Clara Harlowe Barton devoted herself to bringing medical supplies and comfort to soldiers on the battlefield. She also founded the American chapter of the Red Cross. (Library of Congress)

action. It is believed that she helped locate some 30,000 such soldiers. When the war was over, she went to Andersonville, Georgia, to identify and properly mark the graves of Union soldiers who had been buried there. She went to considerable lengths to locate missing servicemen, including the publication of lists of names in newspapers and direct communication with missing soldiers’ families and friends.

All of this work proved to be the beginning of a lifelong commitment to humanitarian causes. In 1870, during a visit to Western Europe, Barton became active in the International Red Cross (founded in 1864), which led her to found the ANRC in 1881. Before long, Barton, with the help of President James Garfield’s administration, had broadened the scope of the ANRC to include not only neutral aid in wartime but also responses to other emergencies and natural disasters. Upon its founding, the industrialist John D. Rockefeller gave the ANRC a large monetary gift that provided for its headquarters in Washington, D.C. Quite naturally, Barton served as the president of the organization.

Barton advocated Cuban independence so that “it might come to the United States.” In early 1898 she went to Cuba as part of the

Central Cuban Relief Committee to help aid Cuban victims of the Spanish *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) policy. She then worked with Spanish officials to distribute relief supplies, especially in the Matanzas area, and also to aid those wounded during the sinking of the battleship *Maine*.

With the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Barton frequently found herself at odds with the U.S. military, which was reluctant to allow nonmilitary personnel to enter Cuba. Rear Admiral William T. Sampson denied her request to go to Cuba under a flag of truce. She then attended to the needs of Spanish prisoners of war and refugees at Key West, Florida.

Following the landing of the U.S. Army 5th Corps in Cuba, Barton arrived with ANRC nurses off Cuba in the chartered steamer *State of Texas* on June 26. Informed by the U.S. Army that her services were not required, she and her nurses ministered to the Cuban insurgents instead. Nevertheless, by the end of the war, Barton found herself increasingly at odds with others in the organization. Her somewhat authoritarian manner and refusal to delegate authority eventually led to her resignation in 1904, when she retired to her home outside Washington, D.C.

In 1900, President William McKinley, long a staunch admirer of Barton, supported a Senate resolution officially recognizing her work. In addition to her humanitarian efforts, she was active in the women’s suffrage movement and the African American fight for civil rights (she was a friend of Frederick Douglass). She also wrote several books, including a volume on the early history and work of the ANRC. Barton died in Glen Echo, Maryland, on April 12, 1912.

JERRY KEENAN AND PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

American National Red Cross; Medicine, Military; Sampson, William Thomas

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Bates, John Coalter

Birth Date: August 26, 1842

Death Date: February 4, 1919

U.S. Army officer. John Coalter Bates was born on August 26, 1842, in St. Charles County, Missouri, the son of Edward Bates, who served as President Abraham Lincoln’s attorney general. A student at Washington University in St. Louis when the American Civil War erupted in 1861, the younger Bates joined the Union Army in May 1861, being commissioned as a first lieutenant and

serving with the Army of the Potomac. He participated in a number of important battles, including Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and Petersburg and the Appomattox Campaign. He was promoted to captain in 1863, breveted a major in August 1864, and breveted a lieutenant colonel in April 1865. During the war, he also served two years as an aide-de-camp to Army of the Potomac commander Major General George Meade.

Continuing in the army after the war, Bates served in the 2nd, 5th, 13th, and 20th Infantry Regiments. He served in a variety of assignments at posts on the frontier in the Northwest and along the Mexican border as a captain and was promoted to major in May 1882, lieutenant colonel in October 1886, and colonel in April 1892.

In May 1898, after the beginning of war with Spain, Bates was promoted to brigadier general of volunteers and given command of what became known as Bates' Independent Brigade in V Corps. Taking part in the initial invasion of Cuba, he commanded the U.S. Army base at Siboney and, in early July, took part in the Battle of El Caney and the Battle of San Juan Hill. His forces then guarded Spanish prisoners of war. Bates was appointed major general of volunteers before he and his men were recalled to the United States in August 1898.

One year later, Bates returned briefly to Cuba as commander of U.S. troops in the Santa Clara district before being transferred to the Philippines as a brigadier general of volunteers to fight in the Philippine-American War. In August 1899, Bates successfully negotiated a treaty with the Muslim religious leader, the sultan of Sulu, and several Moro datus (chiefs). The resulting Bates Treaty of August 20, 1899, sought to ensure Moro neutrality during the Philippine-American War, recognized American sovereignty over the archipelago, and permitted the Moros to practice many of their traditional ways of life, including slavery and polygamy, thereby causing much criticism from the United States. The agreement lasted until 1904 and was nevertheless considered an important success. Major General Elwell S. Otis, military governor of the Philippines, claimed that the agreement saved the United States 15,000 men who would otherwise have had to garrison the Moro provinces.

In late 1899, Bates commanded the Department of Southern Luzon, being advanced to major general of the volunteers in 1900. There and on the island of Mindanao he fought against the insurgency but was unable to contain the guerrilla activity. A cautious but competent commander, Bates held that the only way to suppress the insurgency was through conquest. He set up posts at strategic locations along the coast from which punitive expeditions were launched into the surrounding countryside. His take-no-prisoners approach to pacification was not without its detractors and may indeed have hindered the effort.

Bates was advanced to brigadier general in the regular army in 1901 and was transferred to Fort Riley, Kansas, where he subsequently received an appointment as major general commanding the Department of the Missouri and the Department of the Lakes (1902–1904). He then commanded the Northern Division until late 1905 and served briefly as chief of staff of the U.S. Army from Jan-

uary 15 to April 13, 1906, when he retired. During his time as chief of staff he was advanced to lieutenant general. Bates died in San Diego, California, on February 4, 1919.

GREGORY C. FERENCE

See also

Bates Treaty; Moros; Otis, Elwell Stephen; Pacification Program, Philippine Islands; Philippine-American War; Philippine Islands

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Bates, Katherine Lee

Birth Date: August 12, 1859

Death Date: March 28, 1929

Poet, academic, and writer of the poem “America the Beautiful” (1893). Katherine Lee Bates was born in Falmouth, Massachusetts, on August 12, 1859, the fifth and last child of William and Cornelia Frances Lee Bates. Her father, a congregational minister in Falmouth, died tragically when she was only a month old. Her mother was entirely devoted to her youngest child, and her brothers went to work at young ages to help support the family and to ensure that Katherine received a sound education. A bright and precocious child, Bates showed an inclination toward academic disciplines and writing at a very young age. When she turned 12, her family relocated to Granitville, Massachusetts (now known as Wellesley Hills). There she attended public high schools and entered Wellesley College, from which she graduated with top honors in 1880.

Bates then studied at Oxford University in Great Britain for a year and went on to earn a master's degree from her undergraduate alma mater and a doctorate in literature from Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio. Beginning in 1882, she held a teaching position at Wellesley, was eventually tenured, and taught there for some 40 years. In 1893, during a visiting professorship at Colorado College in Colorado Springs, she embarked on a trip through the high prairies of Colorado to the top of Pike's Peak. She was so moved by the scenic splendor there that she composed all four verses of “America the Beautiful” before she returned home.

In 1895, her poem was published in *The Congregationalist* in commemoration of Independence Day. It became a minor sensation and was used for patriotic purposes during the remainder of the decade and especially during and after the Spanish-American War. Somewhat ironically, Bates was an opponent of the war and of U.S. expansionism and wrote a number of poems expressing her views. “America the Beautiful” would receive international acclaim



Professor Katherine Lee Bates, author of the poem “America the Beautiful,” written in 1893 and wildly popular during and after the Spanish-American War. In 1904 the poem was set to music. (Hayward Cirkner and Blanche Cirkner, eds., *Dictionary of American Portraits*, 1967)

in 1904 when it was published, in a slightly revised version, in the *Boston Evening Transcript*. It was quickly set to music and early on was sung to several different melodies before Samuel A. Ward’s hymn “Materna” (1882) became the standard tune known today.

Over the years, there have been numerous attempts to make “America the Beautiful” the official anthem of the United States. Compared to Francis Scott Keyes’s “The Star-Spangled Banner,” the lyrics of Bates’s work are inspiring and pacifistic and its melody far easier to sing. Be that as it may, traditionalists have continued to dominate the debate, and so “The Star-Spangled Banner,” penned in 1814, continues as the official national anthem.

Long after her famous poem had been accepted as a virtual second national anthem, Bates continued to teach and write prolifically. Her works include numerous poetry volumes, short stories, travel memoirs, and children’s literature. Bates died in Wellesley, Massachusetts, on March 28, 1929.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also
Music

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Bates Treaty

Agreement between U.S. Army brigadier general John C. Bates and Jamalul Kiram II, the sultan of Sulu, in the southern Philippines, signed on August 29, 1899, during the Philippine-American War. The Bates Treaty was designed to purchase time while U.S. forces defeated the major Filipino insurgency in the northern Philippines.

Prior to the Spanish-American War, Spain had claimed the territories of Moroland. In actuality, however, Spanish military leaders had little control over the region. The Muslim populations of Sulu and Mindanao vehemently resisted any attempt by Spanish authorities to convert them to Catholicism. Based on this stiff resistance, Spanish forces were restricted to a handful of coastal garrisons there. In 1876, Spanish forces captured the city of Jolo on Jolo Island in the Sulu Archipelago, the capital of the sultanate of Sulu. A peace treaty was signed on July 22, 1878, granting control of Sulu outside of the Spanish garrisons to the sultan. The treaty itself, however, was rife with translation errors. The Spanish-language version claimed complete control over Sulu, a source of considerable confusion when Spain ceded all its claims to the Philippine Islands after the U.S. victory.

The Spanish-American War was officially concluded with the Treaty of Paris in December 1898. According to that treaty, Spain recognized the independence of Cuba and ceded Puerto Rico and Guam to the United States. All of the Philippines were turned over to the United States in exchange for \$20 million. Included in this cession were the territories of Mindanao and Sulu, despite the inhabitants’ claim that they were never under complete Spanish control. Full control by the United States would begin on November 7, 1900, when the U.S. government paid an additional \$100,000 to Spain.

Prior to the American military victory over Spain, the Filipinos had been waging their own war of independence. Many were disappointed that the United States, long considered their ally, took possession of the Philippines instead of granting full autonomy to the native peoples. Filipino nationalist leader Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy immediately began waging his own battle against U.S. forces. The Philippine-American War, which began on February 4, 1899, was labeled an insurrection. It would last almost three years and result in more than 4,000 Americans and thousands more Filipinos killed. Pockets of resistance, as in Mindanao, would endure until at least 1913.

The start of the insurrection quickly led to the American occupation of the northern Philippine Islands in 1899. Serious concerns were raised about the southern islands as well. On May 18, 1899, U.S. troops took control of the Spanish fort in Jolo. Waging a bitter fight against Aguinaldo’s forces on the one hand and keeping the Muslim population at bay in the Sulu Archipelago on the other presented a major problem for American control of the Philippines.

The arrival of U.S. troops at Jolo proved to be timely and important. The Moros had been poised to take over the fort once occupied by the Spanish, and the sultan had a standing army of close to 25,000 troops. After the occupation of Jolo by American forces, Brigadier General Bates was dispatched to negotiate a treaty with the sultan. The sultan had expected sovereignty for his people after the defeat of the Spanish and was displeased with the Americans taking control. Bates's goals were to secure Moro neutrality in the Philippine-American War and to maintain order in the region.

On August 20, 1899, a conditional agreement was put in place between Bates and Kiram. Although the sultan had proposed 16 points, Bates countered with a 15-point offer that became the basis of the treaty. Bates's chief objective was to guarantee U.S. sovereignty over Sulu and its dependencies. The most important provisions of the treaty were (1) sovereignty of the United States over the whole archipelago of Sulu and its dependencies; (2) the U.S. flag was to fly in the archipelago of Sulu and its dependencies; (3) the United States was to guarantee that it would not sell any lands of the Sulu Archipelago, including the island of Jolo, to any foreign nation without the sultan's consent; (4) a strict U.S. guarantee of non-interference in the Moros' religion and customs; and (5) monthly payments of 250 pesos to the sultan and 15–25 pesos to his *datus* (local chiefs). Specifically, the Bates Treaty secured Moro neutrality in the Philippine-American War and enabled American forces, under Bates's command, to establish a few outposts in the region. More importantly, it initiated the eventual demise of Moro sovereignty and the breakup of the sultanate of Sulu. With the defeat of Aguinaldo and the suppression of resistance in the northern Philippines, the U.S. government unilaterally abrogated the treaty on March 2, 1904, and ended payments to the sultan and his *datus*. The U.S. government claimed that the sultan had failed to end Moro resistance and had not cooperated with American attempts to abolish slavery in the region. Abrogation of the treaty and U.S. attempts to impose its sovereignty resulted in intense Moro resistance, including the Battle of Bud Dajo in 1906 and the Bud Dajo Campaign of 1911, that was not effectively suppressed until 1915.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

See also

Bates, John Coalter; Bud Dajo, Battle of; Bud Dajo Campaign; Mindanao; Moro Campaigns; Moro Province; Moros; Philippine-American War

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Bayang, Battle of

Start Date: May 2, 1902

End Date: May 3, 1902

Battle on May 2–3, 1902, part of the Moro Campaign designed to seek the pacification of the island of Mindanao. The Moros were Filipino Muslim natives who were located largely on Mindanao. When Spain ceded the entire Philippine archipelago to the United States in the Treaty of Paris (December 10, 1898), many Filipinos revolted against the American occupation. Most historians conceive of the Philippine-American War as a series of disjointed rebellions by various ethnic groups on different islands. The American response varied from island to island. Mindanao was one of the last areas to be pacified by the Americans. U.S. authorities ordered the Moro tribesmen to cease raiding other islands and to surrender their weapons. It is not surprising, however, that the Moros, who had never been conquered by the Spanish, refused to submit to U.S. authority. Despite continued patterns of internecine strife among the Moro tribes, many of the Moros united against the common threat presented by the United States.

The first American attempts to pacify Mindanao consisted largely of diplomatic efforts to secure the allegiance of Moro rulers. The highest-ranking Moros were called sultans, while less-powerful leaders were typically referred to as *datus*. During the Spanish colonial era, sultans received financial support in exchange for slowing the number of raids upon other islands. This situation was continued by American diplomats for the first two years of contact with the Moros. However, the Moros discovered that the American response to raids was diplomatic protest rather than forcible retaliation, and the number of raids rapidly increased, most originating from the Lake Lanao region. In early 1902 Colonel Frank D. Baldwin, commander of the 27th Infantry Regiment, was ordered to build a road from the coastal city of Iligan to Lake Lanao. In March as the work began, a Moro band ambushed and killed two American soldiers. U.S. military governor of the Philippines Lieutenant General Adna R. Chaffee ordered an immediate punitive expedition against the Moros near Lake Lanao.

Baldwin led his three infantry battalions and a single battery of mountain guns, approximately 1,200 men in all, in an advance across Lake Lanao. He demanded that the sultan of Bayang hand over the Moros responsible for the ambush. When the sultan refused, Baldwin ordered an assault on a Moro cotta (fortification) at Bindayan, two miles west of the village of Bayang. On May 2, 1902, after a preparatory artillery barrage, Baldwin's infantry charged the cotta, capturing it in less than two hours. He then reformed his forces and attacked another cotta at Pandapatan, 1,000 yards south of Binidayan, using the same tactics.

The fort at Pandapatan withstood the U.S. artillery fire until nightfall, when Baldwin halted the attack. At dawn on May 3 white flags flew over Pandapatan, which Baldwin interpreted as a desire to surrender. As American troops cautiously entered the cotta, they were attacked by bolo- and kris-wielding Moros led by the sultan of

Bayang and his brother. A brief, bloody hand-to-hand engagement followed in which the sultan and his brother were killed. When the carnage ended, 10 American troops lay dead, and 40 more were wounded. Moro casualties were estimated at between 300 and 400 dead with an unknown number wounded.

In the aftermath of the fighting, American forces established Camp Vicars near Bayang to serve as the center of pacification operations in the region. Major Robert Bullard constructed a road around Lake Lanao, while Captain John J. Pershing assumed control of the pacification campaign. Pershing fought notable engagements at Bud Dajo and Bud Bagsak.

PAUL J. SPRINGER

See also

Baldwin, Frank Dwight; Bullard, Robert E. Lee; Chaffee, Adna Romanza, Sr.; Lake Lanao Campaigns; Mindanao; Moro Campaigns; Moros; Pershing, John Joseph

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Beam, Beebe

Birth Date: December 9, 1869

Death Date: September 19, 1936

Journalist, nurse, and adventurer who accompanied U.S. Army forces to the Philippines in 1899. Born Elvira Virginia Mugarrieta in San Francisco, California, on December 9, 1869, Beebe Beam was the daughter of the Mexican consul in San Francisco. In 1897, she moved to Stockton, California, assumed a male identity, and took a job with *The Stockton Evening Mail* under the name Babe Bean.

Hoping to write about the conflict in the Philippines from a soldier's point of view, on October 5, 1899, Beam assumed the male identity of Beebe Beam and sought passage to Manila aboard the transport ship *City of Para*. Although she took the job of cabin boy to pay her way to the Philippines, her identity was revealed when she became sick on the journey, leading the outraged captain to set her ashore in Honolulu. Although soldiers onboard the ship took up a collection to pay for her passage, the captain refused to allow her back on the ship. Undaunted, she obtained a uniform from the soldiers, who helped hide her until the ship departed Hawaii. Discovered again and confined to quarters, Beam, dressed as a soldier, managed to escape the ship upon its arrival in Manila.

Although Beam did not participate in combat, she did witness an engagement at San Mateo and joined several marches in Luzon. Over the next year, she served as a Spanish-language interpreter and nurse, living in military camps at Santa Cruz, Laguna de Bey,

Camarineo, and Caloccan with the 16th, 29th, 42nd, and 45th Infantry Regiments before returning to the United States. On October 21, 1900, the *San Francisco Examiner Magazine* published her story "My Life as a Soldier," which was marketed as the product of a woman soldier in the Philippines.

Shortly after publishing her Philippine adventure, Beam abandoned journalism and assumed her final identity, Jack Bee Garland. Living as a man for the remainder of her life, she worked for the American National Red Cross (ANRC) and other charitable organizations.

Upon her death of peritonitis in San Francisco on September 19, 1936, at the age of 67, Beam's identity was revealed, in part because of a tattoo on her arm that showed an American flag under the word "Manila" alongside an infantry insignia. This resulted in numerous newspaper articles after her death and suggestions that she should be buried with military honors as a veteran. Her sister, Victoria Shadbourn, supported the effort with the claim that Beam had been an army lieutenant, but a military burial was denied because there was no record to prove Beam's military service.

DAWN OTTEVAERE

See also

American National Red Cross; Journalism

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Bell, Alexander Graham

Birth Date: March 3, 1847

Death Date: August 2, 1922

Scottish-born scientist and inventor, best known for holding the first U.S. patent for the telephone. Alexander Graham Bell was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, on March 3, 1847, to a middle-class family. His grandfather and father were both involved in the teaching of speech and voice (then called elocution). Bell's father also worked with individuals who had speech impediments and hearing deficits. From an early age, Bell was keenly interested in vocal communications, which would serve him well in his forthcoming career.

Bell attended Edinburgh University for a time, beginning when he was age 16, and in 1867 he moved to London, where he studied at the University College of London. He did not graduate, however, leaving school because of poor health. In 1870, Bell and his father went to Canada and settled in Ontario.

Once in Canada, Bell began experimenting with various electronic forms of sound and voice transmission. In 1872, he was invited to join the faculty of Boston University, where he became a professor of vocal physiology and elocution. There he taught his fa-

Spread of the Telegraph and Telephone, 1880–1910

<i>Year</i>	<i>Western Union Telegraph Offices</i>	<i>Western Union Telegrams Sent</i>	<i>Total Number of Telephones</i>	<i>Number of Telephones per 1,000 People</i>
1880	9,077	234,000	54,000	1.1
1885	14,184	462,000	156,000	2.7
1890	19,382	679,000	234,000	3.7
1895	21,360	803,000	340,000	4.8
1900	22,900	933,000	1,356,000	17.6
1905	23,814	1,185,000	4,127,000	48.8
1910	24,825	1,429,000	7,635,000	82.0

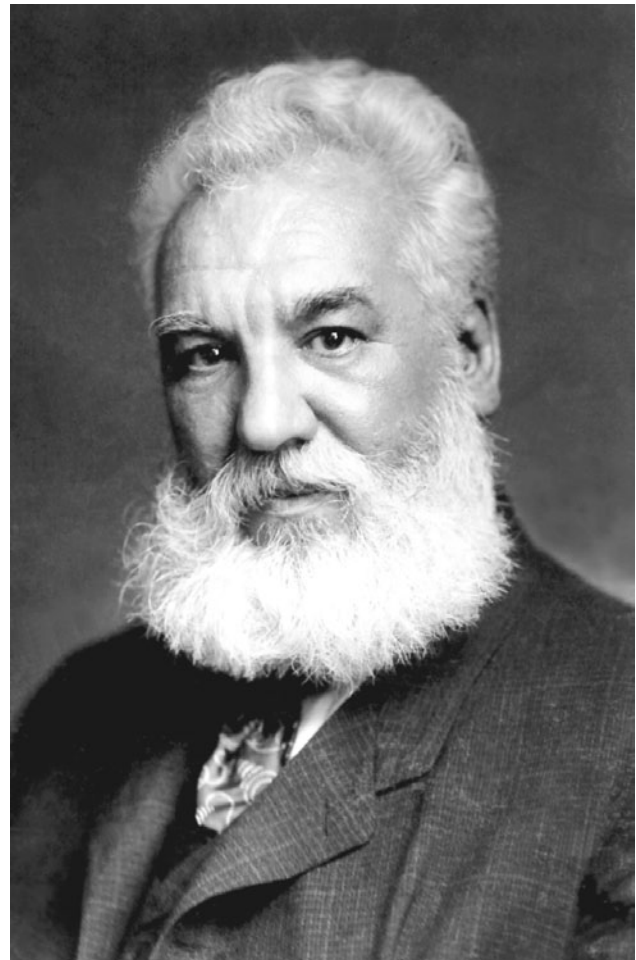
ther's visible speech system, which was a written form of speech that used symbols to show the position of the lips, tongue, and throat during speech.

During the early 1870s, Bell engaged in a number of scientific pursuits, but his greatest emphasis was on the transmission of voice and sound over distances. When students in one of Bell's classes learned of his attempt to transmit tones over a telegraph wire using a reed device, they decided to back his experiment financially. This allowed him more freedom to work on his device and to hire a full-time assistant, Thomas A. Watson, an accomplished engineer and mechanic. In June 1875, when tones were first transmitted via the reed device, Bell and Watson tried to transmit voices in a similar manner. They accomplished this on July 1, 1875. Although the voices were not clear enough to be understood, they had indeed been transmitted electronically.

In February 1876, Bell's lawyer applied for a patent for the telephone, beating another inventor by only a few hours. On March 6, 1876, just days after the patent had been approved, Bell attempted to transmit his voice using a water-based transmitter, which used a mixture of acid and water. When the sound waves caused the needle in the water to vibrate, the electrical current in the circuit changed, which helped transmit the sound of the voice. This time, Watson distinctly heard Bell's voice utter the now-famous "Mr. Watson, come here, I want to see you." Bell and his partners immediately offered to sell the invention for \$100,000 to Western Union, the leading telegraph company. Western Union declined the offer, and the Bell Telephone Company was born. Just a year or two later, a Western Union official lamented the company's decision, saying that he now thought \$25 million would be a bargain for the telephone patent, then a staggering amount of money.

In the succeeding years, Bell continued with a dizzying array of experiments and new inventions, including constant improvements to the telephone. It was the telephone, however, that made him a very wealthy man. In just a few years' time, the telephone became immensely popular, and by 1885 close to 100,000 Americans had telephone service and owned at least one telephone, all of them supplied by the Bell Telephone Company. Some of Bell's other notable enterprises include the photophone, which used light beams to transmit sound over great distances; a crude form of the tape recorder; the metal detector; the hydrofoil; and the audiometer, designed to detect hearing loss.

While Bell may have held the first U.S. patent for the telephone, he was not the first inventor of it. Indeed, Italian-born Antonio Meucci first transmitted the human voice electronically as early as 1849, and in 1850 he publicly demonstrated his telephone in New York City. Meucci challenged Bell's patent in the courts but did not prevail largely because he could not provide irrefutable proof that his work had preceded that of Bell. In the United States, Elisha Gray also conducted many experiments with the telephone and nearly beat Bell to the rights to the patent.



Alexander Graham Bell is best remembered for his invention in 1875 of the telephone, which he presented the next year at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. (Library of Congress)

It is no exaggeration to say that Bell's telephone revolutionized communications and the way in which people interacted. As the 19th century progressed, more and more Americans had telephone service as the price continued to fall amid heavy demand. In December 1878, President Rutherford B. Hayes ordered a telephone installed in the White House. The first telephone in the White House used the single-digit phone number "1."

By the time of the Spanish-American War, much of the United States was served by telephone lines, although only a small percentage of Americans actually had phone service. Indeed, the tax of one cent per call imposed by Congress as a means to pay for the Spanish-American War was considered a luxury tax at the time of its passage; ironically, it was not repealed until 2006. During the Spanish-American War, President William McKinley used the telephone extensively to speak with his field commanders as well as with diplomats and cabinet members. As such, he is credited with being the first modern president in terms of communication. Indeed, McKinley was a devotee of the telephone, whereas his successor, Theodore Roosevelt, was not.

Bell continued his many scientific endeavors and also became involved in the eugenics movement during the early years of the 20th century. He died at Baddeck, Nova Scotia, Canada, on August 2, 1922.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

McKinley, William; Roosevelt, Theodore; Telephone and Telegraph

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Bell, James Franklin

Birth Date: January 9, 1856

Death Date: January 8, 1919

Career officer in the U.S. Army, counterinsurgency tactician, and Medal of Honor winner. James Franklin Bell was born on a farm near Shelbyville, Kentucky, on January 9, 1856. In 1874, he entered the United States Military Academy, West Point, graduating with honors four years later and being commissioned as a second lieutenant. Assigned to the 9th Cavalry later that year, he transferred to the 7th Cavalry, taking part in actions against Native Americans in the Dakota Territory. From 1882 to 1886, he trained troops at Fort Buford in the Dakota Territory. From 1886 to 1889, he taught military science and tactics at Southern Illinois Normal School (now Southern Illinois University), where he also earned a law degree. Promoted to first lieutenant in 1890, he was assigned to South Dakota in 1891 before taking a teaching position at the Cavalry and

Light Artillery School at Fort Riley, Kansas. In 1894, he was transferred to California and then undertook garrison duty at Fort Apache, Arizona, before becoming judge advocate of the Department of the Columbia in 1898.

When war with Spain began in April 1898, Bell asked to be sent to Cuba but was instead ordered to the Philippines as a major of volunteers and engineer officer to fight the Filipino insurrection. In June, he became head of military information and was assigned to Manila to gather intelligence. Serving for a time as chief of scouts, in the war against the Filipino insurgents Bell sought to employ tactics he had learned earlier while fighting Native Americans. In July 1899, he became colonel of the 36th Volunteer Infantry Regiment, fighting the insurgency in various parts of the Philippines. Later he was awarded the Medal of Honor for gallantry in charging a Filipino patrol and forcing its surrender in September 1899 near Porac, Luzon. He was subsequently appointed a brigadier general of volunteers in December 1899. Later, he commanded several districts on Luzon and became provost marshal of Manila. Although popular with his commanding officers, his tactics against Filipino insurgents remain highly controversial for their uncompromising harshness, even brutality, and he was accused of war crimes and of planning a war of extermination.

In February 1901, Bell earned promotion to brigadier general in the regular army while commanding the first district of the Department of Luzon and the 3rd Brigade. Transferred stateside to become commandant of the Army Service and Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1902, he left that post to become chief of staff of the army during 1906–1910. He was appointed major general in January 1907. During this time, he oversaw the early development of army aviation and San Francisco earthquake relief efforts. He also commanded the Army of Cuban Pacification in 1905.

Bell commanded the Department of the Philippines during 1911–1914. He subsequently led the 4th Division in Texas when war seemed possible with Mexico, then the Department of the West and, in 1917, the Department of the East, and in that capacity he was responsible for the first officer training camps. In August 1917, he took command of the 77th Division at Camp Upton. Sent as an observer to the Western Front in December 1917 during World War I, he returned in March 1918 but failed to pass the physical examination required of those being sent overseas and instead resumed command of the Department of the East, which he held until his death in New York City on January 8, 1919.

GREGORY C. FERENCE

See also

Pacification Program, Philippine Islands; Philippine-American War

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Benevolent Assimilation

The concept of benevolent assimilation refers to the rationale for the United States to annex the Philippine Islands in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War. In a proclamation on December 21, 1898, President William McKinley formally asserted American control over the islands. This occurred just 11 days after the signing of the Treaty of Paris, which ended the Spanish-American War. In his proclamation, McKinley attempted to assure Filipinos, Americans, and the larger world that the United States would rule the islands with beneficence.

At the conclusion of the Spanish-American War, the United States was faced with the dilemma of what to do with the lands conquered from the Spanish. At the time, the United States found itself in de facto possession of the Philippines, Cuba (although the 1898 Teller Amendment barred annexation of Cuba, and the United States had declined formal acceptance of sovereignty over the island), and Puerto Rico. There were several options available to U.S. policy makers in the autumn of 1898. They could return

the islands to the Spanish, grant them independence, or assert colonial rule over them. The first two options were never widely considered.

A fierce debate over annexation raged in Congress, in the press, and among other sectors of society. Before, during, and after the Spanish-American War, a significant and vocal group of political and religious leaders as well as a significant part of the general population opposed the acquisition of any lands gained from the Spanish. Those objecting to the U.S. acquisition of colonies—led by the Anti-Imperialist League—opposed assuming control over any former Spanish colonies for reasons ranging from the lack of constitutional authority for colonization to arguments against diluting America's Anglo-Saxon majority with other, presumably inferior, races.

Proponents of annexation were led by President McKinley, assisted especially by Republican expansionists in Congress. Those who supported American overseas possession also included industrialists, investors, and journalists. A number of Protestant



Political cartoon published in the *Minneapolis Journal* in 1898 depicts eaglets labeled "Philippines," "Hawaii," "Cuba," and "Porto Rico" gathering around a large eagle labeled "U.S." (Library of Congress)

leaders were anxious to spread their gospel to the so-called heathen and Roman Catholic natives. The Philippines seemed to offer an especially attractive opening into the purportedly lucrative China Market, a long-sought goal of many business leaders.

Ultimately, the decision to annex the Philippines rested upon the shoulders of McKinley. The Republican president was not at all averse to American expansion overseas, but his decision was complicated by the fact that Filipino rebels controlled the countryside in what was becoming a U.S. war against insurgents. Initially, McKinley wanted to annex only the port of Manila, but his military advisers pointed out that Manila alone was indefensible and that even annexing the island of Luzon alone was not feasible. After a night that he claimed to have spent on his knees in prayer, McKinley decided that the only reasonable alternative was to annex all of the Philippines. This was affected with the Treaty of Paris, signed on December 10, 1898, and ratified by the U.S. Senate on February 6, 1899.

Just as McKinley had used benevolent assimilation to usher through Congress the annexation of Hawaii on July 7, 1898, he would use it to win the debate to annex the islands of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam. Benevolent assimilation asserted that American control of overseas possessions would be different—and more enlightened—than European-style imperial rule. On the whole, Americans were reluctant to assume the mantle of a colonial power, so the notion of a benevolent colonial lordship enabled McKinley to combat opponents of annexations and sell his idea to the American public. The notion of benevolent assimilation further enabled the president to show the world how different the United States was from its European rivals. U.S. colonial policies were not designed to exploit the lands under its control but instead were designed to bring colonial inhabitants the blessings of liberty. U.S. control would also result in the education of the natives, gradually transforming them into productive citizens who would be steeped in American values.

In the end, rhetoric notwithstanding, benevolent assimilation was predicated upon traditional U.S. expansionism and American exceptionalism augmented by paternalism, racism, social Darwinism, and the prevailing ideologies of colonialism and imperialism.

RICK DYSON

See also

Anti-Imperialist League; Churches and the War; Colonial Policies, U.S.; Expansionism; Hawaiian Islands; Imperialism; Luzon; Manila; McKinley, William; Philippine Islands, U.S. Acquisition of; Social Darwinism

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Benjamin, Anna Northend

Birth Date: 1874

Death Date: 1902

Journalist and one of the first female American war correspondents. Born in 1874, Anna Northend Benjamin wrote for *Leslie's Weekly* during the Spanish-American War. In July 1898, she detailed the dearth of rations for soldiers camped in Tampa and waiting to embark for Cuba. She and Kathleen Blake Watkins, a correspondent with the *Toronto Mail and Express*, sought to sail to Cuba with Major General William Shafter's V Corps expeditionary force, but both were turned away as a result of a U.S. government ban on female reporters in the war zone. Benjamin subsequently paid her own passage on a collier bound for Guantánamo. Once in Cuba she made her way to Santiago, where she wrote several articles for *Leslie's Weekly*.

Returning to New York on a troop transport, Benjamin nursed sick soldiers and correspondents aboard the ship. Her reputation as a female war correspondent led to a widespread demand for her services as a lecturer after the war. She eventually traveled to the Philippines and reported on the war there before dying in 1902.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Journalism; Newspapers

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Bennett, James Gordon, Jr.

Birth Date: May 10, 1841

Death Date: May 14, 1918

Flamboyant, controversial American journalist and publisher. James Gordon Bennett Jr. was born in New York City on May 10, 1841. His father, also a journalist and publisher, had founded the widely read *New York Herald*, which the younger Bennett would eventually take over. Money was no object for the senior Bennett, and so his son was schooled mostly in France. Upon the outbreak of the American Civil War, the younger Bennett served as a junior officer in the U.S. Navy. He gained control of the *New York Herald* in 1866 and immediately began a program to increase its readership. In so doing, he became the prototype for the sensationalism that would be called yellow journalism by the late 1880s.

In 1869, Bennett bankrolled an expedition led by Henry Morton Stanley, a famed explorer and journalist, to find the medical missionary and explorer David Livingstone, who had presumably disappeared in Africa. Stanley finally tracked down the sickly Livingstone encamped along a lake in Zambia in 1871. For nearly two years, Bennett's newspapers ran regular dispatches from Stanley



James Gordon Bennett Jr. was heir to the *New York Herald*, a newspaper that his father, James Gordon Bennett, had started in the 1830s. The younger Bennett took over the paper shortly after the American Civil War and became one of the best-known newspaper publishers of the 19th century. (Library of Congress)

and tracked his movements, which garnered much attention and increased readership. At the time, Bennett was eagerly engaged in readership wars with fellow New York newspaper moguls William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer.

Although infamous for his drinking binges and sometimes loutish behavior, Bennett was a staple of New York high society. He lived life large, with huge parties, lavish private railcars, rambling mansions, and expensive yachts, in one of which he won the first official transoceanic boat race in 1866. In 1877, he left New York after an incident that terminated his engagement to socialite Caroline May. He arrived late and drunk for a party at the May family mansion and then relieved himself into a fireplace in full view of the shocked hosts and guests. Bennett moved to Paris, where he founded the *International Herald Tribune* while continuing to run the *New York Herald* by long-distance cable and telegram. In 1879, he sponsored an expedition to the North Pole through the Bering Strait. The two-year odyssey, chronicled meticulously in the newspaper, ended in tragedy when the expedition's ships became entrapped by ice in 1881. Although 20 of the crew members died, the expedition provided great grist for Bennett's yellow journalism.

Bennett eventually returned to New York City, where he became heavily involved in polo and yacht racing. His nose for news never wavered, however, and by the early 1890s he was locked in a circula-

tion war with Hearst and Pulitzer. At first, Bennett's newspaper took a hard line against the Spanish and their colonial escapades in Cuba and the Philippines. However, as the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898) unfolded, he softened his criticism of the Spanish at a time in which Hearst and Pulitzer were running increasingly salacious stories of Spanish excesses. By 1898, some of Bennett's critics were spreading rumors that he secretly supported the Spanish because of his far-flung financial interests. Bennett denied the accusations. In July 1898, Hearst himself leveled charges at Bennett that he had "everything to gain" from a Spanish victory. Bennett blasted Hearst, and the two men engaged in a long and bitter war of words.

After the war, in 1899, the *New York Herald* became a vociferous critic of Secretary of War Russell A. Alger, whom the newspaper charged had run a hopelessly incompetent war effort. Indeed, Bennett took particular delight in airing the testimony of the War Department Investigating Commission (Dodge Commission), which showcased some of the worst cases of malfeasance during the Spanish-American War. Bennett was especially aggressive in airing the charges that had resulted from the Embalmed Beef Scandal.

Bennett returned to France and, at the age of 73, married a French baroness. He lived out his last days in that country, still running his newspapers, and died on May 14, 1918, in Beaulieu-sur-Mer, France. After his death, his newspaper was bought out by his longtime archrival, the *New York Tribune*, and was renamed the *New York Herald Tribune*.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; Dodge Commission; Embalmed Beef Scandal; Hearst, William Randolph; Journalism; Newspapers; Pulitzer, Joseph; Yellow Journalism

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Bermejo y Merelo, Segismundo

Birth Date: 1832

Death Date: 1899

Spanish Navy rear admiral and minister of the navy. Segismundo Bermejo y Merelo was born in San Fernando, Spain, in 1832. Enlisting in the navy at age 14 in 1846, he served in both Cuba and the Philippines. As a professor at the Naval College, he directed the Torpedo School and created the first division of torpedo boats in the Spanish Navy. He opposed the recall to Spain of Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, believing that had Weyler stayed, Cuba might have accepted autonomy.

Bermejo was commanding the Cádiz Squadron when he was appointed minister of the navy on October 4, 1897. He was followed at Cádiz by Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete. In the several

months leading up to the war, Bermejo repeatedly expressed confidence in the Spanish Navy and denigrated the capabilities of the U.S. Navy. Claiming that the Spanish Navy was better trained and that the Americans would have to divide their navy, he laid plans to blockade the U.S. coasts and attack Key West, Florida. Cervera insisted that these were totally unrealistic goals and told Bermejo that it was simply beyond Spain's ability to reinforce its army in Cuba in the face of U.S. naval power. Nonetheless, Bermejo continued to exude optimism and did not pass along Cervera's hard information about U.S. Navy superiority to members of the Spanish government.

On March 13, 1898, with war seemingly imminent, Bermejo oversaw deployment of Spanish naval forces with the plan to send one squadron to Cuba while retaining another to defend the Spanish coast. On April 23, the day that Spain declared war on the United States, Bermejo called a meeting in Madrid of high-ranking Spanish naval officers. The great majority supported sending Cervera and his squadron to Puerto Rico, which Bermejo ordered that same day.

Following Commodore George Dewey's crushing defeat of Rear Admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón's squadron in the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, Bermejo came under intense criticism in Spain and was replaced as minister of the navy by Captain Ramón Auñón y Villalón on May 18. Unfortunately for the Spanish Navy, Auñón promptly countermanded Bermejo's decision of May 12, which would have permitted Cervera to return his squadron to Spain. This decision set up the subsequent Battle of Santiago de Cuba. Bermejo died in Madrid in 1899.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Auñón y Villalón, Ramón; Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Dewey, George; Manila Bay, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Spain, Navy

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Betances, Ramón Emeterio

Birth Date: April 8, 1827

Death Date: September 16, 1898

Medical doctor and Puerto Rican political leader. Born in Cabo Rojo, Puerto Rico, on April 8, 1827, into a wealthy landowning family, Ramón Emeterio Betances studied at private schools in Puerto Rico. Sent by his father to France, he earned a medical degree from the University of Paris in 1855. Returning to Puerto Rico, he then established a hospital at Mayagüez and was actively involved in fighting the 1856 cholera epidemic. He also made significant charitable donations to the poor.

Betances and others also founded the clandestine Secret Abolitionist Society with the aim of ending slavery in Puerto Rico. Exiled by Spanish authorities for his political activities, he fled first to

what is now the Dominican Republic and then to New York, where he and Segundo Ruiz Belvis established the Revolutionary Committee of Puerto Rico. The two men subsequently returned to the Dominican Republic, and from there in 1868 they launched an expedition to Puerto Rico with the aim of overthrowing Spanish rule. The resulting insurrection of September 23, 1868, known as the Grito de Lares, was a failure.

Returning to France, Betances was active in emigré groups working to free Cuba and Puerto Rico from Spanish rule and was a staunch advocate of combining the Cuban and Puerto Rican independence movements. While in France, he also founded the Society of Latin American Union. Although in exile at the time, he was pleased with the abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico on March 22, 1873. At the beginning of the Spanish-American War, he called on Puerto Ricans to rise up and end Spanish rule. He was convinced that if they failed to do so before the Americans invaded the island, Puerto Rico would be a U.S. colony forever. Following the American invasion, Betances was one of very few Puerto Rican nationalist leaders to urge armed resistance against the United States. A talented writer, he wrote several books and was awarded the French Legion of Honor. Betances died in Neuilly, a suburb of Paris, on September 16, 1898. His remains were returned to Puerto Rico in 1920.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Puerto Rico; Puerto Rico Campaign

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Betancourt, Salvador Cisneros

Birth Date: February 10, 1828

Death Date: February 28, 1914

Cuban revolutionary leader, politician, and president of the provisional Cuban Revolutionary Government (October 27, 1873–June 28, 1875) during the Ten Years' War and the Cuban War of Independence from September 16, 1895, to October 30, 1897. Salvador Cisneros Betancourt was born in Camagüey, Cuba, on February 10, 1828, to a family with purported ties to the Spanish monarchy. His life as a youth, however, was powerfully influenced by the adverse effects of Spanish colonialism. After being educated by private tutors, he went to the United States, where he studied civil engineering. After returning to Cuba, he entered politics and served as the elected mayor of Camagüey.

Before long, Betancourt became involved in revolutionary politics, believing that Cuba should be independent and that Cubans themselves should determine their own political and economic des-

tinies. He joined the locally prestigious Masonic Order, which put him in contact with more Cuban revolutionaries. He fully supported the Ten Years' War of 1868–1878 and was instrumental in drafting the constitution of Cuba's first provisional revolutionary government. In recognition of his education and his passion for the Cuban movement, he was elected president of the provisional government, serving from October 1873 to June 1875.

When the revolt ended in 1878, Betancourt returned to his native Camagüey, but he was never far removed from his fellow revolutionaries and stayed active in the underground Cuban movement. He believed fervently in a Cuba free of foreign influence and domination and thus rejected calls for accommodations with—or annexation to—the United States. Yet he was also a democrat in the purest sense of the word and believed that a civilian government, as opposed to a military junta, was the best way in which to organize a new government for the island. In this he was supported by the great heart and voice of the revolutionary movement, José Martí y Pérez.

Following the death of Martí in May 1895, Betancourt took up the responsibility of establishing a civilian government when the Cuban War of Independence broke out again shortly thereafter. After convincing Antonio Maceo Grajales to convene a meeting of revolutionary leaders at Camagüey, Betancourt prevailed upon Maceo and most of the other leaders to create a civilian Cuban Revolutionary Government. After promising the military virtually unlimited powers in the new government, Betancourt became the government's first president on September 16, 1895. He served until October 30, 1897. After the defeat of the Spanish in 1898, he remained active in Cuban politics but often proved to be a thorn in the side of the United States by insisting that the Americans speed up their withdrawal from Cuba. He also vigorously objected to the mandatory inclusion of the Platt Amendment in the new Cuban government's constitution. Betancourt died in Havana on February 28, 1914.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cuban Revolutionary Government; Cuban War of Independence; Maceo Grajales, Antonio; Martí y Pérez, José Julián; Platt Amendment; Ten Years' War

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Beveridge, Albert Jeremiah

Birth Date: October 6, 1862

Death Date: April 27, 1927

Lawyer, U.S. senator, distinguished historian, and ardent American expansionist. Born on a farm in Highland County, Ohio, on October 6, 1862, Albert Jeremiah Beveridge moved with his family to Illinois



Albert Beveridge, distinguished historian and progressive Republican senator from Indiana (1899–1911), was a staunch advocate of U.S. expansionism. (Library of Congress)

after the American Civil War. When his father's business failed in 1874, young Beveridge was obliged to go to work to help support the family. He held a series of manual labor jobs but was able to attend high school and graduated in 1881. A former employer loaned him money for tuition, and Beveridge was able to enter Indiana Asbury University (now DePauw University), graduating in 1885. While a student, he became known for his fine oratorical skill.

Following a year spent in land speculation in Kansas, Beveridge read for the law in Indianapolis. Admitted to the bar in 1887, he entered private practice and established a national reputation for arguing and winning a difficult case before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1892. Beveridge ran for the U.S. Senate as a Republican in 1898 and served two terms, although he failed to win reelection for a third term in 1910.

As a senator, Beveridge strongly supported progressive legislation. Influenced by Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* (1905), Beveridge sponsored the Federal Meat Inspection Act of 1906. He also helped pass child labor legislation.

Beveridge is also remembered as one of the strongest advocates of American imperialism. He believed that the United States was God's chosen nation and was destined to spread Christianity around the world. He called the Spanish-American War a "holy war" and a "war for civilization," and on the outbreak of fighting he called on the United States to seize the Philippines as a means of securing the China Market. Following his election to the Senate, Beveridge toured the Philippines in November 1899. In a speech in January 1900, Senator Beveridge declared that the Philippines belonged to the United States "forever" and that beyond the islands lay the vast markets of China. The United States, he declared, would not abandon its role in the Far

East. Declaring the Pacific to be “our ocean,” he said that the United States would “not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee under God, of the civilization of the world.”

After leaving the Senate, Beveridge chaired the Progressive (Bull Moose) Party’s national convention in Chicago in 1912 and gave the keynote address nominating Theodore Roosevelt for president on that third-party ticket.

Beveridge was also a distinguished historian and secretary of the American Historical Association. He is best known for his definitive four-volume *Life of John Marshall* (1916), which won a Pulitzer Prize. Two volumes of his unfinished biography of Abraham Lincoln were published in 1928 after Beveridge’s death. Beveridge died in Indianapolis on April 27, 1927.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Imperialism; Philippine Islands, U.S. Acquisition of; Progressivism; Roosevelt, Theodore; Sinclair, Upton

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Biak-na-Bato, Pact of

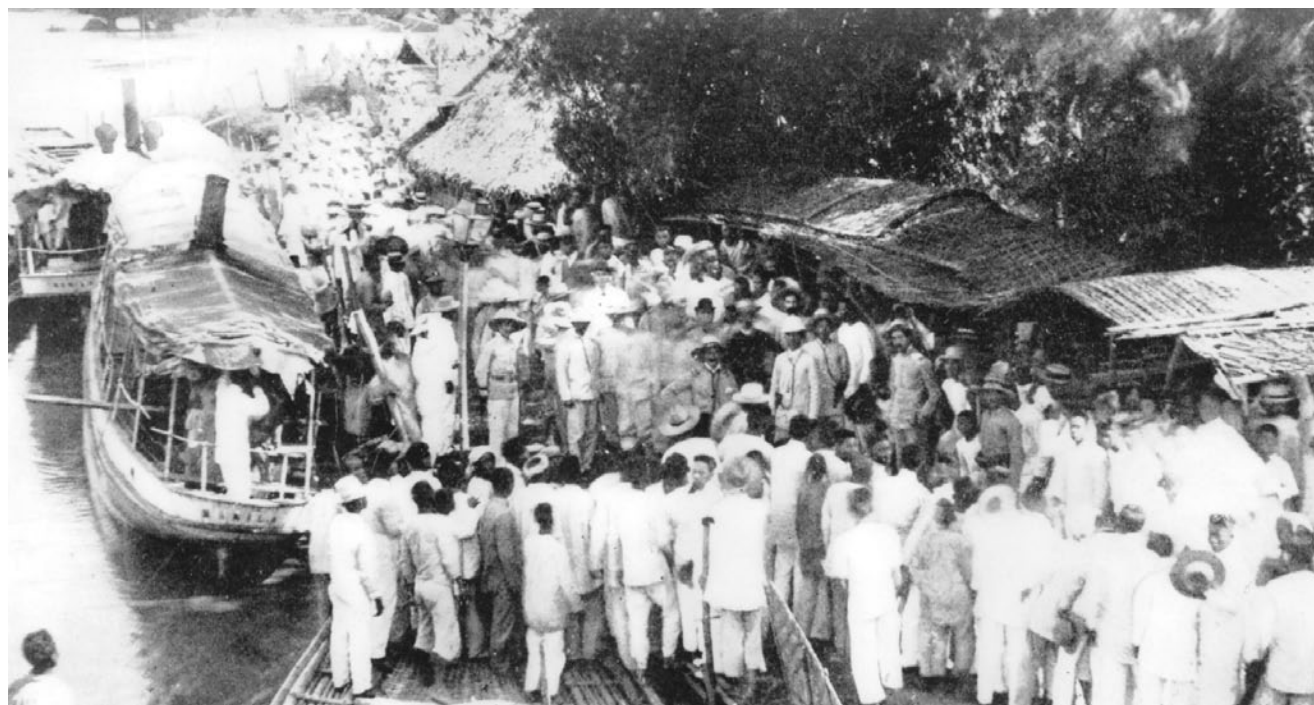
Agreement of December 15, 1897, between Filipino insurgents and Spanish authorities that ended the Filipino revolt that had begun

in 1896. The pact was negotiated at Biak-na-Bato, a village located in San Miguel, Bulacan Province, in central Luzon about 60 miles north of Manila.

Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, leader of the uprising against Spain, had won some military engagements and had then retreated to his mountain refuge of Biak-na-Bato. Many insurgents, disheartened by a series of setbacks, desired a cease-fire, however. The Spaniards also sought peace, hoping to avoid a costly campaign in the highlands that would divert forces and funds needed to quell the rebellion in Cuba.

After Spanish officials made several proposals that were rejected by Aguinaldo, Pedro Alejandro Paterno y Debera Ignacio, chosen as an envoy acceptable to both adversaries, mediated discussions in August 1897 that produced the Pact of Biak-na-Bato. According to the agreement, the Spanish governor-general promised the expulsion of the Spanish friars, Philippine representation in Spain’s parliament, equality of treatment for Filipinos in the justice system, Filipino employment in public offices, freedom of the press, and liberty to form associations.

Also under the accord, Aguinaldo and some 30 comrades were to go into exile in Hong Kong in exchange for a monetary settlement in three payments. An initial 400,000 pesos would be followed by 200,000 pesos once the insurgents relinquished 700 firearms. A final payment of 200,000 pesos would attend the singing of the Te Deum, a liturgical Christian hymn, symbolizing the rebellion’s conclusion. The Spanish authorities also consented to the announcement of a universal pardon and earmarked another 900,000 pesos to compensate Filipinos who had suffered losses during the insur-



Filipino nationalist leader Emilio Aguinaldo and his aides depart the Philippines for Hong Kong under the terms of the Pact of Biak-na-Bato, December 1897. (Library of Congress)

gency. Contrary to Aguinaldo's interpretation, the Spaniards alleged that the pact contained no provisions calling for reform.

To ensure the sincerity of Spanish officials, the insurgents required the detention of two Spanish generals at Biak-na-Bato as hostages while a third officer, Colonel Miguel Primo de Rivera, Governor-General Fernando Primo de Rivera y Sobremonte's blood relation, escorted the expatriates to Hong Kong. The governor-general consented, and the pact was signed on December 15. On December 23, the Spanish officers, Celestino Tejeiro and Ricardo Monet, reached Biak-na-Bato to act as detainees. On December 27, Aguinaldo and his associates departed from the port of Sual in Pangasinan Province for Hong Kong carrying a check for 400,000 pesos.

Spanish authorities applauded the pact as signaling the end of the uprising. Although the archipelago was now peaceful, the goal of independence and the mood of revolt remained. Aguinaldo and his companions, who had not taken the pact very seriously, accepted the 400,000 pesos and schemed to employ the funds for a later insurgency. The next installment of 200,000 pesos never arrived in Hong Kong because the Spaniards distributed it among insurgents still in the Philippines. They also failed to make the final installment, and the indemnity of 900,000 pesos was never paid. Spain also failed to implement the reforms that the Filipinos thought had been promised, and Spanish rule continued much as before. By May 1898, Aguinaldo and his cohorts, encouraged by American authorities, returned to the Philippines to resume the insurgency.

RODNEY J. ROSS

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Hong Kong; Paterno y Debera Ignacio, Pedro Alejandro; Philippine Islands; Philippine Islands, Spanish Colonial Policies toward; Primo de Rivera y Sobremonte, Fernando

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Biddle, William Phillips

Birth Date: December 17, 1853

Death Date: February 25, 1923

U.S. Marine Corps officer and commandant. William Phillips Biddle was born into a prominent family in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on December 17, 1853. He received a private secondary education and graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1875. That same year, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the U.S. Marine Corps. He served several brief tours of duty in New York City; Washington, D.C.; and Philadelphia. He then began his first

sea duty and served consecutive tours aboard four different ships. In February 1894, following three years' shore service at Philadelphia, he was promoted to captain. In April 1895 he went to sea again, this time aboard the cruiser *Baltimore*. Just prior to the beginning of the Spanish-American War, he took up duties as commander of the Marine Corps detachment aboard the cruiser *Olympia*, Commodore George Dewey's flagship, and was present at the decisive Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898.

Following a brief return to Philadelphia in 1899, Biddle was advanced to major and, in 1900, took command of the 1st Regiment of the 1st Marine Brigade dispatched as part of the American contingent sent to Beijing, China, as part of the international effort against the Boxer Rebellion. Biddle and his regiment were then dispatched to the Philippines, where the Philippine-American War was already under way. He subsequently commanded the Marine Corps barracks at Cavite Naval Base in the Philippines until 1903, when he was promoted to lieutenant colonel. During 1903–1904, he went to Panama with a Marine Corps battalion to help secure Panamanian independence from Colombia. In 1904–1905, he commanded the Marine Corps barracks at Philadelphia and was promoted to colonel in 1905.

During 1906–1908, Biddle returned to the Philippines, where he commanded the 1st Marine Brigade at Manila. He then had commands stateside during 1908–1909 before returning to Panama in 1909, where he remained until 1910. In February 1911, he was appointed commandant of the Marine Corps and promoted to major general. He retained the post until 1914, at which point he retired from active duty. In 1917, when the United States entered World War I, he returned to active duty and served at the San Diego Naval Base. Biddle died on February 25, 1923, in Nice, France, and was buried at Arlington National Cemetery.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Boxer Rebellion; Dewey, George; Manila Bay, Battle of

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Bigelow, Poultney

Birth Date: September 10, 1855

Death Date: May 28, 1954

American journalist, lawyer, and prolific writer. Poultney Bigelow was born in New York City on September 10, 1855, to a prominent New York family. At the time of his birth, his father, John Bigelow, was the coeditor and co-owner of the *New York Evening Post*, a well-read daily newspaper. At the beginning of the American Civil War, the elder Bigelow was appointed U.S. consul in France, and the

family moved to Paris. When the war ended, Bigelow's father became U.S. minister to France. The younger Bigelow was educated in the United States, France, and Germany. While attending an elite preparatory school in Potsdam, Germany, he met Crown Prince Wilhelm of Hohenzollern (who would later become Kaiser Wilhelm II) and his younger brother, Prince Heinrich. The three youths forged a friendship that was to endure for many years, and for most of his life Bigelow maintained a regular correspondence with Wilhelm.

Bigelow entered Yale University in the autumn of 1873, but health concerns compelled him to take a two-year leave from his studies. During this interim period, the ever-inquisitive young Bigelow decided to travel to East Asia, and he booked passage on a passenger vessel bound for Japan. The ship ran aground and foundered only miles from the Japanese coast. For Bigelow, the voyage and the shipwreck were the beginning of a lasting love of travel and adventure that became the subject of many of the books and newspaper stories he later wrote.

Bigelow returned to Yale and earned a degree there in 1879. Believing that the study of law might be useful to him, he went on to Columbia Law School in New York City. He passed the bar and opened a law practice but found the profession too staid and sedentary for his liking. Using his father's contacts, he embarked on a journalism and writing career, although he continued to practice law intermittently.

Beginning in the early 1880s, Bigelow served as a correspondent in New York and London. He traveled extensively, and his adventures and keen observances garnered him many readers and admirers. In the meantime, he authored numerous books on subjects ranging from history to contemporary politics, travel, and colonial studies including *The German Emperor* (1889), *Paddles and Politics down the Danube* (1892), *White Man's Africa* (1897), *China against the World* (1900), and *Britain, Mother of Colonies* (1918). An inveterate letter writer, Bigelow developed long and rich correspondences with Mark Twain, Percy Grainger, Frederic Remington, Henry Mills Alden, and other luminaries of the day.

During the Cuban crisis and resultant Spanish-American War, Bigelow covered events on the island as a correspondent for the London *Times*, a paper with which he had a considerable professional relationship. His descriptions of the locale and of the war itself were typical of his writing, evocative and thoughtful yet sometimes a bit too eager. His coverage of the Spanish-American War was one of the main vehicles by which Europeans learned of the war and its progress.

After the war, Bigelow continued to travel, write, and report on various newsworthy events. Around 1906, he all but stopped writing for periodicals to devote more time to writing books and correspondence. In 1915, he penned *Prussian Memories, 1864–1914*, in which he recalled his many experiences in Germany and with Wilhelm. Ten years later, Bigelow published *Seventy Summers*, an autobiographical work. In the early 1930s, he famously wrote about his admiration for Italian dictator Benito Mussolini and German

dictator Adolf Hitler. Bigelow's admiration turned to horror, however, later in the decade. He died in Malden, New York, on May 28, 1954.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Journalism; Remington, Frederic Sackrider; Twain, Mark

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Black Powder

Black powder was the original gunpowder. Of Chinese invention, it arrived in Europe in the 13th century and remained virtually the only known propellant for firearms until the mid-19th century. Black powder consisted of three principal ingredients: saltpeter (roughly 75 percent), which provided oxygen for burning; sulfur (about 10 percent), which lowered the temperature at which ignition of the powder occurred; and charcoal (about 15 percent), which added bulk and acted as a burning agent.

When ignited, black powder releases energy in the form of powerfully expanding gases. Properly channeled, these gasses can propel a projectile from a barrel at considerable velocity and distance. Black powder changed little over the years and remained the principal propellant for firearms until the late 19th century. Black powder burned imperfectly, leaving behind a considerable residue in the bore of the weapon's barrel. Known as fouling, it built up with successive firings, and the resulting difference between the projectile's diameter and the barrel's bore negatively impacted accuracy. This space was known as windage. The chief drawback of black powder on the battlefield, however, was the dense cloud of smoke it produced on ignition, which both revealed the weapon's location and made it difficult for the shooter to aim. Both problems persisted until the introduction of smokeless gunpowder at the end of the 19th century.

Unfortunately for the United States in the Spanish-American War, a shortage of modern small arms and artillery meant that virtually all volunteer units were armed with weapons that utilized black powder, while Spanish troops were armed with modern smokeless powder weapons.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Smokeless Powder

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Blaine, James Gillespie

Birth Date: January 31, 1830

Death Date: January 27, 1893

Republican Party politician and two-time U.S. secretary of state (1881, 1889–1892). Born on January 31, 1830, in West Brownsville, Pennsylvania, James Blaine was educated by a private tutor before entering Washington College (now Washington and Jefferson College) in Washington, Pennsylvania, at the age of 13. He developed an interest in politics and, at his graduation in 1847, delivered the commencement address in which he advocated American expansion.

Blaine worked as a teacher and studied law. In 1850, he married Harriet Stanwood. He moved to his wife's hometown of Augusta, Maine, in 1854, where he became editor and part owner of the *Kennebec Journal*. He used the Whig newspaper as a platform to denounce slavery, and his abolitionist views led him to help organize Maine's Republican Party in 1856, the first year in which the Republicans fielded a presidential candidate. He was a delegate to the Republican National Convention (RNC) that year and two years later was elected to the state legislature.

Traveling west to report on congressional elections for his newspaper, Blaine witnessed one of the legendary debates between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas. Greatly impressed by Lincoln,



Prominent Republican politician James G. Blaine, who served as speaker of the House and as secretary of state under President Benjamin Harrison. (Library of Congress)

Blaine worked to secure his presidential nomination at the 1860 RNC and, as a journalist and the Speaker of the Maine legislature, he used all his influence to secure Lincoln's election.

When the American Civil War began in 1861, Maine governor Israel Washburn appointed Blaine military agent for the state, and in that capacity, Blaine worked to recruit troops and provide supplies for the Union Army. He later avoided conscription by hiring a substitute to serve in his place. In 1862, Blaine successfully ran for the U.S. House of Representatives, where he staunchly supported Lincoln's wartime policies and gained national attention for his speeches demanding an all-out effort to achieve victory. Blaine repeatedly declared that a glorious future lay ahead for the reunited nation.

After the war, Blaine aligned himself with the Radical Republicans in Congress and opposed President Andrew Johnson's Reconstruction policies. An advocate of full equality for African Americans, Blaine supported the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and other legislation to secure political rights for former slaves. He supported General Ulysses S. Grant's presidential candidacy in 1868, and in 1869, Blaine was chosen Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Blaine sought the Republican presidential nomination in 1876 but lost the nomination to Rutherford B. Hayes in part because of allegations that Blaine had accepted bribes in exchange for securing funds for railroads. Appointed to fill Maine's vacant seat in the U.S. Senate in 1876, he supported James Garfield for president in 1880 and was named secretary of state in March 1881. Blaine's position became precarious, however, after Garfield's assassination (Garfield was mortally wounded by an assassin in July and died in September 1881) and Chester A. Arthur became president. In December 1881, Blaine resigned in protest after Arthur canceled Blaine's proposed Pan-American Conference.

In 1884, Blaine was the Republican nominee for president, but he lost a close election to Democrat Grover Cleveland. Blaine remained a leading Republican spokesman, however, and when Republican Benjamin Harrison was elected president in 1888, Blaine was again named secretary of state. He assumed his duties in March 1889.

As secretary of state, Blaine actively promoted American commercial interests abroad and in 1889 hosted the Pan-American Congress in Washington, D.C. He advocated diplomatic intervention in Latin America to secure peace and promote hemispheric unity under American domination. He also favored territorial expansion and identified Hawaii, Cuba, and Puerto Rico as prospective acquisitions. He successfully negotiated a partition of the Samoan Islands with Great Britain and Germany and deftly managed the crisis that resulted when U.S. Navy personnel were attacked in Chile in October 1891. Illness forced him to resign on June 4, 1892. Blaine died in Washington, D.C., on January 27, 1893.

JIM PIECUCH

See also
Republican Party

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Blanco y Erenas, Ramón

Birth Date: May 15, 1833

Death Date: April 4, 1906

Spanish Army officer and captain-general of Cuba during the Spanish-American War. Ramón Blanco y Erenas was born in San Sebastián on May 15, 1833, and became the Marqués de Peña Plata. His military career included significant action both at home and abroad. He fought in Santo Domingo (1863) and the Third Carlist War (1872–1876), and he was captain-general of Cuba from 1879 to 1881 and captain-general of the Philippines from 1893 to 1896. His attempt at reconciliation with the Filipino insurgents led the Spanish government to replace him with Camilo García de Polavieja in December 1896. Ironically, it was Blanco's reputation as a proponent of reconciliation that convinced Madrid to appoint him captain-general of Cuba in 1897.

On October 31, 1897, Spanish prime minister Práxedes Mateo Sagasta, pressed by U.S. government officials outraged by the bru-



Spanish general Ramón Blanco y Erenas, captain-general of Cuba during the Spanish-American War, sought to carry out a conciliatory policy. (Library of Congress)

ality of the Cuban *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) policy, replaced Captain-General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau with the more conciliatory Blanco. On January 1, 1898, in an attempt to quell the Cuban insurgency, Blanco unveiled a program of local autonomy for the Cubans. For the most part, the criollos (whites born in Cuba) thought that local autonomy was too little, too late. The peninsulares (whites born in Spain), however, felt betrayed by the new policy. On April 10, 1898, when it had become apparent that war with the United States was imminent, Blanco suspended hostilities with the Cuban insurgents in the hope that they would assist Spanish troops in resisting a U.S. invasion. After Máximo Gómez y Báez, the leader of the Cuban insurgents, refused Blanco's offer of cooperation against the United States, Blanco ordered hostilities against the insurgents resumed on April 30, 1898.

Blanco thus faced the difficult task of defending the island from American attack while simultaneously fighting the Cuban insurgents in the interior. On July 3, 1898, he ordered the Spanish Atlantic Squadron, led by Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete, to break the American blockade of Santiago Harbor. Cervera disagreed with Blanco's decision but followed orders, with the ultimate result that all of his ships were promptly sunk in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba. Blanco resigned his position in Cuba on November 26, 1898, and returned to Spain. He died in Madrid on April 4, 1906.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Cuba; Gómez y Báez, Máximo; *Reconcentrado* System; Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano

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Bliss, Tasker Howard

Birth Date: December 31, 1853

Death Date: November 9, 1930

U.S. Army general and army chief of staff. Born in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, on December 31, 1853, Tasker Bliss attended Lewisburg University (now Bucknell) but transferred in his second year to the United States Military Academy, West Point, from which he graduated in 1875. Commissioned in the artillery, he early on won recognition for being both cerebral and a linguist and served as an instructor at West Point (1876–1880) and at the Naval War College (1885–1888). He was also a special assistant to the secretary of war, and during 1897–1898, he was military attaché in Madrid, where he served as chief adviser to U.S. minister Stewart L. Woodford. In this position, Bliss counseled moderation and sought to prevent a war with Spain.



U.S. Army colonel Tasker Howard Bliss served in the Spanish-American War and was then collector of customs in Havana. He was later a general and chief of staff. (Library of Congress)

On the eve of the Spanish-American War, Bliss was recalled to the United States and promoted to lieutenant colonel. He subsequently went to Puerto Rico as chief of staff of the 1st Division, commanded by Major General James H. Wilson. Bliss's fluency in Spanish proved invaluable, and he personally carried news of the August 12 Protocol of Peace to Spanish forces at Asomante Hills.

Promoted to colonel on August 12, 1898, Bliss next served in Cuba, where he helped select camp locations for U.S. occupation forces on the island. That December he was appointed collector of customs in Cuba. He held this post until May 1902 and was able to generate enough customs revenue to make the island essentially self-supporting for the duration of the American occupation.

Promoted to brigadier general in April 1901, Bliss served as adviser to Secretary of War Elihu Root on the army reorganization that resulted in the formation of the General Staff. Bliss became the first president of the Army War College in 1903. Ordered to the Philippines, he commanded the Department of Luzon in the Philippines during 1905–1906. He then headed the Department of Mindanao, where he managed to keep the peace between the fractious rival Moro leaders. He also helped establish a progressive educational program on the island. During 1908–1909 he commanded the Philippine Division. Upon his return to the United States in 1909, he was interim president of the War College and briefly assistant chief of staff, and he then successively commanded the Department of California (1910–1911), the Department of the East (1911–1913), and the Department of the South (1913–1915). In

February 1915 he became assistant chief of staff of the army under Major General Hugh L. Scott.

Promoted to major general in November 1915, Bliss became acting chief of staff of the army in May 1917 and chief of staff of the army in September. In October 1917 he was promoted to general. As chief of staff when the United States entered World War I in April 1917, he supervised the rapid U.S. Army mobilization and expansion. Although Bliss reached the mandatory retirement age of 64 in December, President Woodrow Wilson continued him on active duty, and he remained chief of staff until May 1918.

In October 1917, Wilson named Bliss military representative in the U.S. mission to Europe headed by Edward M. House. Following the formation the next month of the Supreme War Council, which was charged with coordinating Allied military strategy, Bliss became its U.S. representative. He opposed the splitting up of U.S. units to serve with British and French forces and under their command, but he changed his position in response to the crisis resulting from the Ludendorff Offensive in the spring of 1918 and supported limited amalgamation. His relations with American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) commander General John J. Pershing were correct but not cordial. In 1918 Bliss initially favored Allied military intervention in Russia against the Bolsheviks, but he turned against it as the year wore on.

Bliss shared Wilson's views regarding the peace and was named a member of the U.S. delegation to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. He advocated the admission of Germany and Russia to the League of Nations and also advocated postwar disarmament. He strongly disagreed with Wilson, however, on the granting of concessions to Japan in the Shandong Province of Manchuria.

Following his return to the United States, Bliss actively promoted the League of Nations and international disarmament in a series of speeches and articles. In 1920 he was appointed governor of the Soldiers' Home in Washington, D.C., and served in that capacity until 1927. Bliss died in Washington, D.C., on November 9, 1930.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Pershing, John Joseph; Puerto Rico Campaign; Root, Elihu; Wilson, James Harrison; Woodford, Stewart Lyndon

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Blue, Victor

Birth Date: December 7, 1865

Death Date: January 22, 1928

U.S. Navy officer. Victor Blue was born in Richmond County, North Carolina, on December 7, 1865. Deciding on a naval career, he entered the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, as a cadet in May 1883 and graduated in 1887. Named an assistant engineer in July 1889 and promoted to ensign in 1892 and lieutenant junior grade in December 1897, he was assigned to the armed yacht *Suwanee* during the Spanish-American War. On May 31, 1898, he participated in an effort to land munitions in Cuba for insurgent forces.

Blue won renown for a daring mission behind Spanish lines. During June 11–13, dressed in full uniform to avoid execution as a spy if captured, he traveled some 72 miles into Cuba in order to ascertain for certain the presence of Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron in Santiago Harbor. Blue's affirmative report led Washington to issue the orders dispatching Major General William R. Shafter's V Corps to Cuba with the goal of taking Santiago by land.

On a second daring mission ashore in Cuba during June 25–27, Blue determined the precise location of each of Cervera's ships in

preparation for a U.S. Navy torpedo attack that, however, did not occur. Following the surrender of Santiago on July 17, Blue assumed command of the former Spanish gunboat *Alvaredo*. He was subsequently advanced five numbers in grade for extraordinary heroism during the war.

Assigned to the Philippines, Blue served as flag lieutenant in the Pacific Squadron in Philippine waters during 1900–1901. He was inspector of ordnance during 1905–1907. He was promoted to commander in 1909, and the next year, he was assigned as chief of staff of the Pacific Fleet. He then served as a member of the General Board of the Navy Department and chief of the Bureau of Navigation (1913–1916 and again in 1919). Following U.S. entry into World War I in April 1917, he commanded the battleship *Texas*, which saw service (but no action) with the British Grand Fleet in the North Sea. Advanced to rear admiral in April 1919, he retired that June. Blue died on January 22, 1928.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Shafter, William Rufus; United States Navy

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Operating behind Spanish lines on an intelligence mission, U.S. Navy lieutenant junior grade Victor Blue established the presence of Spanish rear admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron in Santiago Harbor. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

Boca Grande

The southern (and largest) channel leading into Manila Bay. Before the Spanish-American War, Spanish authorities did what they could to strengthen defenses at the mouth of Manila Bay in the expectation that if war came it would bring an American naval effort against Manila and its nearby naval base. The mouth of Manila Bay, about 10 miles broad, had numerous large rocks as well as several small islands and was split into two main passages by the island of Corregidor. Boca Chica (Little Mouth) is the northern passage, and Boca Grande (Big Mouth) is the southern passage. Caballo Island, one mile below Corregidor and inside Boca Grande, deployed a battery of three 5.9-inch guns transferred from the Spanish warship *Velasco*. On El Fraile, an islet in Boca Grande between Caballo Island and coastal Luzon, the Spaniards mounted three 4.7-inch naval guns from the gunboat *General Lezo*. In addition, three 6.3-inch artillery pieces were posted on the southern cape of the mouth at Punta Restinga.

In March 1898, before the declaration of war, U.S. consul in Manila Oscar Williams informed Commodore George Dewey in Hong Kong that the entrances to the bay were not mined because the Spaniards lacked insulated arming wires. Yet on April 26, E. Spencer Pratt, the U.S. consul in Singapore, reported Spanish mining operations in the Boca Grande channel. That account coincided with later intelligence from Williams before he left Manila and from captains of commercial vessels docked in Hong Kong. On

April 27, another report claimed that Boca Chica was thoroughly seeded with mines.

Dewey examined the various intelligence data and judged the mining danger inconsequential. Furthermore, the commodore believed that planting mines in Boca Grande's deep waters required technological expertise that the Spanish did not possess. He also assumed that floating contact devices would break down mechanically in the warm waters and become useless.

Meanwhile, Rear Admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón, commander of Spanish naval forces at Manila, had decided against engaging Dewey's ships at Corregidor. Discouraged by Boca Grande's depth and his lack of mines, Montojo selected the Cavite anchorage in Cañacao Bay inside Manila Bay and near to Sangley Point's artillery cover for his defense.

On his arrival in Philippine waters, Dewey sent two ships to scout Subic Bay on the other side of Luzon. Determining that the Spanish warships were not there, he assumed that they were in Manila Bay. After cutting the transoceanic cable that allowed Montojo to communicate with Madrid, Dewey headed into Boca Grande in the early hours of May 1, 1898. The ships of his Asiatic Squadron advanced into the channel in a straight line, each separated by 400 yards, heading toward El Fraile. His squadron consisted of the protected cruisers *Olympia* (flagship), *Baltimore*, *Boston*, and *Raleigh*; the gunboats *Concord* and *Petrel*; and the revenue cutter *McCulloch*. Each vessel displayed one covered light at its poop.

Dewey expressed surprise that the Spanish guns trained on Boca Grande failed to fire on his ships as they traversed the passage. The squadron avoided detection until it passed El Fraile. Then the Spaniards fired several shots, and Dewey's ships returned fire before steaming toward battle with Montojo's vessels later that same day in the Battle of Manila Bay.

RODNEY J. ROSS

See also

Asiatic Squadron; Cables and Cable-Cutting Operations; Corregidor Island; Dewey, George; Manila Bay, Battle of; Montojo y Pasarón, Patricio; Naval Strategy, Spanish; Naval Strategy, U.S.; Pratt, E. Spencer; Subic Bay

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the Philippines. Andrés Bonifacio was born to an indio (native) father and a part-Spanish mestiza mother on November 30, 1863, in Tondo, a shanty town on the outskirts of Manila. His father and mother died before he was 10 years old. Little is known of Bonifacio's early life except that he went to work at an early age to support his siblings. He learned to read and write but evidently was largely self-taught, reportedly becoming a clerk for several foreign firms. He especially admired the French revolutionaries of 1789.

On July 3, 1892, José Rizal, a middle-class Filipino, established the Liga Filipina (Filipino League), a nonviolent group dedicated to reforming Spanish colonialism in the Philippines, and Bonifacio became one of its first members. Ramón Blanco y Erenas, Spanish captain-general of the Philippines, considered the group dangerous, however, and sent Rizal into exile.

Believing that peaceful reform of colonialism was now unrealistic, on July 7, 1892, Bonifacio organized the Katipunan (Highest and Most Respected Association of the Sons of the Country) with the goal of overthrowing Spanish rule in the Philippines by force. Most members of the middle class, however, continued to hope for a peaceful resolution of their demands for colonial reform and did not support Bonifacio's organization. By 1896, the Katipunan claimed more than 30,000 members, mostly from the lower classes. Within the organization, Bonifacio's nom de guerre was Maypagasa (He Who Hopes), and he held the title of *supremo*. Ultimately he came to be known as the Father of the Revolution. In 1896 he wrote *The Duties of the Sons of the People*.

When an informer betrayed the Katipunan to the Spanish authorities, on August 23, 1896, Bonifacio initiated the "Grito de Balintawak," a call to armed revolt against Spain. On August 30, 1896, with a promise for radical social change, he led 8,000 men in the first battle in the struggle for Filipino independence at San Juan del Monte. Bonifacio proved inept as a military commander, however, and by December 1896 his men had suffered a calamitous series of defeats at the hands of the Spanish forces.

Meanwhile, a group of Katipunan rebels from Cavite, led by Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, grew rapidly in strength and were much more successful in fighting the Spanish. Following a brief power struggle between Bonifacio and Aguinaldo, men loyal to Aguinaldo arrested Bonifacio and executed him and his brother Procopio on May 10, 1897. The orders came from General Mariano Noriel, but it has been suggested, although not proven, that Aguinaldo was behind it. Most Filipinos remember Bonifacio as a genuine hero in the struggle for Philippine independence, and his birthday is commemorated in the Philippines.

MICHAEL R. HALL AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Blanco y Erenas, Ramón; Filipino Revolutionary Movement

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Bonifacio, Andrés

Birth Date: November 30, 1863

Death Date: May 10, 1897

Filipino nationalist who founded the Katipunan, a secret society dedicated to the revolutionary overthrow of Spanish colonial rule in

Schirmer, Daniel B., and Stephen R. Shalom. *The Philippines Reader: A History of Colonialism, Neocolonialism, Dictatorship, and Resistance*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 1987.

Bonsal, Stephen

Birth Date: March 29, 1865

Death Date: June 8, 1951

American correspondent, linguist, and historian. Stephen Bonsal was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on March 29, 1865. He traveled extensively overseas as a newspaper correspondent, spending time in Asia before joining the *New York Herald* and *Harper's Weekly* to report on the Cuban revolt against Spain. Returning from Cuba in April 1897, he testified before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee on his experiences and published *The Real Conditions of Cuba Today* (1897). In that book, he adopted a sympathetic position toward the insurrectionists and sharply criticized the Spanish *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) system. He returned to Cuba with Major General William R. Shafter's V Corps during the Spanish-American War to cover the Santiago Campaign for *McClure's Magazine*. Following the war, Bonsal published *The Fight for Santiago: The Story of the Soldier in the Cuban Campaign, from Tampa to the Surrender* (1899). In this book he praised the service of African American U.S. Army soldiers during the war.

During 1910–1911, Bonsal was a correspondent for the *New York Times*. Following U.S. entry into World War I, he was employed in psychological warfare operations for the U.S. Army. Fluent in French, he served as President Woodrow Wilson's private translator during the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. Bonsal's book on the conference, *Unfinished Business*, won the Pulitzer Prize in 1944. Among his other books is *American Mediterranean* (1912). Bonsal died on June 8, 1951.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Newspapers; *Reconcentrado* System; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Shafter, William Rufus

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Fists (known in the West as the Boxers). The movement developed in northern China, and the Boxer Rebellion occurred during November 1897–September 1901. Its objective was the removal of foreign influence over Chinese trade, politics, religion, and technology. The Boxers were so-named because most of the adherents of the movement practiced martial arts, including Eastern-style boxing.

The Opium Wars of the 1840s and 1850s had led to Western nations imposing what became known as the Unequal Treaties on the Chinese. Those asymmetrical agreements gave the European powers substantial control over China's principal ports, dominance of the Chinese Customs Service (and hence of much of the imperial revenue), and extraterritorial rights for their citizens, rendering them immune from prosecution in Chinese courts. This environment provided Western businessmen a dominant position in the most lucrative parts of the Chinese economy and also encouraged the influx of Christian missionaries, who came to be seen as agents for the further spread of Western influence in China. Furthermore, because the missionaries were exempt from much of Chinese law, Christian churches often attracted miscreants who used the religion to invoke Western protection, inflaming further resentment against foreign influence.

China's humiliating defeat by Japan in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, despite efforts to reform the government and promote self-generated development, was followed by still further demands for mining and railroad concessions and seizures of territory by Britain, France, Germany, and Russia. In November 1897, the German government retaliated against China for the murder of two missionaries in Shandong Province by occupying the port of Qingdao. In December 1897, the Russians seized Lushun, located in southern Liaoning. The British joined in by occupying Weihai, while the French seized Zhanjiang. The U.S. Open Door Policy, initiated in 1899, was also seen by Chinese Nationalists as a further incursion on Chinese sovereignty.

The Boxers came together as a nationalistic, antiforeign movement determined to reverse the expansion of Western influence in China and restore Chinese independence. Its influence was greatest in northern China, where Western dominance was most widespread. The initial stages of the Boxer Rebellion were simultaneous with the Guangzu emperor's so-called Hundred Days' Reform (June 11–September 21, 1898), an attempt to reorganize the imperial bureaucracy and make it more efficient. The plan was opposed by his powerful aunt, Dowager Empress Cixi. The Boxers at first were hostile toward the ruling Manchu Qing dynasty. However, after they suffered a stinging defeat during an engagement with imperial troops in October 1898, they suspended their antigovernment campaign to focus their assaults on Christian missionaries and converts, whom they saw as agents of Western imperialism.

The growing strength of the Boxers encouraged Cixi to deploy them both as a force to expel the Western powers from China and as a means to reverse the emperor's reform program. The Imperial Court, soon firmly under her control, issued edicts in January 1900

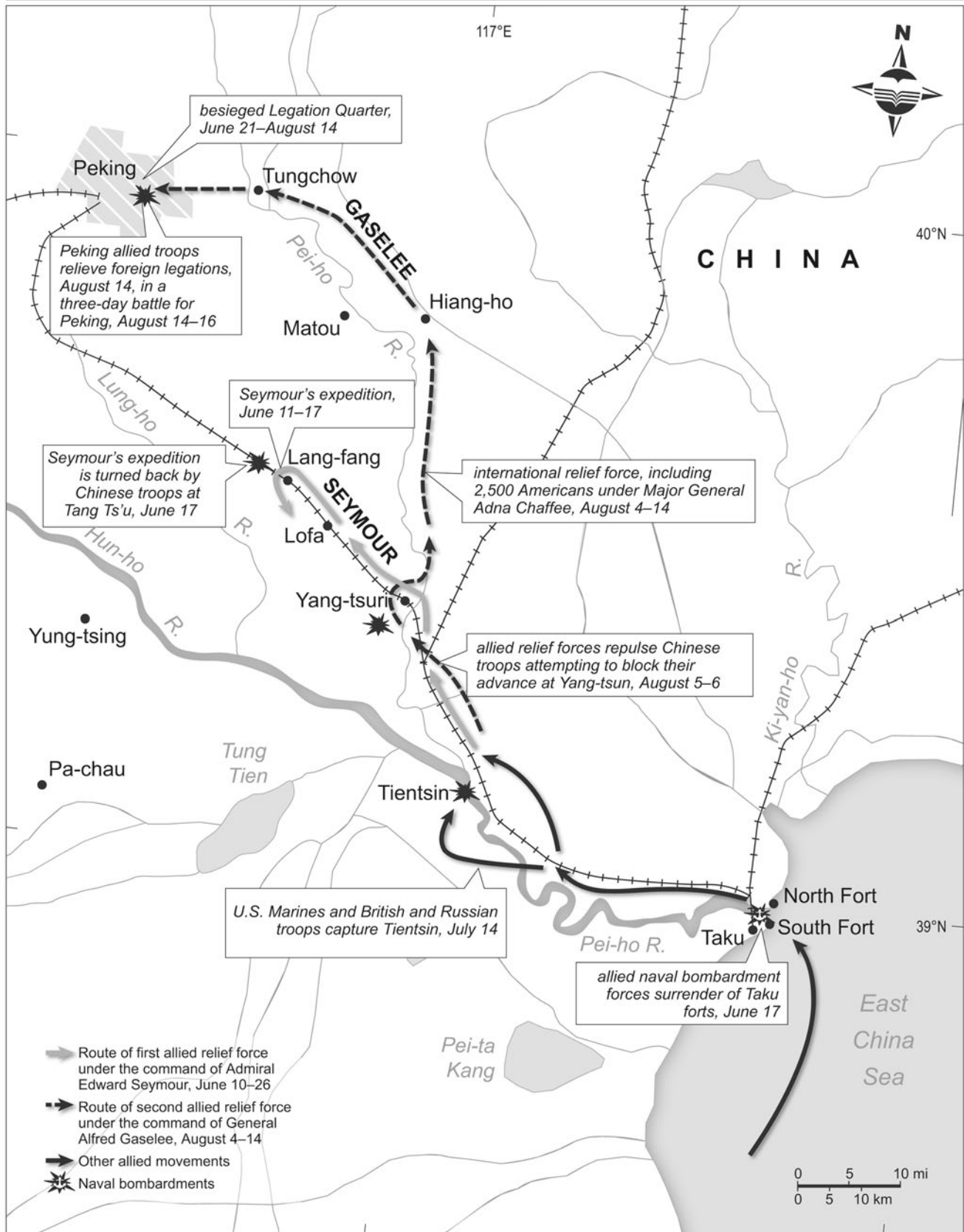
Boxer Rebellion

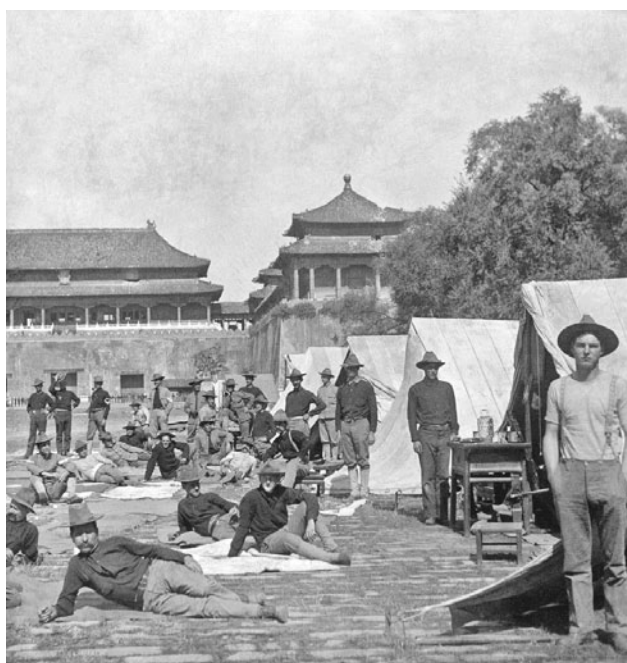
Start Date: November 1897

End Date: September 1901

A nationalist uprising in China. The so-called Boxer Rebellion was initiated by the secret organization known as the Righteous and Harmonious Society Movement or Righteous and Harmonious

RELIEF OF FOREIGN LEGATIONS IN PEKING, JUNE–AUGUST 1900





Men of the 9th U.S. Infantry Regiment in camp inside the Forbidden City, Beijing (Peking), China. (Library of Congress)

defending the Boxers. This move drew vociferous complaints from foreign diplomats. By November 1899, the Boxers had begun to launch widespread attacks against Western interests throughout northern China.

In response to spreading Boxer depredations, Western nations began to build up their forces on the Chinese coast in April 1900. A mixed force of 4,500 troops was landed to safeguard Western interests in Tianjin, and on May 31, 430 marines and sailors from eight nations were dispatched to Beijing to reinforce the forces guarding the legations there. The nations that sent troops were Japan, Russia, Great Britain, France, the United States, Germany, Italy, and Austria. On June 9, 1900, Boxers severed the telegraph line to Beijing. The following day, British vice admiral Sir Edward Seymour led a multinational force of some 2,100 troops (mostly marines and sailors) to go to the aid of troops already in place defending foreign embassies at Beijing.

The troops met stiff resistance from imperial troops and had to retreat to Tianjin, arriving there on June 25 after losing 350 men. The imperial government ordered all foreigners to leave Beijing, and the following day the Boxers, joined by elements of the Imperial Army, attacked the foreign compounds inside Beijing. The American, British, Dutch, French, and Russian legations, all in close proximity to the imperial compound known as the Forbidden City, were joined together to form a fortified compound into which the staff of the Belgian and Spanish legations and other foreign citizens fled. The German legation, however, was on the other side of the city and was stormed before the staff could escape.

Imperial Chinese troops, in the meantime, had reinforced the Dagukou forts at the mouth of the Haihe River, cutting off the allied

fleet from the forces it had landed. On June 16, a joint allied conference presented the Chinese with an ultimatum demanding the surrender of the forts. At 1:00 a.m. on June 17, a fierce artillery interchange between the forts and shoal-draft elements of the allied fleet commenced, after which allied landing forces assaulted the forts. By 6:30 a.m., the forts had been captured along with four destroyers that had been seized by naval boarding parties.

Dagukou became a beachhead for the buildup of strong forces to relieve the troops at Tianjin and advance on Beijing. By early July, 51 warships from eight nations were deployed in the mouth of the Haihe River. They brought with them 4,750 marines and naval landing forces along with almost 50,000 other troops, the great majority from Japan (20,840), Russia (13,150), and Britain (12,020), with smaller contingents from France (3,520), the United States (3,420), Germany (900), Italy (80), and Austria-Hungary (75). This allied force successfully assaulted Tianjin on July 13 and commenced its advance to Beijing on August 4.

The march to Beijing was opposed by approximately 70,000 imperial troops and between 50,000 and 100,000 Boxers. On August 5, 1900, Beicheng fell, and the following day American and British troops prevailed in a fierce engagement at Yangcun. The allied force arrived at Beijing on August 14, where troops from the U.S. Army's 14th Infantry Regiment scaled the Tartar Wall and opened the way into the Outer City. The following day, the allied force successfully assaulted the Inner City, ending the siege of the legations.

Following the capture of Beijing, allied troops spread out over northern China, breaking up Boxer concentrations. On February 1, 1901, the imperial government officially abolished the Boxers. On September 7, 1901, imperial officials had no choice but to sign the so-called Boxer Protocol, sometimes referred to as the Peace Agreement between the Eight-Nation Alliance and China. The Qing government was obliged to permit fortifications of foreign legations and the installation of foreign garrisons along the Beijing–Tianjin railroad. It was also compelled to execute 10 officials linked to the outbreak of the rebellion and pay war reparations of \$333 million. Both Britain and the United States subsequently remitted much of their portions of the indemnity, allocating it for the education of Chinese students at overseas institutions.

This humiliating defeat greatly contributed to the growth of Chinese nationalism and movements dedicated to the nation's modernization and the overthrow of the "foreign" Qing dynasty (originally of Manchurian origin). This eventually led to the 1911 revolution and the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912. In the short term, however, it also paved the way for aggressive foreign expansion into China, especially by Russia and Japan in the north. The large number of American troops and ships deployed in the Philippines after the Spanish-American War allowed the United States to make a significant contribution to suppressing the Boxer Rebellion. This success reinforced the importance of the Philippines in maintaining America's interests in the Far East.

See also

China; China Market; Open Door Policy; Spheres of Influence

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Breckinridge, Joseph Cabell

Birth Date: January 14, 1842

Death Date: August 18, 1920

U.S. Army officer and inspector general during the Spanish-American War. Joseph Cabell Breckinridge was born on January 14, 1842, in Baltimore, Maryland, into a well-known American political family. He attended Centre College in Danville, Kentucky, and the University of Virginia. In 1861, he entered the U.S. Army, initially serving on the staff of Brigadier General William Nelson. Within a year Breckinridge was the acting adjutant general with the 4th Division of the Army of the Ohio. On April 14, 1862, he was commissioned a second lieutenant of the 2nd U.S. Artillery in recognition of his gallantry during the January 19, 1862, Battle of Mills Springs in Kentucky. He earned a brevet promotion to captain on July 22, 1864, for his services during the Atlanta Campaign but was taken prisoner later in that same campaign. In March 1865, he received a brevet promotion to major.

Following the American Civil War, Breckinridge remained in the U.S. Army, where he continued to excel and advanced from regular artillery captain in 1874 to brigadier general in 1890, securing an assignment as inspector general. He left this post in 1898, however, to serve with V Corps in the Santiago Campaign in Cuba.

On July 2, 1898, while Breckinridge was observing troops charging up the hill at Las Guásimas, his horse was shot out from under him. He concluded from his stay in Cuba that U.S. troops there were poorly equipped, and he expressed the hope that the war would educate the army about the need for proper readiness and provisioning. He also praised African American soldiers for their courage under fire.

On August 2, 1898, U.S. secretary of war Russell A. Alger directed Breckinridge, now a major general of volunteers, to take command of Camp Thomas in Chickamauga National Park, Georgia, replacing Brigadier General James Franklin Wade. On August 2, 1898, Breckinridge assumed command of I Corps.

Army officials had described the conditions at Camp Thomas as close to anarchy, and Breckinridge had the task of bringing about order. At Camp Thomas, he had command of some 44,000 troops, mostly volunteer troops along with part of III Corps. A considerable percentage of his troops were poorly equipped.

As a result of inadequate sanitation, insufficient water supplies, and poor drainage, Breckinridge had to contend with a massive outbreak of typhoid fever. Mid-August saw almost 4,000 men in Camp Thomas stricken with the disease. Breckinridge took decisive steps to deal with the disease, including establishing two hospitals. Because of this outbreak, however, most of the men at Camp Thomas were either mustered out of the service or assigned to other camps by the end of August. The camp was deemed too filthy to be salvaged and was closed entirely at the end of September.

Breckinridge then moved his men to Lexington, Kentucky, and was relieved of command on October 20, 1898, by Major General James H. Wilson. Breckinridge's support for his good friend Major General Nelson A. Miles during the Embalmed Beef Scandal ruined Breckinridge's reputation and led to his voluntary retirement on April 12, 1903, after which he returned to his estates in Kentucky and Canada. He died in Washington, D.C., on August 18, 1920.

R. RAY ORTENSIE AND PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Camp Thomas; Camps, U.S. Army; Embalmed Beef Scandal; Las Guásimas, Battle of; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Typhoid Fever; Wade, James Franklin

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Britain

See Great Britain; Great Britain, Policies and Reactions to the Spanish-American War

Brooke, John Rutter

Birth Date: July 21, 1838

Death Date: September 5, 1926

U.S. Army general and military governor of Cuba. Born in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, on July 21, 1838, John Rutter Brooke was educated at Collegeville and West Chester. Commissioned a captain of volunteers in the 4th Pennsylvania Infantry in April 1861



U.S. Army major general John Rutter Brooke was military governor of Puerto Rico (1898) and then governor of Cuba (1898–1902). (John Clark Ridpath, *Ridpath's History of the World*, 1901)

at the beginning of the American Civil War, he suffered the embarrassment of having to watch his regiment march away just prior to the First Battle of Bull Run (Manassas) on July 21, 1861, on the expiration of its three-month term of enlistment.

Promoted to colonel of the 53rd Pennsylvania that November, Brooke took part in the ensuing Peninsula Campaign and then temporarily commanded a brigade of II Corps in the Battle of Antietam (Sharpsburg) on September 17, 1862. Reverting to his regimental command, he took part in the Battle of Fredericksburg on December 13, 1862, when he took permanent command of the 4th Brigade of the 2nd Division of II Corps, which he commanded in the Battle of Chancellorsville (May 1–4, 1863) and at Gettysburg (July 1–3, 1863), where he was wounded. On recovering from his wounds, he took part in the Overland Campaign and fought in the Battle of the Wilderness (May 5–7, 1864) and the Battle of Cold Harbor (June 1–3, 1864). For his distinguished service, he was advanced to brigadier general, backdated to May 12, 1864. Critically wounded at Cold Harbor, he returned to duty in September but was incapable of field service until November. He served on court-martial duty until the spring of 1865 when he took command of a division under

Major General Winfield Scott Hancock in the Shenandoah Valley. Brooke was then breveted a major general of volunteers.

Brooke remained in the regular army after the war and was promoted to lieutenant colonel in the 27th Infantry Regiment in July 1866. He was promoted to colonel in 1879 and served in the West in various posts. In 1888 he was advanced to brigadier general, receiving command of the Department of the Platte, and in 1897 he was advanced to major general.

Following the declaration of war with Spain, Brooke was named to command the I Corps at Camp Thomas in Chickamauga, Georgia, before being assigned to the Department of the Gulf. Named a senior commander under Major General Nelson Miles for the Puerto Rico Campaign, Brooke departed with his 5,000-man force from Newport News, Virginia, on July 28, 1898, and began coming ashore at Arroyo on August 3. He commanded the right flank of the U.S. advance across the island, fighting at Guayama on August 5 and then moving northeast in an effort to cut off the Spanish retreat from Ponce and isolate the garrison at Aibonito. Following the war, he served as the first governor of Puerto Rico until he was replaced by Brigadier General Guy Vernon Henry on December 9. While governor, Brooke allowed the former autonomous government officials to remain in place and appointed a new supreme court for the island. On January 1, 1899, following the signing of the Protocol of Peace between the United States and Spain, he accepted the formal surrender of Spanish forces in Cuba.

Appointed military governor of Cuba, Brooke was faced with bringing order to a country that had suffered privation from years of war, a challenge he met with reasonable success. After the restoration of order, he oversaw the distribution of food and the reestablishment of civil government. He also initiated work on improving Cuba's road system, harbors, and public buildings and negotiated the surrender of the Cuban Revolutionary Army. Nevertheless, he came to be viewed as something less than an able administrator. Among other things, critics charged that he relied too heavily on his Cuban advisers and lacked a firm hand. In December 1899, he was replaced by the younger and more aggressive Brigadier General Leonard Wood.

Following his Cuban service, Brooke returned to the United States to command the Department of the East. He retired on July 21, 1902, having reached the statutory age of 64. Brooke died in Philadelphia on September 5, 1926.

JERRY KEENAN AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cuba; Cuba, U.S. Occupation of; Guayama, Battle of; Henry, Guy Vernon; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Puerto Rico Campaign; Wood, Leonard

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Brooklyn, USS

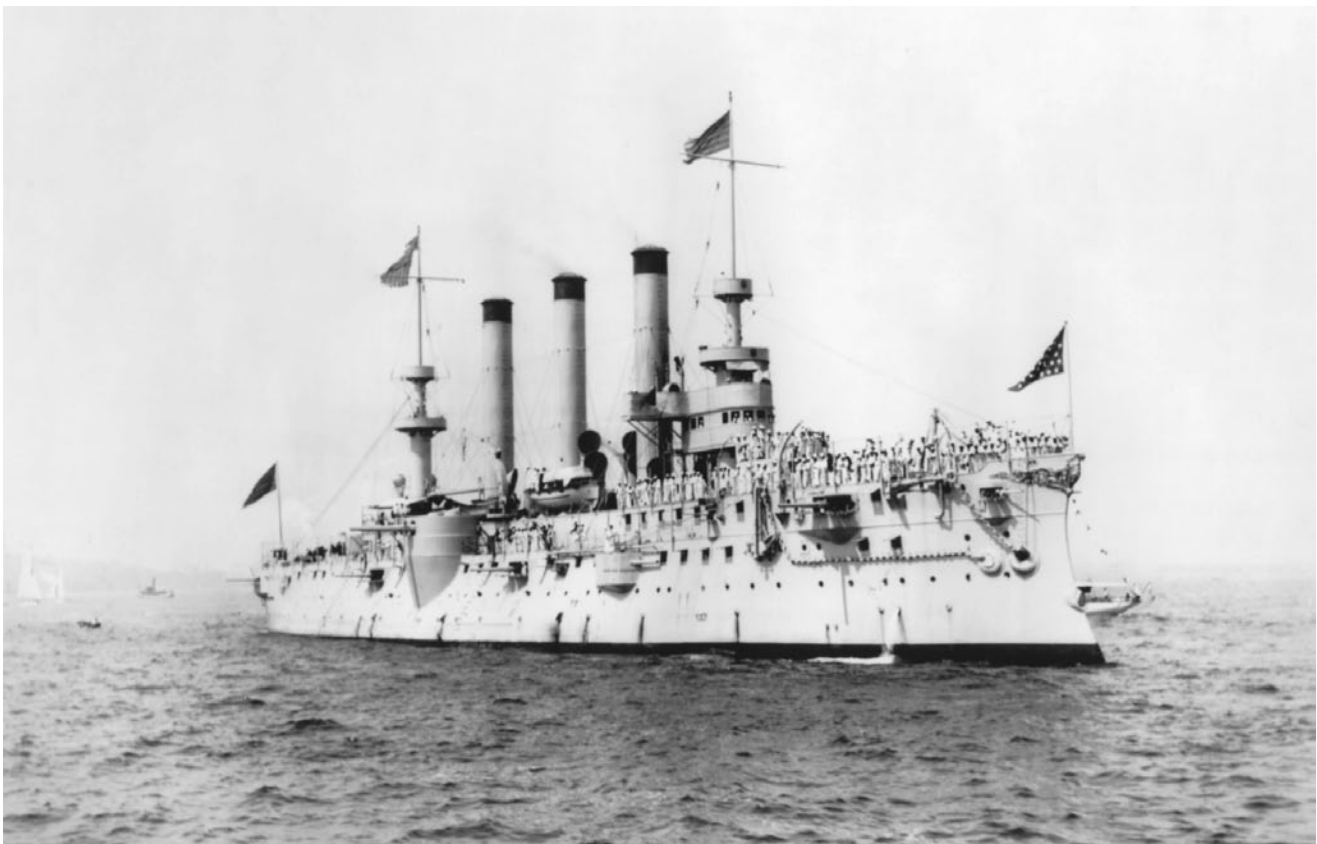
U.S. armored cruiser and Commodore Winfield Scott Schley's flagship during the pivotal Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3, 1898. The *Brooklyn* was laid down in 1893 and commissioned on December 1, 1896. Captain Francis Augustus Cook commanded the ship from 1896 to 1899. The *Brooklyn*, with a maximum speed of 20 knots, was 402 feet, 7 inches in length and 64 feet, 8.5 inches in beam and had a maximum draft when fully loaded of 26 feet, 2 inches. It displaced 9,215 tons. Its armaments included 8 8-inch guns; 12 5-inch guns; 12 6-pounders, 4 1-pounders, 4 Colt Gatling guns, 2 3-inch field guns for landing parties, and 4 Whitehead 18-inch torpedo tubes. The *Brooklyn* was protected by 3 inches of armor on its sides, 5.5 inches of armor on its turrets, and 4 to 8 inches of armor on its barbettes. Crew complement numbered 525 men, including 45 officers.

Commodore Schley took command of the Flying Squadron on March 17, 1898, and took the *Brooklyn* as his flagship. When war with Spain began that April, he was directed to patrol the U.S. East Coast and remain prepared to steam to the Caribbean when necessary. On May 13, he was ordered to steam to Key West, Florida, and link up with Rear Admiral William T. Sampson's North Atlantic Squadron to take up a blockading position off Cienfuegos, Cuba. Schley did not arrive until May 22, much to the annoyance of Sampson. By then, it had already been ascertained that Spanish admiral Pascual Cervera y

Topete's squadron was at Santiago de Cuba. Sampson ordered an immediate blockade of the harbor to prevent the Spanish ships from escaping. Ordered to join the blockade of Santiago immediately, Schley dithered and did not arrive until May 26.

On the morning of July 3, 1898, Sampson left the blockaders at Santiago de Cuba for a meeting with Major General William R. Shafter in Siboney. When Cervera tried to break out of the harbor a short time later, Schley had effective command of the entire squadron and issued the orders to attack the Spanish ships. Because the *Brooklyn* was closest to the outgoing Spanish ships, it became Cervera's immediate objective, with the Spanish cruiser *Maria Teresa* initiating fire. Fearing that the *Brooklyn* was in jeopardy and vulnerable to a Spanish broadside, Schley allegedly ordered Cook to execute a 360-degree turn away from the Spanish vessels before coming around to face them head-on for pursuit. In the midst of the controversial turn, the *Brooklyn* almost collided with the battleship *Texas*. The near miss slowed the advance of both ships, although the incident did not imperil the impending battle, which U.S. forces won easily in a matter of a few short hours. During the battle, the *Brooklyn* was hit by at least 20 Spanish shells, but none of these were serious. Amazingly, only one sailor died on the U.S. ship.

On July 11 and 12, 1898, the *Brooklyn* played a role in the eventual surrender of Santiago de Cuba. In order to put pressure on the



The U.S. Navy armored (heavy) cruiser *Brooklyn*, Commodore Winfield Scott Schley's flagship during the Battle of Santiago de Cuba, July 3, 1898. (Library of Congress)

Spaniards to surrender, the *Brooklyn*, along with the *Indiana*, the *Texas*, and the *New York*, shelled the city while Major General William R. Shafter's forces engaged the Spanish in a fairly light ground battle. The city surrendered on July 17.

The *Brooklyn* saw extensive postwar service. From June 7, 1905, to June 1, 1906, it served as Rear Admiral Charles Sigsbee's flagship during his command of the European Squadron. The ship was decommissioned in June 1908. It was recommissioned in 1915 during World War I. The *Brooklyn* was decommissioned for a final time in 1921 and sold that same year.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Cook, Francis Augustus; Cuba, U.S. Naval Blockade of; Flying Squadron; North Atlantic Squadron; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba, Capitulation Agreement; Schley, Winfield Scott; Spain, Navy; United States Navy

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Browning-Colt .45 Semiautomatic Pistol

Designated as the United States Pistol, Caliber .45, M1911, the Browning-Colt .45 is one of the most famous firearms and probably the most enduring pistols in history. It was designed by American John M. Browning for Colt Patent Firearms Manufacturing Company and was semiautomatic, firing one shot each time the trigger was pulled. Browning, born in 1855 and the son of a gunsmith, was perhaps the most innovative firearms designer in history. Among his weapons were a wide variety of machine guns and the Browning Automatic Rifle (BAR), but he was perhaps best known for his semiautomatic pistol. Indeed, his name became synonymous with this weapon type.

By the 1890s Browning had developed a self-loading pistol, initially in .38 caliber, that he demonstrated for officials at Colt. In 1896 the two parties agreed that Colt would develop, manufacture, and distribute Browning's designs in the United States, while Browning struck a similar deal with the Belgian firm of Fabrique Nationale in Europe.

Browning's first Model 1900 semiautomatic pistol was the basis of the later M1911 .45-caliber pistol. It fired a .38-caliber rimless cartridge and had a seven-round detachable box magazine. The barrel was attached to the slide with corresponding grooves and lugs. When the pistol was fired, these disengaged, allowing the barrel to slide backward to eject the spent cartridge, cock the exposed hammer, and then strip a new round from the magazine when carried forward by a spring. The Model 1902 and a shorter-barrel

Model 1903 followed. The Model 1903 .32-caliber pistol, with a 4-inch (later 3.75-inch) barrel, was highly successful. With its slide lock and concealed hammer and weighing only 23 ounces, it remained in production until 1946. Browning also designed a Model 1908 .38-caliber and a .25-caliber that were produced until 1941.

Colt and other firearms manufacturers were most interested in winning the competition for a new U.S. government side arm. The army's experience during the Philippine-American War (1899–1902), in which its .38-caliber pistols had not been able to halt hard-charging Moro insurgents, led the Ordnance Bureau to require that the new weapon be no less than .45 caliber. Following extensive tests including those in the field and against cadavers and animals, the Browning-Colt .45 won out over a half dozen other designs to enter service in May 1911. It replaced a wide range of revolvers and semiautomatic pistols to equip all the U.S. armed forces.

Although heavy at 39 ounces with an empty magazine and having a hefty recoil, the Browning-Colt .45 was absolutely reliable and accurate. It also had great knock-down power, thanks to the large and relatively slow-moving 230-grain bullet (muzzle velocity of 830 feet per second). Magazine capacity was eight rimless .45 rounds. The M1911 also featured both a thumb-operated and grip safety.

With World War I, demand for the pistol increased tremendously, and 380,000 were manufactured between April 1917 and November 1918 alone. During World War II, the government ordered 1.9 million produced. The Browning-Colt .45 remained in service with the U.S. military (and many foreign militaries) from 1911 until 1985 and the changeover to the standard 9-millimeter NATO model Beretta.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Artillery; United States Army

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Brumby, Thomas Mason

Birth Date: November 20, 1855

Death Date: December 17, 1899

U.S. Navy officer. Thomas Mason Brumby was born on November 20, 1855, in Marietta, Georgia. His father, Arnoldus Brumby, had served as a colonel in the Confederate Army during the American Civil War and had been the superintendent of the Georgia Military Institute. First attending the University of Georgia, the younger Brumby transferred to the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, becoming a cadet midshipman on September 27, 1873, and graduating on June 18, 1879. On November 26, 1880, he made ensign and soon thereafter profited from the decision to build a modern

all-steel navy. On April 21, 1887, Brumby made lieutenant, junior grade, and on August 24, 1892, he made lieutenant.

After serving in a variety of posts at sea and surviving a typhoon off the coast of Samoa in 1889, during which he was barely able to swim ashore, Brumby volunteered to serve as one of Commodore George Dewey's aides when the latter took command of the Asiatic Squadron. Impressed with the young officer, Dewey accepted Brumby's application. Soon, Brumby was flag lieutenant aboard Dewey's flagship, the cruiser *Olympia*. As such, Brumby was actively involved in the May 1, 1898, Battle of Manila Bay, which saw the prompt destruction of the Spanish squadron by Dewey's ships. During the brief battle, Brumby narrowly escaped death from a Spanish shell that severed a signal halyard he was holding.

Before and during the First Battle of Manila on August 13, 1898, Dewey selected Brumby as his chief emissary and negotiator with the Spanish side. Indeed, Brumby helped negotiate a surrender agreement with Spanish general Fermín Jáudenes y Alvarez whereby the Spanish would stage a token defense of their outer defense works at Manila to salvage Spanish honor. The negotiations had actually begun on August 7 with an ultimatum from Major General Wesley Merritt and Dewey that the Spanish surrender Manila at the end of a 48-hour truce or face an American assault. At the end of the day on August 13 when the bogus battle was over and Manila had been captured by the Americans, Brumby helped raise the first American flag over the city.

After Manila had been secured, Brumby returned home with Dewey aboard the *Olympia*. Brumby was feted upon his return to Georgia, where the governor presented him with a ceremonial sword for his wartime service. Brumby returned to Washington, D.C., to redeploy overseas, where he contracted typhoid fever and died on December 17, 1899.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Dewey, George; Manila, First Battle of; Manila Bay, Battle of; Merritt, Wesley

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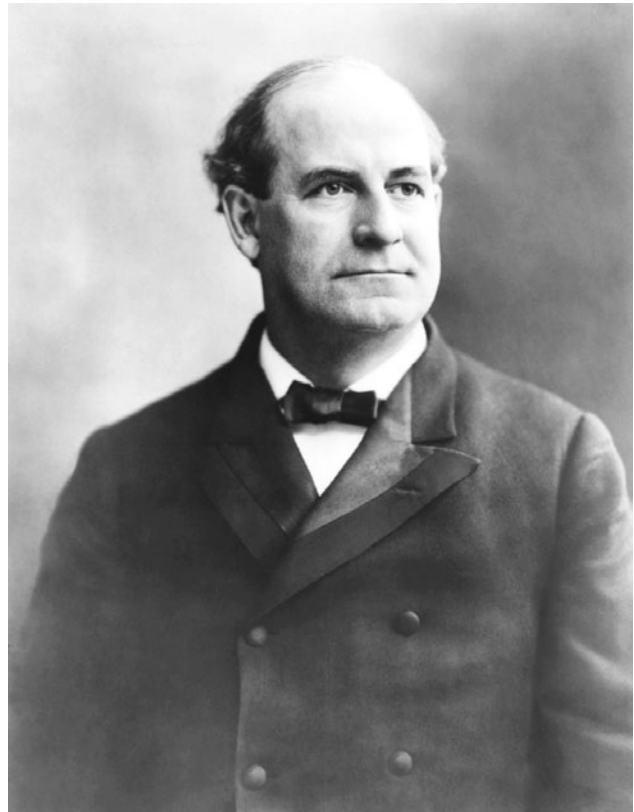
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Bryan, William Jennings

Birth Date: March 19, 1860

Death Date: July 26, 1925

Lawyer, Democratic Party politician, populist, and anti-imperialist. One of the grand figures in U.S. political history, William Jennings



U.S. Democratic Party politician William Jennings Bryan was a tireless advocate of reform and a staunch anti-imperialist. He served in Congress and as secretary of state and was a presidential candidate in three elections. (Library of Congress)

Bryan was a speaker of rare and powerful eloquence in an era in which oratory was still highly regarded. Not surprisingly, he was quite active regarding the U.S. wars in Cuba and the Philippines. Bryan was born in Salem, Illinois, on March 19, 1860, to devout Christian parents. His father, Silas Bryan, was a well-known Democratic politician who served in the Illinois Senate with Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas.

Although the elder Bryan had become something of a well-to-do gentleman farmer by the time his son had reached his teens, the younger Bryan was nevertheless immersed in the traditions and ideology of rural midwestern agriculture. Thus, he would identify with this mind-set for the entirety of his political life. Bryan graduated from Illinois College in 1881 and went on to study at the Union College of Law in Chicago. After practicing law in Jacksonville, Illinois, he moved to Lincoln, Nebraska, where his oratorical gifts and deep, melodious voice soon earned him the sobriquet "Boy Orator of the Plains." He was also known as the "Great Commoner" because he often allied himself with the working man and with Populism.

Bryan was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1891 but failed in his bid to reach the U.S. Senate in the 1894 elections, which the Republican Party swept. He was an ardent supporter of

free silver, a political movement that advocated the unlimited coinage of silver as a means of relieving the debt burden of many, especially farmers in the midwestern and western states.

In 1896, Bryan ran for president on the Democratic ticket. In so doing, he successfully beat back the so-called Bourbon Democrats, who were backing President Grover Cleveland's reelection bid. Delivering his famous "Cross of Gold" speech at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Bryan declared that mankind should not be crucified on a cross of gold or be held hostage to the Eastern Establishment. With this electrifying speech, he galvanized support from the agrarian populists and free silverites, which ultimately garnered him the nomination by both the Democrats and the Populist Party. Despite the power of his oratory and his considerable appeal to many voters, he lost the election to William McKinley in November 1896. In the end, Bryan was unable to overcome the momentum of the Republican McKinley, who ran a staid, perfectly organized campaign that promised prosperity based upon the gold standard, high tariffs, and continued industrial and economic growth.

On the beginning of war with Spain in 1898, Bryan requested and was given a commission as colonel of the 3rd Nebraska Infantry, a regiment he was largely responsible for developing. The regiment, however, remained in Florida and saw no action in Cuba or the Philippines. Whether the decision to keep the unit at home was part of McKinley's strategy to prevent a powerful political opponent from enhancing his reputation by winning glory on the field of battle remains a subject of conjecture. The 3rd Nebraska was not the only regiment to have remained at home, of course.

When the war ended, Bryan returned to his more familiar role as a political activist and leader of the Democratic Party. A staunch anti-imperialist, he was initially adamantly opposed to the subjugation of the Philippines. He later altered his views, supporting McKinley's position to acquire the Philippine archipelago and backing the Treaty of Paris with the proviso that Filipinos be given the assurance of independence in the future.

In 1900, Bryan sought the presidential office for a second time. He now ran as an ardent anti-imperialist and a proponent of free silver, but he soon found himself in an ironic and awkward alliance with the likes of Andrew Carnegie and other wealthy anti-imperialists, which compromised Bryan's image as the "Great Commoner" and populist leader. Not surprisingly, he lost again to McKinley. A third presidential try also proved unsuccessful when Bryan lost to William Howard Taft in 1908. From 1900 to 1912, Bryan, a fundamentalist Christian, embarked on a grueling speaking circuit during which he defended the Christian faith and spoke on issues of morality and values. From 1913 to 1915, he was secretary of state in the Woodrow Wilson administration. Bryan resigned that post, however, in protest of Wilson's response to the German sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915, which he feared would bring the United States into World War I.

Following his resignation, Bryan left government service and concentrated his efforts on winning support for Prohibition

(achieved in 1919) and fighting the teaching of evolution in public schools. Bryan was one of the prosecuting attorneys in the famous Scopes Monkey Trial of 1925, which pitted him against attorney Clarence Darrow. Just five days after the trial ended, Bryan died in Dayton, Ohio, on July 26, 1925. His role in the Scopes trial was immortalized in the film *Inherit the Wind*.

JERRY KEENAN

See also

Anti-Imperialist League; Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Imperialism; McKinley, William; Spanish-American War, U.S. Public Reaction to

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Bud Bagsak, Battle of

Start Date: June 11, 1913

End Date: June 15, 1913

A battle that occurred during June 11–15, 1913, in Moro Province near the site of the Battle of Bud Dajo (March 5–8, 1906), the Philippines, between government forces (U.S. and Filipino) and the Moros (Muslims). The Battle of Bud Bagsak was the last major engagement in the long-running campaign to break the Moro insurrection. The Lati Moros continued their attacks on Jolo Island (part of Sulu Province) despite earlier, mostly successful, attempts at disarmament by American authorities in 1912. Their success prompted a new military operation in January 1913 that was designed to defeat the Moros and was spearheaded by Brigadier General John J. Pershing, who was also the provincial governor.

In several early engagements, the Americans—working with the Philippine Scouts and the Philippine Constabulary—attempted to pacify the region. Two Moro cottas (forts) were seized, but the leaders of the insurgency, Naquib Amil, Sahipa, and Jami, eluded capture. Over the next several months, as many as 10,000 Lati Moros, mostly women and children, gathered at Bud Bagsak, a fortified extinct volcano mountaintop surrounded by sheer rock. Many were herded to the foreboding site against their will.

With an attack on the mountaintop likely to result in the slaughter of many noncombatants, an agreement was reached whereby the Moro civilians returned to their homes as the troops were withdrawn. However, approximately 400 Moros refused to disarm, causing Pershing to act decisively to force their surrender.

On June 11, Pershing's forces, consisting of American infantry and members of the Philippine Scouts, arrived undetected on the scene and cut off the belligerents from most of the noncombatants.

For almost five days, intense fighting, some of it hand to hand, occurred. Equipped with two mountain guns, Pershing's troops withstood several Moro rushes and were able to destroy the Moro cottas beneath the main stone fortress. The Moros, screaming, running in their brightest clothing, and waving kris (a Malayan-style dagger) and bolos, were easily cut down. On the final day of the battle, June 15, the mountain guns continued to bombard the main fort before soldiers climbed over the walls and fought fiercely to seize it. During the battle, government forces suffered 14 killed and 13 wounded, while nearly every Moro defender perished.

Several American newspapers described the Battle of Bud Bagsak as a massacre, with more than 2,000 killed, but little came out of these allegations, which were greatly exaggerated. The U.S. Army stood by Pershing's actions, claiming that he had acted properly and in accordance with the rules of engagement. At first, few journalists mentioned the fact that Pershing had carefully avoided a much larger catastrophe by safely moving Moro civilians off the mountain. The battle largely ended Moro resistance on the island of Jolo and sent a message to other pockets of resistance in the Philippines that the government would act forcefully to end violence.

GREGORY C. FERENCE

See also

Bud Dajo, Battle of; Bud Dajo Campaign; Cottas; Moro Campaigns; Moros; Pershing, John Joseph; Philippine Constabulary; Philippine Scouts

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Bud Dajo, Battle of

Start Date: March 5, 1906
End Date: March 8, 1906

Battle during March 5–8, 1906, on Jolo Island, Moro Province, the Philippines, between U.S. and Philippine government forces and the Moro insurgents. After the United States revoked the Bates Treaty in March 1904, the Moros renewed their resistance to American authority. This took the form of sporadic violence and a refusal to pay taxes. The governor of Moro Province, Major General Leonard Wood, had been unsuccessful in efforts to pacify the insurgents on Jolo Island. Consequently, Moro attacks became more frequent, and the insurgents came to believe that the Americans were too weak to stop them.

In response to rumors that the Americans planned to exterminate them, several hundred Moros, including women and children,

moved to Bud Dajo, where legend held that spirits at the site would help warriors in times of need. Bud Dajo, the crater of an extinct volcano, is about six miles from the city of Jolo. Rising some 2,100 feet with steep, heavily jungled slopes, it was accessible only by three narrow paths. As such, it provided an easily defended position and was well stocked with provisions.

When negotiations between several friendly *datus* (chiefs) and hostile Moros failed to bring about the surrender of the insurgents, Wood commenced a campaign on March 5, 1906, to end the stand-off at Bud Dajo. He sent U.S. and Philippine Constabulary troops under Colonel Joseph W. Duncan to put down the insurgents. Meanwhile, another attempt to negotiate ended in failure on March 6.

As their artillery bombarded Bud Dajo to weaken resistance, the attackers hacked their way through the dense jungle and up the slope. On the evening of March 6, Duncan's men paused midway up the mountain and bivouacked for the night. In the darkness, Moro drums and chanting could be heard from the crater, while Moro snipers periodically fired at the troops.

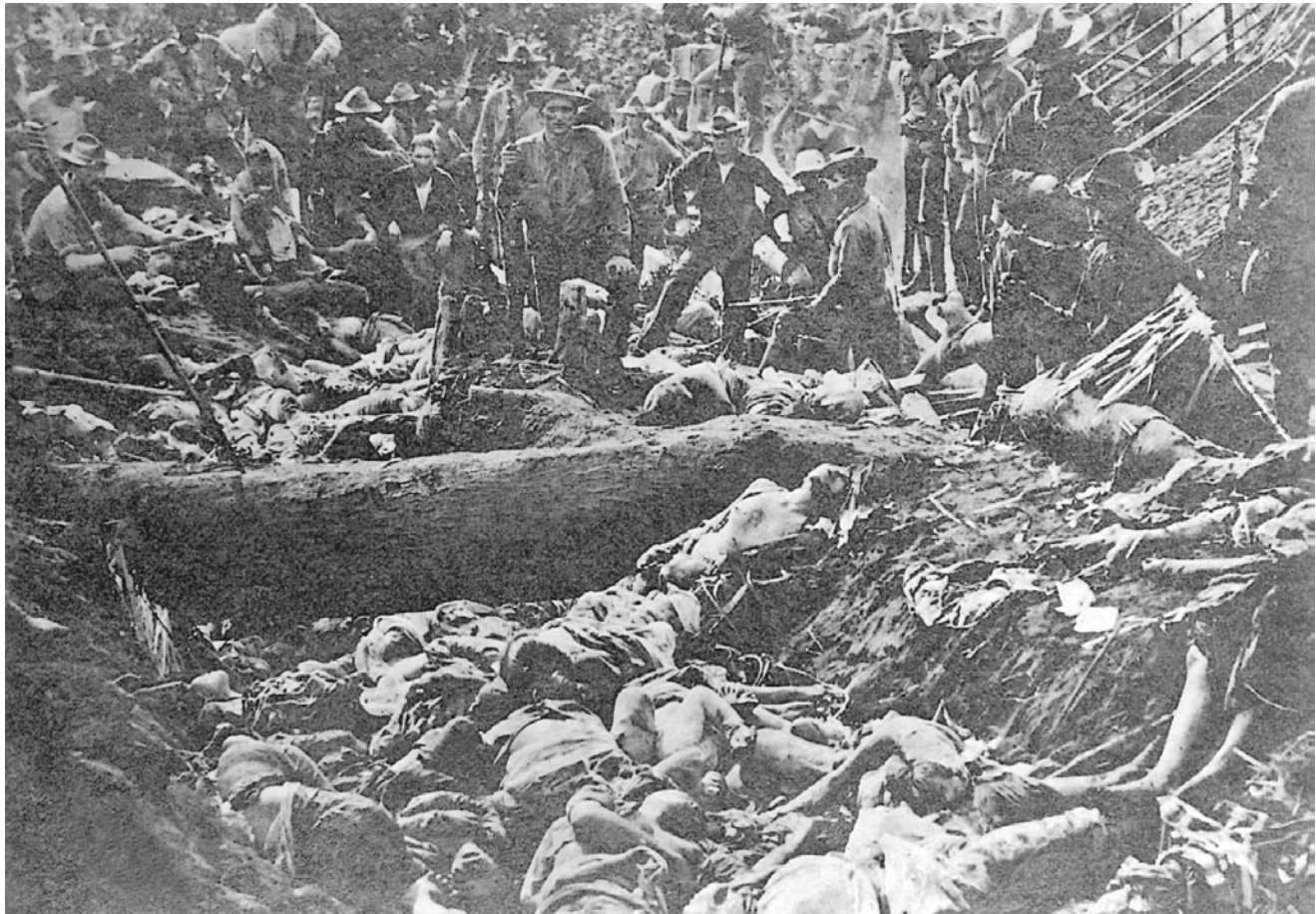
The following day, the advance up the summit continued as American artillery fired ineffectively at the defenders. On March 7, while taking heavy casualties, many of the Moros feigned death and then attempted to ambush Duncan's forces when they neared the top of the mountain. The Americans and Philippine Constabulary troops then attacked the cottas (forts) and other Moro positions, taking Bud Dajo on March 8. Once the outer rim had been secured, artillery—worked to the top with block and tackle—and machine guns were employed. As Wood reported, "All the defenders were killed as near as could be counted."

In the battle, 18 Americans lost their lives, and another 52 were wounded. Wood estimated the number of enemy dead at 600, including women and children, although some estimates ran as high as 900. He censored telegrams from Jolo describing the casualties. Although U.S. authorities considered the Battle of Bud Dajo to be a significant victory and commended Wood for his actions, some in the U.S. press viewed it as little more than a massacre, particularly given the deaths of so many noncombatants. Moro practice was for warriors to take their wives and children with them, but some in the press said that Wood should have merely laid siege to the mountain. Wood's friend, President Theodore Roosevelt, sent him a congratulatory telegram, and Secretary of War William Howard Taft also approved. The controversy soon died down, as local *datus* and the sultan of Sulu, religious leader of the region, believed that the action at Bud Dajo would bring about long-term stability. Unfortunately, Moro resistance continued, leading to Brigadier General John J. Pershing's Bud Dajo Campaign of 1911 and the Battle of Bud Bagsak in June 1913.

GREGORY C. FERENCE

See also

Atrocities; Bates Treaty; Bud Bagsak, Battle of; Bud Dajo Campaign; Moro Campaigns; Moros; Philippine-American War; Philippine Constabulary; Wood, Leonard



Moro insurgents killed by U.S. troops during the Battle of Bud Dajo, March 5–8, 1906. Bud Dajo is located on Jolo Island in the Philippines. (National Archives)

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Bud Dajo Campaign

Start Date: December 3, 1911

End Date: December 26, 1911

Campaign on Jolo Island, Moro Province, the Philippines, in December 1911. Moro Province had been notorious for attacks on Christians as well as for murders, robbery, slavery, and general lawlessness. For these reasons, the governor of the province, U.S. Army brigadier general John J. Pershing, decided to disarm the Moros. Pershing was determined, however, to spare noncombatants as

much as possible. This would not be easy, for Moro warriors had a practice of taking their wives and children with them on campaign. In 1906 a U.S.–Philippine government assault of the Moro stronghold of Bud Dajo on Jolo Island ordered by then-governor of Moro Province Major General Leonard Wood had resulted in the deaths of many Moro women and children.

Pershing understood the risks, for some Moros were bound to resist disarmament, and this could bring on war. Before proceeding, Pershing ordered roads built and others improved to ensure that his men could reach all areas of the province and protect cooperative Moros. He also consulted with moderate Moro leaders to convince them of the wisdom of complete disarmament.

Pershing issued his disarmament order, Executive Order No. 24, on September 8, 1911, which made it unlawful for a Moro to possess either a gun or a cutting weapon. December 1 was the deadline for turning in guns and receiving cash payments in return. Even Moros friendly to the government expected a general uprising if the order was enforced, but Pershing was determined to proceed.

Trouble did indeed occur on Jolo, where militant Moros mounted a night attack on the U.S. camp at Seit Lake, killing one

American and wounding three others. Pershing decided on action and immediately departed for Jolo to take personal charge. On Jolo, Pershing divided the command into two field forces: one east to Seit Lake and the other west to Taglibi, eight miles west of Jolo City. Because the latter area had been rife with anti-American sentiment, Pershing suspected that an attack would not be long in coming. As a precaution the troops entrenched, strung barbed wire, and cleared fields of fire. On the night of November 18, the Moros did attack. Although no Americans died, Pershing was determined to teach the Moros a lesson but was also determined to spare noncombatants if at all possible.

On December 3, Pershing ordered three columns out in the Taglibi area. The Moros attacked but were driven back. Two days later, Pershing sent out five columns, moving in different directions to comb the area carefully. The Moros seemed impressed by the show of force, and on the afternoon of December 5, an influential Moro reported that the militants were ready to disarm. Pershing suspected a trick but did order a suspension of operations pending negotiations. These dragged on but without result.

On December 14, Pershing received word that many Moros were occupying Bud Dajo, their sacred mountain. An extinct volcano, it had steep sides and would be difficult to assail. Some 800 Moros, armed with between 150 and 250 rifles in addition to cutting weapons, took up position in the crater and began preparing fortifications.

Pershing took personal command of operations. He was determined to avoid unnecessary loss of life, especially noncombatants. Pershing ordered up reinforcements in the form of three American infantry companies, three companies of Philippine Scouts, and a machine-gun platoon. These gave him a total of about 1,000 men. He conducted a personal reconnaissance of the three Bud Dajo approaches and ordered camps established at each in order to cut off supplies. By December 22, Bud Dajo had been completely isolated.

The Moro decision to occupy Bud Dajo had been a precipitate one, and the Moros there were soon running short of food and supplies. Meanwhile, Pershing was determined to avoid unnecessary bloodshed and ordered his men to avoid contact if possible and not to return fire. In the meantime, he used friendly Moros to send messages to those on the mountain. Hundreds of Moros responded over the next days, surrendering in groups of 20 or more.

On December 23, Pershing informed the remaining Moros on the mountain that the next day there would be no chance for them to surrender except unconditionally. He then prepared his men for the assault.

On the morning of December 24, Pershing again sent friendly Moros up the mountain. They returned to say that the holdouts, perhaps 60–100 in all, had left the crater, probably that same morning. Rushing the crater with two companies of Philippine Scouts, Pershing now had the Moros trapped in the woods between his own force and the line below. He then fortified, expecting the Moros, without food or water, to try to escape that night. They did so, but very few made it. The operation concluded on December 26. Per-

shing reported 300 Moros taken prisoner. Casualties for the entire campaign on the American side were 3 wounded. On the Moro side, 12 were killed and a few others wounded. Pershing sent the prisoners to Mindanao to be tried for insurrection. Later he decided to drop the charges if a prisoner's friends could collect sufficient arms for his release. Although it had been a very successful operation, Moro resistance was not ended until the Battle of Bud Bagsak in June 1913.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Atrocities; Bates Treaty; Bud Bagsak, Battle of; Bud Dajo, Battle of; Moro Campaigns; Moros; Pershing, John Joseph; Wood, Leonard

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Buenaventura

Spanish merchant ship. The *Buenaventura*, a 1,714-ton Spanish merchantman from Bilbao, Spain, commanded by Captain Lazarraga, was transporting lumber from Pascagoula, Mississippi, to Rotterdam, the Netherlands, when it was intercepted by warships of the U.S. North Atlantic Squadron within sight of Key West, Florida, early on the morning of April 22, 1898. Not knowing that war had been declared, Lazarraga ordered the Spanish colors hoisted, only to have a shot fired across his ship's bow by the U.S. gunboat *Nashville*, which then fired a second warning shot, causing Lazarraga to order his ship to stop.

An American prize crew went aboard the Spanish ship and directed the *Buenaventura* into Key West. This Spanish ship was the first prize capture of the war, and the shot fired across the *Buenaventura*'s bow is sometimes reckoned as the first of the war. In a subsequent ruling, a prize court held that the ship's cargo was neutral property, and it was then restored to its owners.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

United States Navy

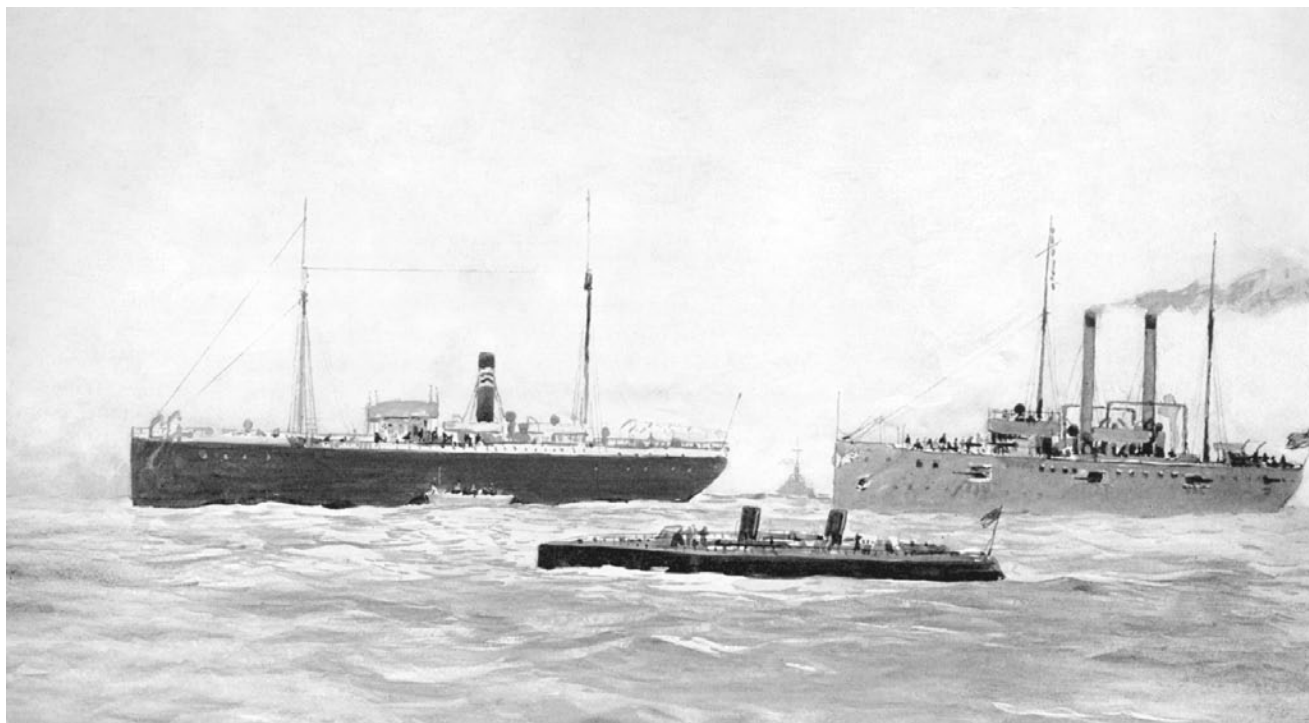
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Buffalo Soldiers

See African American Soldiers



The U.S. Navy gunboat *Nashville* capturing the Spanish merchantman *Buenaventura* off Key West, Florida, on April 22, 1898. Drawing by Carlton T. Chapman. (*Harper's Pictorial History of the War with Spain*, 1899)

Bullard, Robert E. Lee

Birth Date: January 5, 1861

Death Date: September 11, 1947

U.S. Army general. William Robert Bullard was born in Yonkers, New York, on January 5, 1861. At age six he persuaded his parents to change his name to Robert Edward Lee Bullard for the American Civil War general and commander of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia. Bullard graduated from the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1885. He then served in the American Southwest with the 10th Infantry, participating in the Apache Campaigns, until 1898. His requested transfer to the Quartermaster Corps, which would have brought promotion to captain, was interrupted by the Spanish-American War in April 1898.

Following the U.S. declaration of war against Spain, the fastest route of advancement was as an officer in a volunteer unit, and in May 1898 Bullard received promotion to temporary major and command of the 3rd Alabama Volunteers, an African American outfit. Although the unit failed to make it to Cuba during the war, Bullard received praise for his leadership of the unit and his deft handling of racial issues.

Following the war, Bullard received promotion to colonel and command of the 39th Volunteer Infantry, raised to fight in the Philippine-American War. The unit soon became known as Bullard's Indians because it employed Bullard's Apache-style tactics

in combating the Filipino guerrillas who were fighting against the U.S. occupation. In 1901, Bullard managed to transfer back to the regular U.S. Army infantry with the rank of major.

In 1902, Bullard was sent to negotiate a peace arrangement with the Lanao Moros in southern Mindanao. Successful in this endeavor, he then employed Moro laborers to construct a road at Lake Lanao, making it the only road around this large body of water. He completed this difficult task in just 10 months. Perhaps even more significant, Bullard gained the confidence and respect of many Moros because he not only treated them fairly but also expressed a serious interest in their language and customs. Previously, most Moros had known Americans only as adversaries. This confidence placed Bullard in good stead when a cholera epidemic struck the Lanao area and he was able to persuade the Moros that the Americans were not responsible for it. Appointed head of the Lanao District in 1903, he reluctantly led several expeditions against several bands of Moros who steadfastly refused to accept the U.S. presence in the area. Poor health, however, compelled him to resign his post and return to the United States in 1904.

Bullard then served as an official in the provisional government of Cuba and as a National Guard instructor in California and Hawaii. In 1912, he attended the Army War College. He then assumed command of the 26th Infantry Regiment. During heightened tensions with Mexico following Pancho Villa's incursion into the United States, Bullard's unit became part of the U.S. Army 2nd Division stationed along the Mexican border.

When the United States entered World War I in April 1917, Bullard was initially assigned to command a training camp but then took command of the 2nd Brigade in the newly formed 1st Division as a brigadier general. He arrived in France in June. That September, his friend and American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) commander General John J. Pershing assigned Bullard command of the AEF officer and specialist school. In December 1917 he took command of the 1st Infantry Division as a major general. In April 1918, his 1st Division mounted the first major AEF offensive operation at Cantigny. Fluent in French, Bullard proved adept in dealing with his French counterparts. In July 1918, he took command of III Corps as a lieutenant general, participating in the Battle of Soissons and the Aisne-Marne Counteroffensive and then the Meuse-Argonne Offensive, when he took command of the newly formed Second Army at the close of the war.

Following the war, Bullard served on classification boards and commanded departments and administrative headquarters until his retirement in January 1925. In June 1930, he was advanced to the rank of lieutenant general on the retired list. Bullard died at Fort Jay, New York, on September 11, 1947.

JERRY KEENAN AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Moros; Pershing, John Joseph; Wood, Leonard

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Bülow, Bernhard Heinrich Martin Karl von

Birth Date: May 3, 1849

Death Date: October 28, 1929

German diplomat and politician. Born on May 3, 1849, in Klein-Flottbeck (near Altona), Germany, Karl von Bülow pursued a diplomatic career as had several members of his family before him. He studied law at the universities of Lausanne, Berlin, and Leipzig and served as a volunteer in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871.

After the war, Bülow remained in Metz to finish his education in the judicial administration and entered the diplomatic service in 1874. After holding diplomatic posts in Rome, St. Petersburg, Vienna, Athens, and Paris, he was appointed envoy in Bucharest in 1888, and in 1893 he was sent to Rome as ambassador. In 1886, he married Countess Marie von Dönhoff, née Princess di Camporeale.

Through the influence of his mentor Friedrich von Holstein, Bülow was appointed state secretary of the Foreign Office (foreign minister) in 1897. As an imperialist latecomer, imperial Germany



Karl von Bülow was foreign minister of Germany during the Spanish-American War. In 1899 he arranged the purchase of the Caroline Islands from Spain. (Library of Congress)

was determined to extend its influence in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. In cooperation with Kaiser Wilhelm II, Bülow therefore pursued a policy of colonial expansion through the acquisition of territories and a vigorous German naval construction program.

After the start of the Spanish-American War, Bülow informed the British government that Germany did not intend to be left out of the Spanish “liquidation” and was resolved “not to go empty-handed at any new division of the globe.” Bülow, however, opposed any aggressive German action to secure a protectorate over the Philippines, fearing that hasty unilateral action would drive the Americans into the arms of the British. He also pointed out that Germany lacked the naval power to back up its claims. Bülow did hold out hope for a division of the islands among the interested powers or at least their neutrality along the lines of what the major powers had worked out for Belgium in 1839. In 1899, after the war, Bülow successfully negotiated the acquisition of the Caroline Islands from Spain and was then raised to the rank of count by Wilhelm II.

In October 1900, Bülow succeeded Prince Chlodwig of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst as chancellor of the empire and prime minister of Prussia. In his policy of German aggrandizement, Bülow won the support of the conservative and central parties in the Reichstag, whose agrarian and industrial interests had the most to

gain from German expansionism. Because the emperor's constant interference in state politics reduced Bülow's room with which to resolve some of the country's urgent internal problems, he had to find a more productive field of interest. His endeavor to please Wilhelm II, who had high expectations of Bülow's abilities to further the imperialist cause, therefore led to the continuation of an aggressive foreign policy.

Germany's foreign policy had the effect of increasing the country's diplomatic isolation in Europe, however. In 1901, German-British alliance talks collapsed because Bülow supported the plans of Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, state secretary of the navy, to expand the German Navy. Bülow aggravated the crisis a few months later when he denigrated British colonial secretary Joseph Chamberlain in a parliamentary speech. On the occasion of Crown Prince Wilhelm's marriage in June 1905, Bülow was raised to the rank of prince (Fürst). Although he had antagonized France by his threats in the Moroccan Crisis of 1905 and, in addition, had alienated Russia in the Bosnian Crisis of 1908, he feared that Germany was being encircled by enemies when France, Britain, and Russia declared an entente.

Bülow lost the confidence of Wilhelm II in the *Daily Telegraph* Affair in October 1908 in which the emperor indiscreetly revealed his foreign policy toward Britain in an interview with the London-based newspaper. Bülow had approved Wilhelm II's interview without reading it. The British government and public reacted with indignation, and the German political parties were infuriated and asked for restrictions on the monarch's power. Bülow lost not only the support of the emperor, who blamed Bülow for not shielding him from the critics, but also the necessary support in the Reichstag on budget matters, and he was forced to resign in July 1909.

During 1914–1915, when Bülow's successor to the chancellery, Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, feared that Italy would not fight on Germany's side during World War I, Bülow was sent to Rome as ambassador to persuade the Italian government to at least maintain its neutrality. When Bülow realized that he would not be able to influence the Italians, he blamed the chancellor for not supporting him enough in his difficult task. After Bethmann-Hollweg's dismissal in 1917, many influential politicians hoped that Bülow would replace him, yet Wilhelm II would hear none of it. In his later years, Bülow moved to his palace in Rome, where he died on October 28, 1929.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Expansionism; Germany; Imperialism

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Bundy, Omar

Birth Date: June 17, 1861

Death Date: January 20, 1940

U.S. Army officer. Born on June 17, 1861, in New Castle, Indiana, Omar Bundy attended Asbury College (now DePauw University) before entering the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1879. He graduated 50th out of 52 cadets in the class of 1883. Upon graduation, Second Lieutenant Bundy joined the 2nd Infantry Regiment at Fort Lapwai, Idaho. Transferring to the 3rd Infantry Regiment in May 1884, he served at frontier posts in Montana, South Dakota, and Minnesota until 1898. Promoted to first lieutenant in May 1890, he participated in the Pine Ridge Campaign against the Sioux Indians during the winter of 1890–1891. From 1891 to 1898, he served at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, eventually assuming the duties of regimental and post quartermaster. In April 1898, he was promoted to captain.

At the beginning of the Spanish-American War, Bundy traveled by train with his regiment to Mobile, Alabama, and then shipped from there to Tampa and from Tampa to Cuba. Captain Bundy's regiment, commanded by Colonel John H. Page, formed part of Brigadier General John C. Bates's independent brigade of V Corps, commanded by Major General William R. Shafter. Bates's brigade landed at Daiquirí, Cuba, on June 22, 1898. On July 1, his brigade was ordered to reinforce Brigadier General Henry W. Lawton's 2nd Division during its attack on El Caney. For his role in the battle, Bundy was later awarded the Silver Star. He then participated in the siege of Santiago, during which he was breveted major.

Following the Spanish-American War, Bundy saw combat in the Philippine-American War from 1899 to 1902 and then against the Moros in 1905 and 1906, when he distinguished himself in an action on Jolo Island. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel in March 1911 and then attended the Army War College. In 1914, he was advanced to colonel and took command of the 16th Infantry Regiment at El Paso, Texas.

Advanced to brigadier general in June 1917, Bundy was ordered to France to command the 1st Brigade, 1st Division, of the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF). In November 1917, he was temporarily advanced to major general and assumed command of the newly formed 2nd Division, which helped stop the German spring 1918 offensive near Château-Thierry. Bundy's men distinguished themselves in the Battle of Belleau Wood but also suffered heavy casualties. In the summer of 1918, he took command of VI Corps, and in September, he assumed command of VII Corps. With the end of the war, he returned to the United States and assumed command of Camp Lee, Virginia. In September 1920, he commanded VII Corps area from Fort Crooks, Nebraska, and in 1922, he was again promoted to major general, taking command of the Philippine Division. In 1924, he commanded the V Corps area from Columbus, Ohio. Bundy retired in 1925 and died in Washington, D.C., on January 20, 1940.

JASON N. PALMER AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Chaffee, Adna Romanza, Sr.; Bates, John Coalter; El Caney, Battle of; V Corps; Lawton, Henry Ware; Miles, Evan; Moros; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Shafter, William Rufus

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Bustamante y Quevedí, Joaquín

Birth Date: 1847

Death Date: July 19, 1898

Spanish naval officer. A captain, Joaquín Bustamante y Quevedí was highly regarded as an expert on torpedoes and had commanded the Torpedo School at Cartagena. At the onset of the Spanish-American War, he was chief of staff to Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete, whose squadron had steamed across the Atlantic to Santiago de Cuba.

On May 26, 1898, Cervera, reconsidering his decision to remain at Santiago, ordered a sortie for San Juan, Puerto Rico, at 5:00 p.m. Learning at 2:00 p.m., three hours before the scheduled departure, that three American ships, absent the previous day, had returned, he again met with his captains. Cervera also learned that heavy swells might preclude one of his cruisers clearing the rock in the channel at Punta Murillo. Bustamante was one of two captains who disagreed. Bustamante claimed that a decision to remain in the harbor would ultimately lead to the squadron's capitulation.

On May 29, Commodore Winfield Scott Schley and his Flying Squadron finally took up a blockading position off Santiago, and on June 1, Rear Admiral William T. Sampson arrived with his ships of the North Atlantic Squadron, no doubt ending the possibility of Cervera making a successful sortie. On June 8, however, Cervera again met with his captains to consider a plan advanced by Bustamante for a night sortie. Bustamante suggested that the destroyers exit the harbor first and make for the American battleships. The cruisers would then depart and steam in different directions. He hoped that the ensuing confusion would allow half of the Spanish ships to escape. A strong majority of the Spanish captains rejected the proposal, however.

On June 3, Bustamante personally informed Sampson that the U.S. crew of the *Merrimac*, who had attempted to scuttle the collier in the Santiago Harbor channel, had all survived and were prisoners of the Spanish. On June 22, Bustamante led ashore 1,000 men—about two-thirds of the crews of the Spanish ships—to assist in the land defense of Santiago. On July 1, Bustamante was mortally wounded in the Battle of San Juan Hill and was thus in the hospital in Santiago during the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3. He died in Santiago on July 19, 1898, and was subsequently buried in San Fernando, Spain.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; *Merrimac*, USS; Sampson, William Thomas; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Schley, Winfield Scott

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C

Cabañas Bay

Bay located 3 miles west off the entrance to Santiago Harbor, Cuba, and 10 miles by road from the city of Santiago de Cuba. As early as 1895, the U.S. Naval War College began planning for a possible descent on Cuba with this broad, shallow bay as a possible landing site for the U.S. expeditionary force. Still under active consideration as an invasion site early in the war, U.S. planners rejected Cabañas Bay as a landing site for Major General William R. Shafter's V Corps because it was within range of naval gunfire from the ships of Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's Spanish squadron in Santiago Harbor.

Cabañas Bay marked the eastern end of the U.S. blockade of Santiago, and on June 17, 1898, cutters from the U.S. battleships *New York* and *Massachusetts* came under heavy Spanish shore fire while trying to enter the bay. Naval gunfire from other ships of the U.S. North Atlantic Fleet allowed the cutters to withdraw without casualties or damage. Spanish installations defending the bay came under attack on June 22 both from the battleship *Texas* and armed yachts *Scorpion* and *Vixen* as well as from the land by Cuban insurgents led by General Jesús Rabí. The sole purpose of this operation, however, was to divert Spanish attention from the actual V Corps landing at Daiquirí. Had Santiago not surrendered when it did, plans called for marines to land at Cabañas Bay on July 9.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Daiquirí Beachhead, Cuba; V Corps; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Shafter, William Rufus

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Cables and Cable-Cutting Operations

Submarine cables laid on the floor of the world's oceans allowed the transmission of telegraph messages and greatly increased the rate at which information could be transferred internationally. During the Spanish-American War, these cables facilitated the transfer of military information and orders, war reports by journalists, and diplomatic exchanges. Although both Spain and the United States imposed censorship during the war, a diplomatic agreement between the two powers kept open the Havana to Key West cable. Great Britain, while technically a neutral nation in the war, allowed U.S. military planners use of its extensive undersea cables, particularly those leading from Hong Kong.

The importance of these cables was obvious to war planners, although operations to cut them raised questions of international law. Nonetheless, in April 1898, the U.S. Navy planned operations to cut the Spanish cables at Cárdenas, Cienfuegos, Guantánamo, and Santiago in Cuba. Cable-cutting operations, such as the one at Cienfuegos, were hazardous. They required getting in close to shore in shallow-draft vessels, and once the cable was located, cutting it was a difficult and time-consuming process, for the cables themselves were well protected. Despite cable-cutting operations, the United States did not succeed in cutting off all communications between Spain and Cuba and Puerto Rico.

The U.S. Navy auxiliary cruiser *St. Louis*, built as a passenger liner, undertook numerous cable-cutting operations at the start of the Spanish-American War. The ship was rigged with heavy lines

that were dragged along the ocean floor, and the crew was charged with destroying cables in the Caribbean and those leading to South America. On May 13, 1898, the ship cut the cable linking San Juan, Puerto Rico, and St. Thomas. On May 18, the *St. Louis* exchanged fire with the Morro Heights batteries at Santiago de Cuba while it cut the cable linking the port city to Jamaica. It also severed the cable linking Guantánamo to Haiti (Santo Domingo). Perhaps the most famous and most daring cable-cutting mission came on May 11, 1898, when U.S. naval vessels severed Spanish cables at Cienfuegos, Cuba.

In the Philippines following the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, Commodore George Dewey requested permission to send messages via the cable at Manila. On May 2, after Spanish officials at Manila refused Dewey's request, he ordered the crew of the U.S. Navy supply ship *Zafiro* to cut the cable between Manila and Hong Kong. This action greatly delayed news of Dewey's victory. The Manila to Hong Kong cable link was not reopened until August 23, 1898, after the U.S. VIII Corps had secured Manila.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cárdenas, Cuba; Cienfuegos, Naval Engagements off; Dewey, George; Guantánamo Bay Naval Base; Manila Bay, Battle of

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Cailles, Juan

Birth Date: November 10, 1871

Death Date: June 28, 1951

Filipino guerrilla general and friend and confidante of General Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy during the Philippine-American War (1899–1902). Born in Batangas Province on November 10, 1871, Juan Cailles attended the Jesuit Normal School for Teachers in Manila. He taught school for five years before joining the revolutionaries in the insurgency against Spain in 1896. Among the insurgents, he was praised as “Maestro” Cailles because of his confidence, charisma, and commanding presence.

In the months leading up to the Spanish-American War of 1898, Cailles was a member of Andrés Bonifacio's Magdiwang Council, a revolutionary faction. Cailles then identified himself with the Magdalo, a competing clique led by Aguinaldo, gaining the latter's favor. Cailles led the Batallon Trias of General Mariano Noriel's regiment and engaged the Spanish in many costly actions in Cavite Province and in the Manila area. Cailles subsequently quit the rebel party and spied for the Spaniards for a time. He also commanded a force under General José Lachambre in Cavite.

Once Aguinaldo returned to the Philippines in May 1898 from an exile in Hong Kong that had begun in December 1897, he com-



Filipino insurgent general Juan Cailles, a capable military commander and close associate of Emilio Aguinaldo. (Library of Congress)

missioned Cailles as a lieutenant colonel. At first viewed with considerable mistrust by the other revolutionaries, Cailles soon demonstrated his fidelity by his opposition to the U.S. occupation of the Philippines. Between September 1898 and early February 1899, he and his troops helped defend Manila. After the city's occupation by American forces, Cailles warned Aguinaldo about shortages of money and ammunition. Cailles's refusal to negotiate with the Americans was fully supported by Aguinaldo.

By mid-1899, Cailles was serving as a brigadier general and as governor of Laguna Province. Responsible for the first zone of Manila, he operated out of Santa Cruz, the capital of Laguna, and fought against U.S. forces commanded by Major General Henry W. Lawton. On September 17, 1900, Cailles repelled Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin F. Cheatham's assault of his dug-in troops at Mabitac, killing 21 Americans and wounding 23 others. On other occasions, however, when Cailles massed his army to mount large maneuvers, he was unsuccessful. As soon as U.S. forces occupied the Second District, Department of Southern Luzon, which included Laguna, Cailles resorted to guerrilla operations.

Cailles generally evaded major engagements and conducted unconventional warfare. Arson, abductions, ambushes, and killings of Americans and Filipino collaborators were typical of his strategy. Aided by capable deputies and merciless tactics, he won the grudging respect of American authorities. Cailles frequently employed executions and assassinations to deter defections from his own ranks, including ordering the murders of 28 men in one eight-month span.

Notwithstanding his competent and charismatic leadership, Cailles encountered a string of setbacks in 1900 and 1901. U.S. forces implemented protracted campaigns during the summer of 1900 that wrecked some encampments, seized records, and compelled his flight. By 1901, his position had become hopeless. Under intense military pressure and informed in April of Aguinaldo's surrender in March, Cailles realized that his compatriots favored surrender and that the people longed for peace. Following an attack on his principal base by the U.S. 21st Infantry Regiment on April 27, 1901, and a series of raids and arrests, Cailles and 600 of his comrades marched into Santa Cruz and capitulated on June 24, 1901.

Cailles went on to serve as governor of Laguna from 1902 to 1910, again between 1916 and 1925, and finally in 1945. He died of heart disease on June 28, 1951, at the Philippine General Hospital in Manila.

RODNEY J. ROSS

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Bonifacio, Andrés; Lawton, Henry Ware; Philippine-American War; Philippine Islands

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Cámara y Libermore, Manuel de la

Birth Date: May 7, 1835

Death Date: 1920

Spanish admiral. Manuel de la Cámara y Libermore was born in Málaga, Spain, on May 7, 1835. He joined the navy and served as an officer in the Caribbean and in the Philippines and later headed Spanish naval commissions to both Washington and London. When the Spanish-American War began in April 1898, he was a rear admiral commanding the squadron at Cádiz, Spain. In the fateful meeting of senior Spanish naval officers in Madrid on April 23, 1898, concerning Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron, Cámara voted with the majority favoring the immediate dispatch of the ships to the West Indies.

In late May, Spanish naval minister Ramón Auñón y Villalón made plans to send Cámara's squadron against the U.S. Atlantic coast. Cámara's squadron of one armored cruiser, three auxiliary cruisers, and a dispatch boat was to steam to a coastal city, preferably Charleston, South Carolina, because of its location, and shell it before continuing on to San Juan, Puerto Rico, or Havana or Santiago, Cuba.

On June 15, however, Auñón ordered Cámara to steam to Mindanao in the Philippines by way of the Suez Canal and Indian Ocean in order to help ensure Spanish sovereignty of the islands. Cámara's orders called for him to avoid "notoriously unfavorable encounters" so as to prevent the "useless sacrifice" of his squadron. The decision to send the squadron east would, it was hoped, keep the squadron away from the principal U.S. naval strength.

Cámara departed Cádiz with his ships on June 16. His squadron now included the battleship *Pelayo*. The other ships in the squadron included the armored cruiser *Emperador Carlos V*; the unprotected cruisers *Patriota* and *Rápido*; the torpedo boat destroyers *Audaz*, *Proserpina*, and *Osado* (which were ordered to return to Spain when the squadron reached the Suez Canal); the transports *Buenos Aires* and *Isla de Panay* (lifting a total of 4,000 troops); and four colliers carrying 20,000 tons of coal. Informed of the squadron's formation by intelligence operatives in Spain, the U.S. Navy established the Eastern Squadron and also commenced a disinformation campaign designed to force the recall of the Spanish squadron.

The Spanish squadron arrived off Port Said, Egypt, on June 26. The British government, however, had instructed its authorities in Egypt, which was under British control, to pursue a policy of strict neutrality and not to allow coaling on the grounds that the squadron had sufficient coal to allow it to return to its home port. Unaware of the British decision, Ethelbert Watts, deputy U.S. consul general in Cairo, had secured a lien on all coal available at Suez. On June 29, Cámara was informed that he could not coal in Egyptian territorial waters and would have to depart Port Said in 24 hours.

Cámara's squadron then passed through the Suez Canal during July 5–6 and proceeded into the Red Sea. Following the naval battle at Santiago Bay on July 3, however, orders went out on July 7 from Madrid recalling Cámara and his squadron to Spain with all possible speed in order to enable it to help protect the Spanish coasts against a possible U.S. naval attack. The squadron returned to Cartagena on July 23 and from there made its way back to Cádiz.

Cámara retired from the Spanish Navy as a vice admiral. He died in Málaga in 1920.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Auñón y Villalón, Ramón; Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Spain, Navy

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Cambon, Jules-Martin

Birth Date: April 5, 1845

Death Date: September 19, 1935

French civil servant and diplomat. Born in Paris on April 5, 1845, Jules-Martin Cambon began a career in law in 1866. He served in the Garde Mobile as a captain during the siege of Paris in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871 and entered the French Civil Service in 1871.

Cambon held increasingly important administrative posts. He was prefect of Constantine in Algeria (1878–1879), secretary general of the prefecture of police in Paris (1879–1882), prefect of the Department of the Nord (1882–1887), prefect of the Department of the Rhône (1887–1891), and governor-general of Algeria (1891–1897).

In 1897, Cambon was appointed French ambassador to the United States. He arrived in Washington that December and presented his credentials in January 1898. His chief diplomatic objectives were to keep the United States out of involvement in European affairs and prevent a treaty between the United States and Britain. In the crisis leading up to the Spanish-American War, Cambon believed that President William McKinley genuinely wanted peace but thought that he was weak and would bow to the wishes of Congress. Certainly Cambon disagreed with the American decision to go to war with Spain. On several occasions he referred to the Americans as ignorant barbarians. On the outbreak of the war, he recommended French involvement in order to limit American successes.

During the war, Cambon represented Spanish interests in Washington. In that capacity he served as the intermediary for Spain in negotiations leading to the armistice agreement of August 12, 1898. Although Cambon worked hard to limit Spanish territorial losses to Cuba alone, excluding Puerto Rico, there was little he could do. He duly informed the Spanish government that McKinley was firm in his position, that prolonging the negotiations would only “aggravate the severity of the conditions,” and that it would be best for Madrid to arrive at a quick peace. Cambon suggested to McKinley that Paris, rather than Washington (as the president had wanted), be the site for negotiations for the final peace treaty, which the president accepted. Cambon concluded that his activities during the war had been successful, for the war had ended with “the Americans in America.” Certainly, his activities on behalf of Spain in the war helped to cement Franco-Spanish relations after the conflict.

In 1902, Cambon moved to Madrid, where he served as French ambassador to Spain until 1907. In that capacity he played a key role in developing the Franco-Spanish Agreement on Morocco in 1904, and he was also a major figure at the Algeciras Conference of 1906. In 1907, Cambon became French ambassador to Germany. There he was involved in negotiations that led to the Franco-German Morocco Treaty of 1909 and settlement of the Agadir Crisis of 1911. He considered the latter his greatest contribution to maintaining the peace. Strongly committed to avoiding war between France and Germany, he worked hard to mitigate the belli-



French diplomat Jules-Martin Cambon. As ambassador to the United States during the Spanish-American War, Cambon served as a conduit for the Spanish government and helped negotiate peace. (Library of Congress)

cose statements on both sides in the years immediately before World War I. At the same time, however, his warnings to Paris about German military preparations helped produce his government’s decision to seek a three-year military service bill.

Cambon’s brother, Paul Cambon, served as French ambassador to Great Britain during 1898–1920. Jules-Martin Cambon remained French ambassador to Germany until the German declaration of war against France in August 1914.

During World War I, Cambon headed the Political Section of the French Foreign Ministry. After the war, he was one of five French plenipotentiaries to the Paris Peace Conference (1919–1920). In that capacity he chaired the important commissions on Polish, Czechoslovak, and Greek and Armenian affairs. During 1920–1931, he was president of the Council of Ambassadors charged with supervising implementation of the peace treaties. Cambon died in Vevey, Switzerland, on September 19, 1935.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

McKinley, William; Peace, Protocol of

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Camp Alger

Temporary U.S. Army encampment located just west of Washington, D.C., in northern Virginia. Camp Alger was, for a brief time, named Camp Harries and was designed as the initial mobilization and mustering point for soldiers of II Corps during the Spanish-American War. It began receiving troops on May 13, 1898, and by May 19, nearly the entire corps had arrived at the camp for processing. On May 23, the name of the camp was changed to Camp Alger after U.S. secretary of war Russell A. Alger. By the end of the month, 18,308 men were residing in the camp waiting to be mobilized.

Camp Alger was situated on a sprawling farm west of Falls Church, Virginia, and south of Dunn Loring. Today the site is denoted by a historical marker on the southern side of Route 50 just east of its intersection with Interstate 495.

As with many of the camps hastily built for the Spanish-American War, Camp Alger suffered from an appalling lack of adequate facilities, including housing. Water supplies were scant, and because the closest body of water, the Potomac River, lay seven miles distant from

the camp, hygiene and sanitary conditions suffered greatly. Not until the close of June, when some 40 water wells had been dug, did the water situation ease (although the wells did not meet all water needs). During the first six weeks or so as men continued to pour into the camp, the housing situation became dire. A shortage of tents meant that as many as eight men were sleeping in a space designed for just four. On May 28, 1898, President William McKinley and his cabinet traveled from Washington to Camp Alger to meet and review the troops. The record of the visit survives in rare motion picture footage.

Camp Alger was put under the command of Major General of Volunteers William M. Graham, who became quickly disillusioned with the grim conditions at the post. He struggled to secure sufficient fresh water, food, and tents for the camp's quickly growing population.

In short order, Camp Alger and its environs had taken on all of the hallmarks of a typical military post of the era. Outside the perimeter of the compound, gambling establishments, bars and saloons, greasy-spoon restaurants, and brothels sprang up. Particularly bothersome for Graham was a risqué burlesque theater that operated just beyond the camp's fences. Deeming it "immoral," Graham had the show closed down.

Only two brigades—one commanded by Brigadier General Henry M. Duffield and the other by Brigadier General George A. Garretson—actually departed the camp for war. In the first week of September 1898, the U.S. Army closed Camp Alger, and its remaining



Camp Alger, Virginia. The tent in the immediate foreground is a photographic gallery where soldiers could obtain a tintype of themselves. Next to it is a tobacconist's store and then another photographic gallery. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

troops were sent to Camp Meade in Middletown, Pennsylvania. During Camp Alger's short existence, approximately 32,000 men passed through it, and, by the time of its closure, 107 men had died there, most of them from communicable diseases.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; Camp Meade; McKinley, William; Typhoid Fever

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Camp Cuba Libre

U.S. Army staging and training area for VII Corps and a number of volunteer units during the Spanish-American War. Established on May 30, 1898, Camp Cuba Libre was located along the banks of the St. Johns River in Jacksonville, Florida, about three miles from the central business district. The area offered easy access to the Atlantic Ocean via the river and was also well served by roads and rail lines, making it an ideal spot for a camp.

The camp was created mainly to house Major General Fitzhugh Lee's VII Corps, which had initially been stationed near Tampa, Florida. However, overcrowding there led to the decision to build a new camp farther north and relocate VII Corps. Lee was commanding officer of Camp Cuba Libre for its entire duration, from late May until late October 1898.

Although the camp would subsequently become a model of such temporary facilities, an initial shortage of eating utensils compelled the men to eat their meals with their fingers off of shingles or boards. Lee, a Confederate Civil War veteran and an able commander and administrator, quickly rectified the situation, and the camp soon enjoyed plentiful supplies of food along with clean fresh water, which he had piped in from Jacksonville. He also obtained scarce medical supplies and constructed bathing facilities, the lack of which was the bane of many other camps during the war. Camp Cuba Libre therefore largely escaped hygiene problems and the results they wrought. When the U.S. government failed to procure an adequate supply of tent floors, Lee bought them himself in Jacksonville. The generally good conditions in the camp were a testament to his leadership and to his long military experience. For example, it was Lee himself who scouted the area and chose the site for the camp because of its sandy soil, which mitigated flooding and mosquito problems and aided in sewage disposal.

Almost none of the soldiers housed at Cuba Libre participated in the war. Because they were all volunteers, they were extensively drilled and trained in marksmanship at the camp's rifle range. Lee

ran a tight ship, which prevented many of the discipline problems that plagued other camps. There is, however, an inherent problem in allowing troops to stay idle for long periods of time far removed from the action. As time progressed, Lee was faced with an often restive group of men, who numbered almost 29,000 at the camp's peak. Because the military operations in Cuba had ended sooner than anyone had thought, VII Corps was not required there. When an armistice was declared on August 12, 1898, a large number of Camp Cuba Libre troops reportedly engaged in a drunken riot in Jacksonville.

In October 1898, the army decided to transfer VII Corps to nearby Savannah, Georgia, and by October 23, 1898, Camp Cuba Libre was largely empty. The camp was entirely abandoned by the first week in November. From the end of May to the end of September, 246 men had died at the camp, almost all from disease.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Lee, Fitzhugh; Tampa, Florida; Typhoid Fever

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Camp Dewey

Camp established in June 1898 to receive U.S. soldiers arriving in the Philippines. Camp Dewey was designed to accommodate VIII Corps, which had been stationed in Camp Merriam and Camp Merritt near San Francisco, California. In late May, the first contingent of troops from VIII Corps shipped out to the Philippines and arrived in Manila on June 30, 1898.

Brigadier General Thomas M. Anderson commanded this contingent. His immediate task was to find a suitable location to bivouac his troops. After examining several potential spots along the beach near Manila and along Manila Bay, he settled on an abandoned peanut farm several miles south of Manila. It offered good access to the capital city and was fairly well served by rail lines and telegraph and telephone facilities. The land upon which the camp was constructed was firm and relatively flat, and the location also offered easy egress to the sea. It was believed that the prevailing on-shore winds would make the locale less susceptible to communicable diseases, including yellow fever, typhoid, and malaria.

In late July, as more troops disembarked and the population of the camp grew, the installation was named Camp Dewey for Commodore George Dewey, commander of the U.S. Asiatic Squadron that had won the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898. Camp Dewey was used not only as a disembarkation point but also as a staging and operations area for the First Battle of Manila (July 25–August 13, 1898) and the Second Battle of Manila (Feb-

ruary 4–5, 1899). Like most of the camps of the Spanish-American War era, there were few permanent buildings, and most soldiers lived in tents.

Hospital facilities were also built on the site, most of them in large tents or hastily built wooden structures meant to treat both the sick and those who had been wounded in battle. Camp Dewey's initial mortality rate was surprisingly small. Only 63 men had died in the camp by the end of September, a period covering the First Battle of Manila.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Anderson, Thomas McArthur; Camp Merriam and Camp Merritt; VIII Corps; Manila; Manila, First Battle of; Manila, Second Battle of

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Camp McCalla

The first U.S. camp erected on the island of Cuba and the staging area for the 1st U.S. Marine Battalion. When the battalion first shipped out of the New York Naval Yard on April 22, 1898, it consisted of 650 men organized into six companies. The contingent was larger than a typical marine battalion of the time but not large enough to justify being split in two. The men left New York aboard the U.S. Navy auxiliary cruiser *Panther*. The ship made stops at Fort Monroe at Hampton Roads, Virginia, and Key West, Florida, before moving on to Cuba. The *Panther* arrived in Cuba on June 10 and made landfall on the eastern sector of the outer harbor of Guantánamo Bay. That same day the marines went ashore and began setting up camp.

The 1st Marine Battalion's commander, Colonel Robert W. Huntington, ordered the camp to be established slightly inland on a hill approximately 150 feet above sea level. Huntington dubbed the staging area Camp McCalla after U.S. Navy commander Bowman Hendry McCalla, who was the force commander at Guantánamo Bay and commanded the *Marblehead*, a ship that proved



The U.S. flag and Marine Corps colors outside a tent at Camp McCalla, Guantánamo, Cuba. (Marine Corps Association)

invaluable to the marines at Guantánamo. The first night at the camp remained quiet; however, on June 11 Spanish troops attacked Marine Corps positions and killed at least two marines. A heavier and more sustained Spanish assault against the camp occurred on June 12, which brought more U.S. casualties. More Spanish sniping and several additional Spanish assaults against the camp on June 13 convinced Huntington to mount an offensive aimed at Spanish-held positions on the beach about six miles southeast of the camp.

Convinced that Camp McCalla should be located closer to the water, Huntington ordered the camp dismantled on June 13; it was rebuilt nearer the beach and within sight of U.S. warships in the harbor. Huntington's offensive, meanwhile, was successful and cut the Spanish off from their only reliable source of fresh water. This forced a Spanish withdrawal and drastically diminished their raids against the battalion. For the next six weeks or so, the marines protected American ships in the harbor from land-based attacks.

On August 5, 1898, Huntington was ordered to break camp, effectively bringing an end to Camp McCalla. That same day, the battalion boarded the auxiliary cruiser USS *Resolute*, which was to steam to Manzanillo and capture that town on the Cuban coast northwest of Guantánamo Bay.

During its short life span, Camp McCalla was efficiently run. Conditions in the camp were excellent. Hygiene was good, and discipline was not a problem. No deaths occurred in the camp due to illness or disease, and just 2 percent of the camp's population had fallen ill.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

United States Marine Corps

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Camp Meade

Temporary camp built by the U.S. Army to house troops during the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War. The camp was named for Major General George Gordon Meade, a Pennsylvania native and commander of the Army of the Potomac during the last two years of the American Civil War.

Camp Meade was located in south-central Pennsylvania south of Harrisburg and less than a mile west of Middletown. The area was centrally located and was well served by railroads, making it an ideal place to mobilize and process troops. Created in mid-August 1898, the camp served as the housing and processing center for II Corps, which had initially been stationed at Camp Alger in

northern Virginia before unsanitary conditions and fear of a major typhoid outbreak forced army officials to vacate the camp.

Most of the troops sent to Camp Meade were either mustered out or were reassigned to other facilities farther south. Major General of Volunteers William H. Graham took command of the camp in early September 1898, by which time some 22,000 troops of II Corps had arrived by rail. As with the other army camps of its day, Camp Meade was hastily built and offered rudimentary comforts at best. Nonetheless, conditions at the camp were superior to those at Camp Alger. Water and food were abundant at Camp Meade, and bathing facilities—the lack of which had plagued Camp Alger—were more than adequate. Alcohol consumption did become a problem for many soldiers at Camp Meade, and discipline suffered accordingly. Attempts to forbid the sale of liquor in regimental canteens only backfired, however, as soldiers found other sources from which to imbibe.

In October, a volunteer infantry regiment was moved out of Camp Meade to a makeshift camp at Conewago, Pennsylvania, situated southeast of Middletown. An outbreak of typhoid had prompted the move.

On November 17, 1898, the last unit departed Camp Meade, and the facility stood all but deserted. It was not vacant for long, however, for in April 1899, several volunteer units arrived at the camp to muster out. The last of them left in June. From July to November 1899, Camp Meade was again pressed into service as a mobilization point for volunteer units going to the Philippines to fight the growing insurgency there. A shooting range, known as the Mt. Gretna Rifle Range, was created at that time to allow the new volunteer units to polish their marksmanship. Camp Meade was no longer in use by the start of 1900.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Camp Alger; Typhoid Fever

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Camp Merriam and Camp Merritt

Mobilization and staging camps for soldiers of VIII Corps who were bound for the war in the Philippines. Camp Merriam was located on a series of hills just beyond the Lombard Street entrance to the San Francisco Presidio. The camp was named after Major General Henry C. Merriam who at the time was commanding general of the Department of California. He also initially commanded the camp.

Camp Merriam was officially created on May 7, 1898. Conditions at the camp were deemed satisfactory, and there were ample

supplies of fresh water and adequate bathing facilities. However, Camp Merriam was not a large camp in area, and it soon became crowded. Indeed, at its peak, it housed about 10,000 troops. Most of them were volunteers from Iowa, Kansas, South Dakota, and California who were to be trained and quartered there until ships arrived to take them to the Philippines.

Shortly after Camp Merriam opened, the U.S. Army decided to increase the size of VIII Corps and designated San Francisco to be the staging area for the Philippine Islands Expeditionary Forces. As such, Camp Merriam was now deemed too small to house the additional soldiers. Toward the end of May, a second camp, located along the northern border of Golden Gate Park, was established. It was named for Major General Wesley Merritt, who was the first commander of VIII Corps and the Philippine Expeditionary Forces. The camp was probably known as Camp Richmond prior to the naming of Merritt as its commander. Toward the end of May, most of the soldiers from Camp Merriam were moved to Camp Merritt as the new recruits began arriving.

Conditions at Camp Merritt were deemed adequate, although many soldiers believed that they had been better off at Camp Merriam. At its peak, the population of Camp Merritt was approximately 18,000 men. As the contingent grew, several additions were made to the facility, mostly by renting adjacent land from property owners. Still, however, there was not enough room for the soldiers to drill within the confines of the camp, so they often drilled in the nearby streets outside the facility. Camp Merritt had an adequate supply of fresh water and bathing facilities, and overall hygiene was considered good.

In late August 1898, several large contingents of troops shipped out, making two camps unnecessary. Thus, on August 27, the remaining soldiers at Camp Merritt were transferred to Camp Merriam, as the latter had better facilities. In the meantime, numerous units had remained at Camp Merriam, as that post had never been emptied.

An outbreak of measles and reported cases of typhoid resulted in numerous deaths at Camp Merritt before it was temporarily decommissioned. From May to the end of September 1898, at which time both camps had been largely abandoned, 139 men had died, most from communicable diseases. Some soldiers remained at Camp Merriam until November 1898 when it was closed, temporarily as it turned out. With the advent of the Philippine-American War in 1899, Camp Merriam was again used to house soldiers going to and arriving home from the Philippines.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

VIII Corps; Merritt, Wesley; Typhoid Fever

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Camp Onward

Camp established in the autumn of 1898 in Savannah, Georgia. Camp Onward was established to serve as the embarkation point for VII Corps, which was being deployed to Cuba as part of the U.S. occupation forces. VII Corps commander Major General Fitzhugh Lee had control of the camp. Early on, the camp was known as Camp Lee in honor of its commander. Lee, however, wanting no such honor, renamed it Camp Onward.

Nearly all of the men from VII Corps sent to Camp Onward had been relocated there from Camp Cuba Libre (Jacksonville, Florida), about 130 miles to the south of Savannah. The first contingent of troops from Jacksonville began arriving at the camp in mid-October 1898, and Camp Onward quickly filled up. By November 1, there were an estimated 13,000 soldiers living in the makeshift camp. Most of the tents had been set up in the Thunderbolt section of Savannah in the southeastern quadrant of the city. The greatest concentration of troops was housed along Victory Drive and Shell Road. Encampments were also located along Dale Avenue and on the banks of the Savannah River on Savannah's east side, which provided easy access to the Atlantic Ocean. A preexisting rifle range in the vicinity of the camp known as the Avondale Range was pressed into service and was used by VII Corps soldiers for target practice.

Conditions in Camp Onward were satisfactory, and its location had relatively high ground and access to reliable fresh water. As elsewhere, there were sporadic discipline problems at Camp Onward, particularly as the duration of the temporary encampment wore on.

During the first week of December, President William McKinley and members of his cabinet visited Savannah and toured Camp Onward. The troops passed in review before the president in what is now known as Forsyth Park. By mid-December 1898, VII Corps had embarked for its tour of occupation duty in Cuba. The sprawling camp lay largely abandoned, although some troops returning from Cuba temporarily stayed there until Camp Onward was permanently decommissioned in late May 1899.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Camp Cuba Libre; Camps, U.S. Army; Cuba, U.S. Occupation of; Lee, Fitzhugh

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Camp Thomas

The largest of the U.S. Army camps in the United States and the chief mobilization point for I and III Corps. Camp Thomas was officially established on April 14, 1898, in northern Georgia at



Camp Thomas, Chickamauga, Georgia. Volunteer units underwent training here. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

Chickamauga National Park, some nine miles from Chattanooga, Tennessee. Named after Union brigadier general George H. Thomas who had earned the nickname “Rock of Chickamauga” for his rearguard action there in September 1863, Camp Thomas sprawled across 7,000 acres of land and was headed in succession by Major General John R. Brooke (April 20–July 23, 1898), Major General James F. Wade (July 23–August 2, 1898), and Major General Joseph C. Breckinridge (August 2 through September 1898).

Most of the soldiers gathered at Camp Thomas were sent on to Tampa, Florida, from where they would ship out to Cuba. Both regular troops and volunteers were assembled at Camp Thomas. At least six regiments of regular infantry totaling 7,283 men rotated through the camp, but almost all had departed by mid-May 1898. After mid-May, volunteer troops began to flood into the camp, but they too would be gone by the end of September, at which point Camp Thomas was decommissioned. In all, Camp Thomas processed some 69,000 volunteers.

The average census of Camp Thomas was about 46,950 men, and many were trained in large-scale maneuvers. Conditions at the camp were far from ideal, and discipline became a significant problem. Poor food prompted two regiments to refuse to drill in protest, while subpar water supplies and a paucity of medical supplies con-

tributed to widespread disease among the camp’s inhabitants. By early August, medical personnel reported a staggering 4,400 cases of typhoid. Outside the camp, much to the commander’s chagrin, lay a seedy mélange of greasy-spoon restaurants, saloons, brothels, and illegal gambling parlors.

Because of the huge typhoid outbreak, most of the men at Camp Thomas either mustered out or went to other camps by the end of August. By the middle of September, the 6th U.S. Volunteer Infantry Regiment was the only unit left at the camp, which closed with the regiment’s departure at the end of the month. A total of 425 men died at the camp, the vast majority of them from disease.

The lack of sufficient medical facilities and the soaring rate of typhoid that ravaged the camp resulted in the creation of two hospitals just outside the camp to take in overflow patients. The first was the Leiter General Hospital, set up in a hotel that had been donated to the U.S. government. Although intended to house just 130 patients, more than 255 beds were crammed into the facility as the typhoid outbreak crested. When medical officials ran out of room at Leiter, a second hospital, with a capacity of 750 beds, was established. The Sternberg Hospital (named after George M. Sternberg, U.S. Army surgeon general) began accepting patients on August 16, 1898.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Breckinridge, Joseph Cabell; Brooke, John Rutter; Tampa, Florida; Typhoid Fever; Wade, James Franklin

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Camp Wikoff

Military camp and quarantine center located on Montauk Point at the easternmost tip of Long Island, New York. Worried that thousands of soldiers might return from Cuba and Puerto Rico with diseases such as malaria and yellow fever, the U.S. government authorized the construction of Camp Wikoff to certify that returning soldiers were disease-free before releasing them from military duty. The site for Camp Wikoff was chosen because of its proximity to railroad lines and deep-water access for large ships and for its remoteness from population centers. Because of its relative isolation and prevailing offshore winds, officials believed that the location would limit the potential for diseases to spread beyond the confines of the camp.

The U.S. government obtained approximately 5,000 acres from the Long Island Railroad for \$15,000 on a lease that was to run from August 1898 to May 1899. The government also had full access to rail lines and spurs as well as docks on the property. The camp was named for Colonel Charles Wikoff of the 22nd U.S. Infantry who died in the Battle of El Caney.

Construction was begun in early August 1898 under the direction of Brigadier General Samuel Baldwin Marks Young, who had charge of the camp. The first projects were to dig water wells, increase rail capacities, and erect warehouses for food and other supplies. Young and the men tasked with erecting the camp were racing against time. Colonel Theodore Roosevelt and the general officers serving in Cuba had publicly demanded that their men be sent home before a yellow fever epidemic broke out, and the first shipments of troops were due to arrive within days of the beginning of construction on August 2, 1898. Construction work was hampered by continual supply interruptions and labor strikes.

On August 8, just six days after construction commenced, 3,500 soldiers arrived at the camp along with almost 5,000 horses. There were no standard facilities in which to house the soldiers or the horses, and their presence seriously impeded construction. On August 14, the first large troop detachments arrived from the Caribbean. The camp was woefully unprepared to house and feed them and had only rudimentary medical services in place. On August 15, Major General Joseph Wheeler arrived and took command

of the camp and its construction. He brought about order out of chaos and had the camp running with relative ease by the end of the month.

Camp Wikoff was divided into two sections. One was a quarantine area dedicated to housing and caring for soldiers with various communicable diseases. The other section was reserved for healthy soldiers and was designed as a place where they could rest and regain their strength before reassignment or mustering out. Each area had its own hospital and medical facilities, which Wheeler made sure were well staffed with physicians and nurses. He also ordered the construction of laundry facilities and a water purification plant and the laying of some 12 miles of water pipes.

Between August and October 1898, approximately 28,000 soldiers passed through Camp Wikoff, including Roosevelt and his Rough Riders. At its peak, the camp's population was nearly 22,000 soldiers. In the span of a single month, from late August to late September 1898, the two hospitals and their 300 staff treated more than 10,000 men.

Despite Young's and Wheeler's efforts, conditions in the camp were primitive, and construction never kept up with the influx of soldiers. These circumstances did not escape the eye of the probing press, and a small army of reporters from New York City arrived to report on alleged gross mismanagement of the sprawling facility. Many of these reports may have been inaccurate or exaggerated, but once the word was out, U.S. Army officials scrambled to shut down the operation as quickly as possible. Both President William McKinley and Secretary of War Russell Alger toured the camp, but their presence failed to allay the concerns about the camp and its soldiers.

In the third week of September, Major General William Shafter took command of the camp from Wheeler. By then, the population of the camp had been reduced substantially, and by September 23, 1898, there were just seven regiments housed there. The last of the soldiers left Camp Wikoff on October 28, and the army disassembled what it could and vacated the area. Some 20 years later, Camp Wikoff was reactivated for National Guard maneuvers.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Medicine, Military; Roosevelt, Theodore; Rough Riders; Shafter, William Rufus; Wheeler, Joseph; Young, Samuel Baldwin Marks

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Camp Wood

Mustering point and training area for the 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry Regiment (popularly known as the Rough Riders).

Camp Wood, located in San Antonio, Texas, was named for the regiment's commanding officer, Colonel Leonard Wood, who personally selected the camp's site on May 5, 1898. The camp was in operation for less than a month. Troops began arriving on May 7, at which time drill and training exercises were begun.

Camp Wood was located adjacent to a large fairgrounds and exposition complex, Riverside Park, that is today partially occupied by a golf course. Wood selected the site because it already had buildings that could be pressed into temporary military use. The large exposition hall and adjacent grandstand were used as barracks for enlisted men. Officers slept in tents on the fairgrounds, but once an adequate number of tents had arrived, all of the regiment was bivouacked in these. Wood established a parade ground and training area not far from the San José Mission that had previously been used as a military staging area for troops from Texas and surrounding states.

The most famous of the Rough Riders and the regiment's second-in-command, Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, did not arrive at Camp Wood until May 15. Prior to that, he had been in Washington, D.C., wrapping up business and attempting to procure needed arms and supplies for the regiment. Although Roosevelt has been credited with providing khaki uniforms for the Rough Riders instead of the heavy wool uniforms issued to most soldiers in the war, it was actually Wood who opted to use canvas fatigues that had been worn while doing maintenance chores around camps. He chose those because wool uniforms were unavailable except for the New Mexico regiments, which brought their own. Roosevelt dressed the uniforms up with polka dot handkerchiefs to be worn around the neck. Some of the officers (including Wood and Roosevelt) had fancier khaki uniforms tailored by Brooks Brothers.

Roosevelt, who lacked any prior military experience, participated in training and drilling the men of the regiment, whom he complained to Wood as being too independently minded. By the same token, Roosevelt sought to earn the trust and admiration of his men and sometimes went too far in his attempts to have his men like him. On a particularly hot day, he stopped his men at a nearby hotel and permitted them to drink at his expense. When Wood discovered this obvious lapse in protocol and discipline, he rebuked Roosevelt rather severely. Roosevelt, realizing his mistake, agreed. Training continued, and by the end of May, the regiment had made great strides in becoming a cohesive and effective fighting unit. On May 30, 1898, Camp Wood was abandoned when the regiment departed by train to Tampa, Florida, for eventual deployment to Cuba.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Camps, U.S. Army; Roosevelt, Theodore; Rough Riders; Wood, Leonard

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Camps, U.S. Army

Although the Spanish-American War was relatively brief, it spawned a great number of military camps that served as temporary housing and training areas, staging and mobilization areas, and embarkation points. Further complicating this picture is the fact that both state governments and the federal government established camps, many of which were designed to mobilize, house, and train volunteer units. In all, there were at least 150 camps spread across the continent, and, of course, camps were established in Cuba and the Philippines as well. The sheer number of temporary camps and their geographic distribution was a telling sign of the U.S. Army's lack of preparedness and its reliance on volunteers to augment its small contingent of regulars.

There were four primary embarkation points for U.S. soldiers shipping out to the war fronts. Three were in the eastern United States and served units destined for Cuba and Puerto Rico. The largest one was located in Tampa, Florida, while the remaining two were in Mobile, Alabama, and New Orleans, Louisiana. For troops bound for the Philippines, Camp Merriam and then Camp Merritt in San Francisco served as the mobilization camps. The cities were carefully selected by the War Department based on certain essential criteria. First, they had to have modern port facilities and deep-water access for large commercial and naval vessels. Second, they had to be well served by rail lines, depots, and sidings. Third, they had to be geographically close to the war front or at least as close as possible given the distances involved. Tampa, Mobile, and New Orleans, all situated on the Gulf Coast, were the closest large ports to Cuba. San Francisco was the largest and closest port facility to the Philippines.

Army camps fell into a number of different categories. The first were the mustering-in camps, where soldiers were initially mobilized. There were two classifications of such camps: those created by the individual states for state volunteers and those reserved for U.S. volunteers. The second were the staging camps for the various army corps. Each had its own camp (such as Camp Cuba Libre for VII Corps). The third were a relatively small number of winter camps, utilized in the winter of 1898–1899. These were created in states of the Deep South (including such facilities as Camp Foran in South Carolina) to move troops out of inclement northern climates. The fourth were the recruitment camps. The fifth were the embarkation point facilities, such as at Tampa, from which soldiers shipped out to the war front. The sixth were occupation camps in Cuba and the Philippines. The seventh and last category included the mustering-out camps, such as Camp Wikoff in New York.

The sizes of camps varied greatly in terms of both land area and population. Small state-created camps might house only a few hundred volunteers. The largest of the camps was the U.S. Army's Camp Thomas in Chickamauga, Georgia. It served as the primary mobilization point for II Corps and III Corps and sprawled across some 7,000 acres. During its life span it processed about 69,000 soldiers. In some instances, more than one camp was created in the same city, based on the War Department's call for volunteers. The



Men of the 1st North Dakota Volunteer Regiment line the decks of the *Valencia* as the ship departs San Francisco, California, for Manila, Philippines, in June 1898. (Naval Historical Center)

War Department issued two separate calls at two distinct times, leading to the creation of two camps in the same general area.

In some cases, military officials were able to make use of existing buildings for the housing of troops or for hospital facilities. Some camps, for example, were set up on state fairgrounds, which usually had a number of permanent buildings. Most camps, however, were hastily erected from scratch and constituted little more than huge tent cities. Even medical facilities were housed in tents, although in some camps a limited number of semipermanent buildings were created for such purposes. The two cities with the most number of camps during the Spanish-American War were Lexington, Kentucky, with as many as eight, and Macon, Georgia, with five.

Conditions in the camps varied greatly and were often based on the installation's water supply and bathing facilities, which had a direct impact on overall hygiene and disease prevention. Other important factors included the presence of adequate sewage disposal systems, the physical location of the camp (high ground versus low, well-drained versus poorly drained), and, of course, the camp commander, who directly influenced discipline and morale.

Conditions in the volunteer camps tended to be the most problematic. Untrained and unaccustomed to military discipline, these men tended to pose significant discipline problems for their officers. Idleness was a real problem, particularly because many volunteers never made it to the war zone. Gambling and drinking were rampant in these camps, and hygiene left much to be desired. Poor

hygiene brought increased illness and disease, and if communicable disease took hold in a camp, it was likely to spread quickly and furiously. Although most camps had quarantine facilities to stanch the spread of such outbreaks, they were often inadequate to prevent a serious epidemic.

Boredom and poor discipline often led to fights within the camps as well as physical confrontation between soldiers and locals, many of whom were less than thrilled with their new and temporary neighbors. Not surprisingly, a cottage industry of bars, saloons, cheap restaurants, burlesque shows, and brothels sprang up on the fringes of many camps. These did nothing but encourage poor behavior among the soldiers and were the bane of many camp commanders. At Camp Alger in Virginia, camp commander Major General William H. Graham became so appalled by such titillations that he ordered a bawdy burlesque show located just outside the camp closed.

A number of mustering-in camps in the North were miserable affairs because of an unusually cold and rainy spring in 1898. The frequent rains turned many camps, even those on high ground, into muddy quagmires in which volunteers struggled to keep warm. In camps in the South, just the opposite was frequently the case. Usually supplied only with heavy woolen uniforms, soldiers in these camps suffered from heat exhaustion, heat stroke, and worse.

Camps located in Cuba and the Philippines were usually grim affairs. In addition to the sweltering heat and high humidity of these regions, malaria and yellow fever were a constant concern. Located several thousand miles from the United States, the camps were not as well stocked with food and medical supplies as were camps state-side. Finding potable water and providing adequate sewage disposal facilities were also a challenge.

Most larger camps had on-site hospital facilities. Those in the United States had a quarantine section, which included hospital facilities. In camps overseas, hospitals fulfilled two roles: caring for those injured in battle and tending soldiers who were ill. At Camp Wikoff in New York, a major mustering-out facility, the hospitals there employed 300 staff and treated as many as 10,000 men in just a month's time.

All in all, these temporary camps—some of which were in operation for just a few weeks—served the nation's war effort quite well. They handled and processed an enormous number of men and served as vast laboratories for the study of infectious diseases. They also presented officers with new challenges in leadership and discipline and acted as models for the construction of future armed forces facilities.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Camp Alger; Camp Cuba Libre; Camp Merriam and Camp Merritt; Camp Thomas; Camp Wikoff; Malaria; Medicine, Military; Tampa, Florida; Typhoid Fever; Uniforms; Yellow Fever

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Canary Islands

The Canary Islands, known in Spanish as las Islas Canarias, are an Atlantic Ocean archipelago of seven major islands—Gran Canaria, Tenerife, Lanzarote, La Palma, La Gomera, El Hierro, and Fuerteventura—and six small islets. The islands are of volcanic origin, and the Tiede Volcano on Tenerife is the world's third-largest volcano. Located off the northwestern coast of Africa, the Canary Islands are currently an autonomous community of Spain. The name of the islands is thought to be derived from a North African Berber tribe (the Canarii) that settled the islands or from the Latin name Insularia Canaria (Island of the Dogs), the name that the ancient Romans gave to the islands because of the multitude of large dogs they encountered there. The bird canary (*serinus canarius*) was named after the islands.

Although the islands were known to the Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, and Arabs for centuries, the local population was largely ignored until the 15th century. The climate is dry subtropical to tropical, with some islands receiving more rainfall than others owing to their position relative to the trade winds. Many of the islands have high and craggy mountains.

In 1402, vassals of King Henry III of Castile began the conquest of the Canaries. The native population, known as Guanches, fiercely resisted European attempts at colonization, which delayed complete Spanish conquest until 1495. The Spaniards imposed a monocultural economy based initially on sugar and then on wine. Two ports—Las Palmas de Gran Canaria and Santa Cruz de Tenerife—became important transit points for Spanish explorers, merchants, and traders on their way to the Americas. A rivalry between the elites in Las Palmas and Santa Cruz has lasted into the contemporary period. The location of the islands on the sea route to the Americas led to a period of significant prosperity. During the 19th century, cochineal, a crimson-colored dye extracted from insects, became the basis of the local economy. Because of overpopulation, during the 19th century a large number of people from the islands immigrated to the Americas, especially Cuba and the Dominican Republic, and this profoundly affected speech patterns on those islands.

During the Spanish-American War, the Spanish government suspected that the United States might try to capture the Canary Islands. Although the United States considered attacking the Canaries, it never attempted to do so and did not try to claim the islands in the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Paris that ended the Spanish-American War.

Following the war, significant numbers of people from the Canary Islands continued to immigrate to Cuba. In the early 20th century, bananas were introduced and became the primary agricultural activity in the Canary Islands. In 1927, owing to the continued rivalry between the elites of Santa Cruz and Las Palmas, the archipelago was divided into two provinces. On July 17, 1936, Spanish general Francisco Franco launched a military uprising in the Canary Islands that led to the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). There was considerable opposition in the islands to Franco's rule, and after the dictator's death in 1975, plans were initiated by the Spanish government that led to making the Canary Islands an autonomous region of Spain in 1982.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Paris, Treaty of; Spain

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Cannon, Joseph Gurney

Birth Date: May 7, 1836

Death Date: November 12, 1926

Acerbic Republican congressman (1873–1891, 1893–1913, 1915–1923) and arguably the most powerful Speaker of the House of Representatives in U.S. history (1903–1911). Joseph Gurney Cannon was born in Guilford, North Carolina, on May 7, 1836. His father was a country doctor. When Cannon was 4 years old, his family moved to Annapolis, Indiana, located some 35 miles from Terre Haute, Indiana. His father drowned when the younger Cannon was just 10 years old, and from then on he took over the modest family farm to help his family make ends meet. He received a public education until his midteens and then became interested in the practice of law. He studied law under the tutelage of a Terre Haute lawyer and attended the University of Cincinnati Law School for a short time before being admitted to the bar in 1858. In 1859, Cannon moved to Tuscola, Illinois, to practice law, and from 1861 to 1868, he served as the local state attorney.

By the late 1850s, Cannon had become an ardent Republican and supported Abraham Lincoln's 1860 presidential bid in return for which he received an appointment as a federal prosecutor. First elected to the House of Representatives in 1872, Cannon took his seat in 1873. He held the seat uninterrupted for 18 years and garnered a reputation as an effective legislator who took no prisoners, did not suffer fools gladly, and used profanity with abandon. Many in Washington viewed him as a buffoonish country bumpkin, but under the veneer of a midwestern farmer that he purposely culti-



Powerful speaker of the House Joseph Gurney Cannon, Republican from Illinois, was instrumental in supporting a U.S. defense buildup, including the Fifty Million Dollar Bill, that helped prepare the nation for the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

vated was a man of considerable intellect and, above all, great political acuity.

Although Cannon lost his reelection bid in 1890, he regained his seat in 1893, serving uninterrupted until 1913. This was his most productive and powerful tenure in Congress. He was instrumental in passing numerous spending bills designed to beef up the U.S. Navy and armed forces, including the so-called Fifty Million Dollar Bill aimed at preparing the country for a potential war with Spain. He was not a proponent of using the power of the federal government to effect change or induce reform, which placed him in the conservative wing of the Republican Party. It also placed him at loggerheads with progressives such as Theodore Roosevelt.

Cannon was, however, an effective proponent of U.S. expansionism and used his considerable skills and influence to coerce other Republicans to support President William McKinley. Cannon's political skills were most evident on April 20, 1898, when the U.S. Congress passed a joint resolution for war against Spain. Indeed, Cannon's influence in the House contributed to the overwhelming 311 to 6 vote in favor of the legislation. The joint resolution, which included the Teller Amendment that disclaimed any U.S. intention of exercising U.S. jurisdiction over Cuba after the war, was an attempt to allay suspicions that McKinley had an imperialistic agenda. Cannon could be combative and acerbic, but his party loyalty was unwavering. He admired McKinley, having

served with him for many years in the House, and believed that the president had great political savvy. Cannon once said of McKinley that he "keeps his ear so close to the ground that it's always full of grasshoppers."

The wiry, cigar-chomping congressman actively sought the coveted position of Speaker of the House, which he finally attained in 1903. He instantly became the most powerful Speaker in U.S. history but often used questionable means to exercise his powers. He immediately ran afoul of the White House when President Theodore Roosevelt attempted to legislate progressive reforms. Believing that the president was overstepping his authority and trampling on congressional prerogative, Cannon bluntly stated that Roosevelt had "no more use for the [U.S.] Constitution than a tomcat has for a marriage license." When a conservation bill championed by Roosevelt went to the floor of Congress, Cannon chortled, "Not one cent for scenery." Of Progressivism in general, Cannon declared, "I'm [expletive deleted] tired of listening to all this babble for reform. America is a hell of a success."

In the end, Cannon's combativeness and heavy-handed management style proved his undoing. Beginning in 1909, his obstreperous refusal to embrace progressive reforms led to a series of attacks on his power as Speaker. Within two years, he was forced to step down as Speaker of the House after Congress repeatedly trimmed his powers. The attacks against Cannon were bipartisan, and by 1911, he had been stripped of his powers to control committee assignments, his chairmanship of the Rules Committee, and his unquestioned authority to recognize House members on the floor.

Cannon left office after his defeat in 1912 but returned to the House of Representatives in 1915, where he remained until his retirement in 1923. He served for an astonishing 46 years. Despite his arbitrary rule and salty personality, many lawmakers liked Cannon personally, so much so that he garnered the moniker "Uncle Joe." Cannon left Washington for Illinois in 1923 and died in Danville, Illinois, on November 12, 1926.

MICHAEL R. HALL AND PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

McKinley, William; Progressivism; Roosevelt, Theodore

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Cánovas del Castillo y Vallejo, Antonio

Birth Date: February 8, 1828

Death Date: August 8, 1897

Conservative Spanish politician, historian, and prime minister of Spain six times between 1874 and 1897 (December 1874–September 1875, December 1875–March 1879, December 1879–February



Spanish political leader and historian Antonio Cánovas del Castillo was prime minister of Spain six times between 1874 and 1897. (Martin Hume, *Modern Spain*, 1899)

1881, January 1884–November 1885, July 1890–December 1892, and March 1895–August 1897). Antonio Cánovas del Castillo y Vallejo was born on February 8, 1828, in Málaga, Spain, but moved to Madrid to live with his uncle Serafín Estébanez Calderón after his father died in 1843. In 1852 Cánovas published *The History of the Decline of Spain*, the first of numerous historical studies written by him. He supported the July 7, 1854, military movement led by General Leopoldo O'Donnell that toppled the Partido Moderado government that had ruled Spain since 1844. Cánovas also wrote the *Manifiesto de Manzanares*, which outlined the goals of the new Partido Progresista government.

Cánovas held a number of government posts during the turbulent period from 1854 until 1868, when Queen Isabel II was overthrown. Significantly, he was the minister of overseas colonies from 1865 to 1866. After a revolution overthrew Isabel II in 1868, Cánovas temporarily retired from politics.

Cánovas supported the overthrow of the First Spanish Republic in 1874 and restoration of the Bourbon monarchy that same year. He returned to active politics on December 31, 1874, as the first prime minister for Isabel II's son, King Alfonso XII. With the exception of two brief periods, Cánovas was prime minister from 1874 to 1881.

Between 1874 and 1881, Cánovas was instrumental in solidifying the power of the newly restored monarchy. He was the principal author of the Constitution of 1876, which legitimized the

constitutional monarchy and provided for limited suffrage. He was also instrumental in defusing the appeal of the dissident Carlist movement. By opening up the political system to the middle class while simultaneously excluding the working class, he laid the basis for a two-party political system in which political power alternated between his Conservatives and Práxedes Mateo Sagasta's Liberals. Cánovas also oversaw the end of the Ten Years' War (1868–1878) in Cuba. Although promising reforms in Cuba, his government in fact pursued a policy of repression against Cuban nationalists that eventually led to La Guerra Chiquita (1878–1880) and the Cuban War of Independence.

While prime minister between 1890 and 1892, Cánovas continued a policy of repression against Cuban nationalists. Returning to power in 1895, he insisted on an aggressive policy to crush the Cuban nationalists and supported General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau's *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) system to crush Cuban resistance. Although largely successful, the implementation of Weyler's draconian policy generated sharp criticism in the American press, which contributed to U.S. intervention in the Cuban crisis in 1898.

Cánovas's suppression of the Spanish working class as well as attempts to crush Catalan and Basque nationalist movements caused great instability in Spain. He was assassinated by Italian anarchist Michele Angiolillo at a spa in Guipúzcoa, Spain, on August 8, 1897. Angiolillo was executed by Spanish authorities on August 20, 1897.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Alfonso XII, King of Spain; Cuba, Spanish Colonial Policies toward; Cuban War of Independence; *Reconcentrado* System; Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo; Spain; Ten Years' War; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano

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Cape Tunas

Original landing point planned for the U.S. invasion of Cuba at the beginning of the Spanish-American War. Cape Tunas is located on Cuba's south-central coast about 70 miles east-southeast of Cienfuegos. The initial U.S. war plans called for a naval blockade of Cuban ports and the landing of a U.S. expeditionary force at Cape Tunas. The Americans were then to join forces with units of the Cuban Revolutionary Army commanded by General Máximo Báez y Gómez, who was operating inland.

After the U.S. declaration of war on April 25, 1898, U.S. rear admiral William T. Sampson instituted a naval blockade of Cuba's

northern ports with the ships of his North Atlantic Squadron. A lack of ships, however, meant that Sampson was compelled for the time being to leave Cuba's southern coast uncovered. On April 29, the War Department ordered Major General William R. Shafter to mobilize some 6,000 troops at Tampa, Florida. They were to include cavalry, field artillery, and regular infantry units. Shafter was then to embark from Tampa aboard transport ships and, accompanied by a naval escort, proceed to Cuba and land at Cape Tunas. After the landing, he was to march inland and join Gómez. The plan called for Shafter to provide Gómez with weapons and ammunition so that he could continue the fight against the Spanish. Shafter was also to gather military intelligence during the operation to be used for the subsequent main U.S. attack on Cuba sometime in June. Finally, he was encouraged to help Gómez organize assaults against the Spanish but had been directed not to have U.S. troops participate in any major engagements.

Shafter's expedition was designed to be a brief one, more of a spur to the Cuban resistance and reconnaissance than anything else. Major General Nelson A. Miles had directed Shafter to depart Cuba with his men in no more than five days. He was then to return immediately to the United States in order to brief U.S. war planners on the situation.

As it turned out, however, Shafter's reconnaissance expedition never took place. On April 29, the same day that Miles's orders had been issued, Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron departed the Cape Verde Islands, its final destination unknown. This news prompted Sampson to divert some of his ships, which meant that they would not be available to provide escort for Shafter's forces. The War Department then canceled the operation, and no landing at Cape Tunas ever took place. Shafter, however, continued to mobilize his forces, and by May 6, all 6,000 men stood ready to deploy to Cuba when ordered.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Cuba, U.S. Naval Blockade of; Cuban Revolutionary Army; Gómez y Báez, Máximo; Miles, Nelson Appleton; North Atlantic Squadron; Sampson, William Thomas; Shafter, William Rufus

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Cape Verde Islands

The Cape Verde Islands, known in Portuguese as the Ilhas do Cabo Verde, are an archipelago off the western coast of Africa. The name is derived from Cape Verde (Green Cape), a promontory on the coast of West Africa. The 10 islands of the archipelago are divided into the Ilhas do Barlavento (Windward Islands), consisting of

Santo Antao, São Vicente, Santa Luzia, São Nicolau, Sal, and Boa Vista, and the Ilhas do Sotavento (Leeward Islands), consisting of Maio, Santiago, Fogo, and Brava. These volcanic islands cover approximately 1,500 square miles. The Portuguese arrived in 1456 to settle the mostly uninhabited islands. The Cape Verde Islands soon became an important watering station, sugar colony, and slave trading depot. The harbor on the northern coast of São Vicente afforded complete shelter from the wind. In July 1975, the Portuguese acknowledged the independence of the Cape Verde Islands.

Following the sinking of the U.S. battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, the Spanish government realized that the possibility of war with the United States had increased dramatically. Spanish military officials deployed ships and reorganized expeditionary forces. The most important of these expeditionary forces was the Atlantic Squadron, led by Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete. On March 14, 1898, Cervera's squadron, consisting of four armored cruisers—the *Almirante Oquendo*, the *Infanta Maria Teresa*, the *Cristóbal Colón*, and the *Vizcaya*—and the torpedo boat destroyers *Furor*, *Plutón*, and *Terror* proceeded to the Cape Verde Islands. Cervera's ships were now poised for a dash across the Atlantic Ocean should war with the United States erupt. On April 23, Spain declared war on the United States. The next day, Spanish minister of defense Segismundo Bermejo y Merelo sent instructions to Cervera to proceed from the Cape Verde Islands to the West Indies. Cervera's squadron departed the Cape Verde Islands for the Caribbean on April 29. Two months later, on July 3, 1898, Cervera's entire squadron was destroyed as it exited Santiago de Cuba Harbor.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Bermejo y Merelo, Segismundo; Cervera y Topete, Pascual; *Maine*, USS; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of

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Capitulation Agreements

See Manila, Capitulation Agreement; Santiago de Cuba, Capitulation Agreement

Capron, Allyn Kissam, Jr.

Birth Date: 1871

Death Date: June 24, 1898

Captain of volunteers in command of L Troop of the 1st U.S. Volunteers (Rough Riders) who was killed at Las Guásimas. Born in 1871, Allyn Kissam Capron Jr. was a fifth-generation member of

the U.S. Army whose ancestors had fought in the American Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Mexican-American War (in which his grandfather was killed), and the American Civil War. Capron enlisted in the army as a private in the 4th Cavalry Regiment on October 20, 1890. He was commissioned a second lieutenant with the 5th Infantry Regiment on October 7, 1893, and transferred to the 7th U.S. Cavalry in November 1894. When the Spanish-American War began, Capron, a lieutenant serving with the 7th Cavalry, was promoted to captain in the United States Volunteers and given command of the Indian Territory Volunteers recruited from what later became Oklahoma. Tall, blond, and blue-eyed, Capron was popular with his men and was considered by Theodore Roosevelt to be the best soldier in the Rough Riders. Capron was a boxer and an expert horseman and was repeatedly held out as the archetype of the American military man.

Brigadier General Leonard Wood granted Capron's request that he be allowed to lead the vanguard of the June 24, 1898, American advance on Las Guásimas. Early in the battle, Capron was shot in the chest and died in the arms of one of his men. He was posthumously awarded the Silver Star. Capron's father, also named Allyn and also a captain, commanded the 4th Artillery and furnished artillery support for Major General Henry Lawton's assault on El Caney. The senior Capron survived the war and also led the 21-gun salute celebrating the American occupation of Santiago de Cuba. Shortly thereafter, he contracted typhoid, from which he died after returning to the United States.

JACK MCCALLUM

See also

El Caney, Battle of; Roosevelt, Theodore; Wood, Leonard

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Cárdenas, Cuba

Port city on the northwestern coast of Cuba and the site of a brief naval engagement between Spanish and American forces on May 11, 1898. Located in Matanzas Province approximately 75 miles east of Havana, in 1898 Cárdenas was a thriving port city with approximately 20,000 inhabitants. The surrounding land is quite fertile and was extensively farmed.

Formally established only in 1828, the city grew quickly owing to the rich surrounding lands and its access to Cárdenas Bay (Bahía de Cárdenas), a wide but shallow body of water that limited access to smaller vessels only. Cárdenas is protected by a large promontory and is strategically positioned between the ocean to the north and hills to the south and southeast.

In 1841, a railway linking Cárdenas with Havana and other key cities in Cuba increased the city's importance and prompted an economic boom in the area. In 1850, the city became momentarily famous when the Venezuelan soldier of fortune Narcisco Lopez

launched a filibustering expedition there. After occupying the town for nearly a day, he abandoned it when it had become clear that the locals were not flocking to his cause. It had been his intention to free Cuba from Spanish colonial rule.

Although the bay at Cárdenas was too shallow for most naval vessels, including blockade runners, U.S. North Atlantic Squadron commander Rear Admiral William Sampson sought to prevent supplies from reaching the Spanish through the city. In late April 1898, just days after the declaration of war, a minor naval skirmish took place off the coast of Cárdenas between American and Spanish ships. The following month, on May 8, the U.S. torpedo boat *Winslow* entered the bay and fired on a Spanish gunboat and armed tugs in an effort to draw them out of the bay where the cruiser *Wilmington* and the gunboat *Macias* were lying in wait. This attempt failed, but three days later, on May 11, the *Wilmington*, the *Macias*, and the *Winslow* and the revenue cutter *Hudson* returned to Cárdenas. The American ships dueled with the Spanish shore batteries and the gunboats *Alerta* and *Ligera* and the armed tug *Antonio López*. The *Winslow* was seriously damaged in the exchange with a Spanish shore battery and had to be towed out to sea by the *Hudson*. Five crewmen died, and three others were wounded. Among the dead was Ensign Worth Bagley, believed to be the first naval officer killed in the war. On the Spanish side, two ships were damaged, part of Cárdenas was set on fire, and seven people were killed.

In the first years of the 20th century, Cárdenas became one of the principal cities in Cuba involved in the export of sugar. This fueled another surge in its population so that by 1907 it boasted more than 24,000 people, an increase of 20 percent in less than 10 years. The surrounding areas continued to be farmed thanks to the fertile soil, abundant rainfall, and moderating sea breezes.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cuba, U.S. Naval Blockade of; Sampson, William Thomas; United States Navy

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Caribbean Sea

A suboceanic basin of approximately 1.049 million square miles. The Caribbean Sea consists of the Greater Antilles island chain in the west (which includes Cuba and Puerto Rico) and the Lesser Antilles in the east. The Caribbean, a tropical body of water, covers all the area north of the South American continental mainland, east of Central America and the Yucatan Peninsula, west of the Lesser Antilles, and south of the Greater Antilles.

The name "Caribbean" derives from the Carib Indians, who lived in the Lesser Antilles. Other indigenous groups present at the time

of first European contact in the 15th and 16th centuries were the Tainos, who inhabited most of the Greater Antilles, and the Guanahatabeys, who inhabited the westernmost end of Cuba. In more recent times, control of the Caribbean has been critically important to the United States because of the Caribbean's proximity to the Gulf of Mexico and southern Florida and its access to the Panama Canal.

European colonization began with the arrival of Christopher Columbus in 1492. Spain held uncontested dominion in the region, except for piracy, until the first quarter of the 17th century, at which time settlements in the Lesser Antilles by Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands began to appear. After the demise of much of the native population, slavery based on the importation of Africans became prominent. Indeed, Spain, Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands all employed slave labor in large sugar and tobacco plantations on the many tropical islands that dot the Caribbean Sea. This arrangement set up a system of triangular trade among Africa, the Caribbean islands, and European nations. Ships would transport African slaves to the Caribbean islands; load molasses, tobacco, and other goods for Europe or the British colonies of North America; and then return to Africa to begin anew. The heavy importation of Africans to the region has given the population of the Caribbean a unique diversity that blends European, indigenous, and African traditions.

The advent of the 19th century saw many nations surrounding the Caribbean basin gain their independence from Spain. In the West Indies, the French colony of St. Domingue on the western portion of the island of Hispaniola gained its independence, out of which Haiti was formed. The eastern portion of the island was annexed by Haiti until 1844, when it became the Dominican Republic. By the end of the 19th century, the only remaining large colonies in the Caribbean were the Spanish-held islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico and the British-held island of Jamaica.

The Caribbean Sea is home to about 90 percent of the world's coral reefs, which are believed to cover 20,000 square miles. As such, parts of the Caribbean are host to some of the most diverse and numerous marine wildlife populations in the world. These reefs have come under great pressure in recent years, however, thanks to overfishing, careless human handling, and rising sea temperatures.

The climate in the Caribbean generally reflects that of a warm, humid tropical region. Tourism has become a big industry on many Caribbean islands owing to their seaside locale and consistently warm temperatures, even in the winter months. The downside of this balminess are hurricanes, however. Indeed, many of the Western Hemisphere's hurricanes are spawned annually in the Caribbean. These fierce storms have become a part of life on Caribbean islands, as virtually no one is immune from them. Caribbean hurricanes posed constant problems for colonial powers in the region over the centuries, but U.S. forces were largely spared from this threat during the Spanish-American War mainly because the majority of the fighting had ended before hurricane season swung into high gear. They were not spared, however, from the torrid heat and humidity. Dispatched to Cuba and Puerto Rico in the

warm months of 1898 with heavy wool uniforms, many U.S. soldiers suffered from and succumbed to heat-related illnesses.

In the 20th century, the Caribbean became one of the world's largest areas of commercial fishing. By the same token, the area's growing population, many of whom live at or below the poverty line, contributed to a mounting pollution problem. A 1993 study suggested that only about 10 percent of the sewage that the area dumped into the Caribbean and adjacent waters is adequately treated. Perhaps the largest boon in the Caribbean is tourism, which brings an estimated 20 million people per year onto the islands and into the ports of the region.

The Spanish-American War thrust the United States into the international arena and began its rise as a world leader and military power. Control of the Caribbean Sea has been vital to maintaining U.S. influence in the region.

PETER E. CARR AND PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cuba; Puerto Rico

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Carlists

The Carlists were members of a political movement in Spain seeking to establish a different line of the Bourbon family on the throne of Spain. Carlism originated in 1833 when King Ferdinand VII, under the influence of Queen María Cristina and in order to ensure the succession of their infant daughter Isabella, set aside the Salic Law that completely excluded females of the dynasty and their descendants from the succession. This deprived his brother Don Carlos of the chance to rule. The Carlist movement took its name from the now excluded Don Carlos. Supporters of Don Carlos engaged in three Carlist civil wars in Spain (1834–1839, 1847–1849, and 1872–1876).

Carlism was also a deeply traditionalist political movement that strongly supported the conservative views of the Catholic Church as opposed to Enlightenment values. Although the movement had been greatly weakened in Spain by the eve of the Spanish-American War, Carlists demanded a strong stance by Madrid in rejecting U.S. demands for reform in Cuba. During the war, Carlists rejected compromise and negotiations with the United States, believing that a superior Spanish Army would triumph over that of the United States. Carlists also called for Spain to forge a Spanish-language coalition with Latin American states against the United States.

SPENCER C. TUCKER



Don Carlos, brother of King Ferdinand VII of Spain. Don Carlos would have succeeded to the throne had Ferdinand not changed the law and arranged for his daughter Isabella to be his successor. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

See also
Spain

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Carnegie, Andrew

Birth Date: November 25, 1835

Death Date: August 11, 1919

Scottish-born U.S. industrialist and philanthropist. Born in Dunfermline, Scotland, on November 25, 1835, Andrew Carnegie hailed from humble circumstances. His only formal education consisted of four years of primary schooling. Seeking to better itself, the Carnegie family immigrated to the United States in 1848 when young Andrew was 13 years old. The family eventually settled in

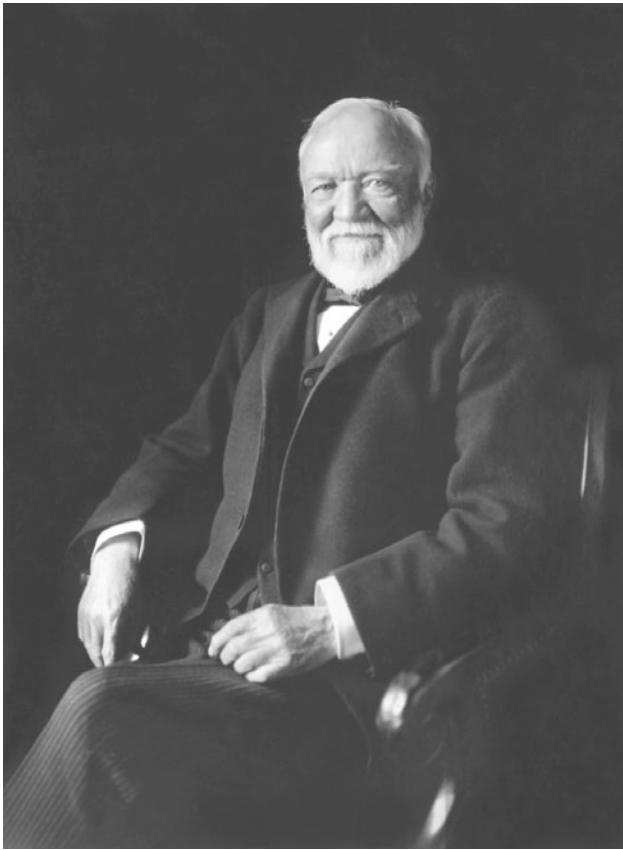
Allegheny, Pennsylvania, a highly industrial area across the river from Pittsburgh. As a youth, Carnegie held a series of menial but instructive jobs in which he was able to learn much about commerce and industry.

In 1852, Carnegie was offered a job as a telegrapher and personal assistant to the superintendent of the western division of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Carnegie excelled in the position and was making \$35 per month in salary, then a princely sum for a 17-year-old with little education. Carnegie's rise in the railroad business corresponded with the managerial revolution that was sweeping the industry during the 1850s. As such, he learned much about modern management and organizational techniques. By 1859, Carnegie had taken the place of his boss, becoming head of the Pennsylvania Railroad's western division.

A proponent of social equality and an avowed abolitionist, Carnegie wrote numerous antislavery editorials for the *New York Tribune*, a widely read newspaper published by the noted abolitionist Horace Greeley. By 1856, Carnegie had joined the Republican Party. After the American Civil War began, the pro-Union Carnegie became chief of telegraphic communications for the Washington, D.C., area, a critical post given the importance of that city. In May 1861, he also helped create the U.S. Military Telegraphers Corps. That same year, he invested in the formation of the Columbia Oil Company, a move that made him almost instantly wealthy. Indeed, he turned his \$11,000 initial investment into a profit of more than \$1 million. In 1862, he formed the Keystone Bridge Company, which eventually constructed some of the nation's first iron bridges. In 1865, he formed the iron-producing conglomerate Union Mills, which supplied many iron and iron-made products to American railways. By now, he had turned his full attention to assembling his far-flung industrial empire.

In the 1870s, Carnegie formed the world's most advanced and efficient steel-manufacturing plant, the Edgar Thompson Works. This facility also best utilized the Bessemer process by which to make steel in a rapid and cost-effective manner. Carnegie had also acquired a 50 percent partnership in the Frick Coke Company by the 1880s as well as controlling interest in the Duquesne Steel Works and Hartman Steel. From these various acquisitions, he formed the Carnegie Steel Company, which became the world's largest steel-manufacturing facility. Working with business-savvy partners and investors such as Charles M. Schwab and Henry Clay Frick, Carnegie Steel grew exponentially because Carnegie initially insisted that almost all of the profits be reinvested in the company.

Carnegie also mastered modern industrial concepts such as vertical integration, which gave him complete control of the production and distribution process. Thus, he owned and controlled his own raw materials and also transported, distributed, and sold his own products. This enabled him to eliminate any middlemen and keep production costs down and profits up. By adhering to concepts such as economies of scale, scientific management, consolidation, and horizontal combination, Carnegie cornered the market in steel production and amassed a huge personal fortune.



Andrew Carnegie rose from poverty to become one of the richest men in the world by gaining virtual control of the U.S. steel industry. Later he sold off his holdings and devoted himself to charitable causes. (Library of Congress)

Severe labor disruptions in the 1890s, most infamously the 1892 Homestead Steel Strike that affected thousands of Carnegie's workers, unfortunately tarnished his image in the public eye. The violence and associated deaths during that strike were precipitated largely by the actions of Henry Clay Frick, but Carnegie was nevertheless unfairly viewed as a greedy, heartless industrialist. Toward the end of the decade, the strains of running a huge industrial empire had taken their toll on Carnegie, and he sought to slowly disengage himself from day-to-day operations. Instead of retiring with his millions to some idyll far from the spotlight, however, he instead threw himself into charitable work, believing that his power and money dictated that he become a good steward and return to society what he had gained from it. In the aftermath of the Spanish-American War, he joined the Anti-Imperialist League in opposition to U.S. annexation of the Philippines.

In March 1901, Carnegie sold his steel empire to the financier J. P. Morgan, who formed the world's first billion-dollar corporation, the United States Steel Corporation. This freed up Carnegie to work full-time for his charitable causes. Among the many things he funded from his own fortune were public libraries, museums, universities, the Carnegie Institute of Technology (Pittsburgh), the

Carnegie Corporation of New York, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Carnegie's legacy is a long-reaching one. His managerial acumen and industrial prowess had revolutionized the way in which the American business world worked, aided in America's rise to an industrial superpower, and ensured that high-quality steel was plentiful and inexpensive. This helped drive U.S. naval expansion in the 1880s and 1890s. Carnegie died in Lennox, Massachusetts, on August 11, 1919.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Frick, Henry Clay; Homestead Steel Strike; Morgan, John Pierpont, Sr.; Robber Barons; Steel

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Caroline Islands

Archipelago of more than 500 islands located in the western Pacific Ocean. Spread across more than 2,000 miles in Micronesia, most of the islands are small coral atolls. The five main islands of Palau, Yap, Truk, Ponape, and Kosrae account for most of the territory and population. The islands were first discovered by Portuguese explorer Diego da Rocha in 1527. In 1686, Spanish admiral Francesco Lazeano named them the Caroline Islands in honor of King Charles II. Jesuit missionaries arrived in 1732 but were unsuccessful in converting the indigenous people to Roman Catholicism. The Caroline Islands were never considered very important by the Spanish government, and colonization attempts were only haphazard.

As such, Spain did not voice particular interest in the Caroline Islands during the 1870s when Germany expressed an interest in the area. Nevertheless, the German colonization of Yap in the early 1880s led to a diplomatic impasse between Spain and Germany. In 1885, Pope Leo XIII arbitrated the dispute in favor of Spain but granted Germany free trading rights in the Carolines. In 1886, Spain began colonizing the islands and sent Capuchin missionaries. The indigenous people, however, rebuffed Spanish attempts at colonization. While the 1898 Treaty of Paris was being negotiated, Germany applied diplomatic pressure to block American acquisition of the Caroline Islands.

On June 1, 1899, Spain sold to Germany the Caroline Islands and the Mariana Islands (less Guam, which had been annexed by the United States) for 25 million pesetas. Thereafter the islands were known as Karolinen, and the Germans governed them under their German New Guinea Department.

During World War I, Japan occupied the Caroline Islands and was awarded a League of Nations mandate over them in 1920. During World War II, the United States captured the islands from Japan and was granted a United Nations (UN) trusteeship over them in 1947. The Caroline Islands, with the exception of Palau, were granted independence in 1986 as the Federated States of Micronesia. Palau obtained independence in 1994.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Germany; Guam; Mariana Islands; Paris, Treaty of

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Castillo Duany, Demetrio

Birth Date: November 17, 1856

Death Date: November 27, 1922

Cuban revolutionary and military officer who supported the end of Spanish colonialism in Cuba during the last quarter of the 19th century. Demetrio Castillo Duany was born into an affluent Cuban family on November 17, 1856, in Santiago, Cuba. His family sent him to study at a lycée in Bordeaux, France. After completing his studies in France, he went to the United States, where he studied English. He then returned to Cuba in 1878 to work on his family's estate. In 1879, following the outbreak of La Guerra Chiquita (1879–1880), the second of three revolutionary attempts to secure Cuban independence, Castillo returned to the United States, where he lived until 1885. Returning to Cuba, he clandestinely supported the struggle for Cuban independence.

In 1895, at the outbreak of the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898), Castillo joined the revolutionary army led by Victoriano Garzón, a black general in the Cuban insurrection. Within weeks Castillo was transferred to revolutionary forces led by José Maceo Grajales, who promoted him to lieutenant colonel following the Battle of Yerba de Guinea. Following the Battle of Sao del Indio on August 31, 1895, Castillo was promoted to colonel. Just prior to the Battle of Loma de Gato on July 5, 1896, Maceo promoted Castillo to brigadier general. After Maceo's death at the Battle of Loma de Gato, Castillo was transferred to the revolutionary forces led by Calixto García y Iníiguez.

Following the U.S. declaration of war against Spain in April 1898, García appointed Castillo his liaison with the Americans. In June 1898, Castillo met with Major General William Shafter and Rear Admiral William Sampson aboard the U.S. battleship *New York* to coordinate the American campaign against Santiago. Sampson initially proposed that Shafter's forces storm the fort guarding the eastern

bank of the bay entrance to Santiago and drive the Spanish forces from their post. Sampson argued that his squadron could then enter the bay and deal with the Spanish squadron led by Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete. Shafter, however, was uncertain as to whether his troops could successfully dislodge the Spanish forces from the fort. García had instructed Castillo to recommend that the Americans land their troops 18 miles to the east of Santiago at Daiquirí. Shafter and Sampson accepted Castillo's recommendation.

Following his meeting with the American commanders, Castillo led the Cuban forces in the engagement at Siboney. This facilitated the landing of the U.S. V Corps at Daiquirí, which began on June 22, 1898. For the remainder of the war, Castillo continued to coordinate activities with American forces. The Cuban insurgent forces in the east, which numbered almost 5,000 men, were an asset to the Americans in their capture of Santiago.

At the conclusion of the Spanish-American War, U.S. officials appointed Castillo governor of Santiago. His success at this post prompted the Americans to make him governor of Oriente Province. Initially a member of the Republican Party, he joined the Liberal Party. In 1906, following a disputed presidential election and Conservative president Tomás Estrada Palma's attempt to stay in office, the Liberals rebelled. Castillo was arrested by Conservative forces. Following its intervention in 1906 to restore order, the United States established a provisional government and promptly released Castillo from jail. Provisional Governor Charles Magoon appointed Castillo superintendent of the Cuban prison system. Castillo retired from public office following Conservative president Mario García Menocal's reelection to the presidency in 1916. Castillo died at his home in the exclusive Vedado neighborhood of Havana on November 27, 1922.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Cuban War of Independence; Daiquirí Beachhead, Cuba; Estrada Palma, Tomás; García y Iníiguez, Calixto; Sampson, William Thomas; Shafter, William Rufus

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Casualties

The Spanish-American War is generally recognized as one of the last conflicts involving modern Western armies in which casualties from sickness and disease outnumbered those related to accidents and combat. The most significant combat action took place during V Corps's invasion of Cuba. Between April and September 1898, 23 officers and 237 enlisted men were killed in Cuba, with another 99



Coffins of Spanish-American War dead lined up for burial in Arlington National Cemetery in 1898. (Library of Congress)

officers and 1,332 enlisted men wounded in action. The U.S. Navy suffered 15 sailors and 9 marines dead and another 48 wounded.

The Philippines followed Cuba in combat casualties. Between April and September 1898, 17 enlisted men were killed, and another 10 officers and 96 enlisted men were wounded in action. Only 9 sailors and marines were wounded in action in the same period in the Philippines.

In addition to the casualties listed above, another 3 soldiers and 1 sailor were killed during the invasion of Puerto Rico, and 4 officers, 36 enlisted men, and 7 sailors were wounded. Finally, 7 sailors died at sea as a result of various accidents, and 2 more were injured.

Casualty figures for the Spanish are nearly impossible to determine with any degree of accuracy. The best estimate is between 5,000 and 6,000, although those figures do not include any combat-related deaths in the Philippines, where action against U.S. forces was far less involved.

During the Philippine-American War, which began in February 1899, 4,325 U.S. soldiers died, and an additional 3,000 or so were wounded. This does not include approximately 2,000 men in the Philippine Constabulary who died or were wounded. Because limited operations continued against Filipino insurgents as late as

1913, the above figures are inclusive of some 14 years. On the Filipino side, casualty figures are far more grim: as many as 16,000 insurgents and soldiers are believed to have perished, and there were anywhere from 250,000 to 1 million civilian deaths, most from starvation and disease.

Medical officers attached to U.S. forces in Cuba noted that high-velocity jacketed rounds fired by the Spanish Mauser rifles often passed through the body and left less tissue damage than the easily deformed heavy lead projectiles characteristic of the American Civil War. Ironically, the improved weapons, including the Krag-Jorgenson weapons favored by the U.S. Army, were hailed as a more humanitarian form of warfare. In fact, mortality from battle wounds in Cuba was 4.1 percent of those wounded as compared to 17.5 percent in the Civil War. A good part of that improvement was

Estimated Casualties of the Spanish-American War

	<i>Killed in Action or Died of Wounds</i>	<i>Died of Disease</i>	<i>Wounded</i>	<i>Captured</i>
Spain	1,000	15,000	800	30,000
United States	392	2,621	1,645	8

related to the advent of aseptic surgical techniques and the fact that unlike in the earlier conflict, the vast majority of extremity injuries were treated without amputation, an operation that still carried a mortality rate of more than 20 percent.

The rate of death and disability from disease was a more dismal story. The ratio of death from disease to that from battle related wounds in the Cuban phase of the Spanish-American War was 7.4:1 as compared to 2:1 in the Civil War, and the majority of the disease-related deaths occurred in training camps before the men were ever deployed. Most of the disease in the camps was related to inadequate sanitation, with typhoid fever being particularly prominent. In Cuba, the men were exposed not only to diarrheal diseases but also to malaria and yellow fever.

BOB WINTERMUTE

See also

Camps, U.S. Army; V Corps; Malaria; Medicine, Military; Typhoid Fever; Yellow Fever

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Cavite, Philippines

A city, province, and narrow peninsula all located on the eastern side of Manila Bay in central Luzon in the Philippine Islands. In 1898, Cavite was the site of the principal Spanish naval base in the Philippines. Commander Enrique Sostoa y Ordóñez had charge of the base and arsenal. There at the start of the Spanish-American War, Spanish rear admiral Patricio Pasaron y Montojo awaited the arrival of the American squadron under Commodore George Dewey.

The Cavite batteries mounted two 8-inch (64-pounder) muzzle-loading Armstrong rifled guns, three 6.3-inch rifled guns (two of which were breech-loading Hontorita guns), and one 4.7-inch breech-loading Hontorita. In the ensuing Battle of Manila Bay (May 1, 1898), the American warships fired not only on the Spanish ships but also against the Cavite shore batteries.

At the close of the naval battle, the U.S. gunboat *Petrel* opened fire on the government buildings, and a white flag was soon raised. On May 2, however, the Spanish flag was again raised over Cavite, whereupon U.S. forces under Commander Benjamin P. Lamberton landed. Cavite promptly again surrendered, and its garrison was allowed to depart for Manila. Marines went ashore the next day, May 3, and seized control of the arsenal. At the end of the war on his return to Spain, Sostoa was court-martialed for causing the white flag to be hoisted without orders to do so but was acquitted.

The province of Cavite is primarily populated by Tagalogs and was the home of Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, leader of the Filipino

insurgency against American control. During the initial conventional operations of the Philippine-American War (1899–1902), Cavite was a major source of insurgent forces. On January 4, 1900, Major General John C. Bates took command of the 1st Infantry Division and moved to occupy Cavite Province, home to more than 3,000 active but poorly armed and undisciplined insurgents. Bates captured all of the major settlements in the Cavite region but failed to locate Mariano Trias, leader of the insurgent forces there. The province remained in revolt until the capture of Aguinaldo on March 23, 1901, which induced Trias and his followers to seek amnesty.

PAUL J. SPRINGER AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Bates, John Coalter; Lamberton, Benjamin Peffer; Manila Bay, Battle of; Montojo y Pasaron, Patricio

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Cecil, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne

See Gascoyne-Cecil, Robert Arthur Talbot

Censorship

Censorship in the military sense is the suppression of information considered damaging to military operations or morale by those in power, be it civilian, military, or both. Spain's repressive censorship of the Cuban press prior to the Spanish-American War was one of the policies that Americans pointed to when arguing for U.S. intervention. The Spanish had required reporters to submit their dispatches to a military censor who often drastically revised the copy. After the U.S. battleship *Maine* exploded on February 15, 1898, the Havana cable office was closed to all reporters. During the brief Spanish-American War, independent reporting to Madrid virtually ceased; what did make its way to Madrid was so sanitized and vague as to make it virtually useless. Not until after the hostilities ended did Spaniards learn of the various battles in any detail.

The United States also engaged in censorship involving cable, telegraph, and postal communications during the war. The U.S. War Department initially stationed censors at telegraph and cable offices in Tampa and Key West, Florida, after sensationalist yellow journalism reporters occasionally delivered news of military actions before official reports had arrived. Censorship proved necessary, as the reporters often included troop and ship movements in their dispatches. Early in the summer of 1898, the U.S. military installed a censor in New York City and eventually stationed one in Cuba. The fact that ships played an important role in blockad-

including officers, upon their return to San Francisco. Many of them were deeply frustrated and willing to talk about the actual situation in the Philippines. Newspaper editors focused on the problems in the Philippines, and those problems became an issue in both the 1900 presidential and 1902 congressional elections. Censorship waned as the United States liberalized its policies toward the Philippines in the decade after 1902, allowing a moderately nationalistic press to develop in the archipelago that helped change the relationship between the two countries.

MATTHEW J. KROGMAN

See also

Atrocities; Election of 1900; Greely, Adolphus Washington; Journalism; MacArthur, Arthur; Newspapers; Otis, Elwell Stephen; Philippine-American War; Root, Elihu; Santiago de Cuba, Capitulation Agreement; Shafter, William Rufus; War Department, U.S.; Yellow Journalism

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Cervera y Topete, Pascual

Birth Date: February 18, 1839

Death Date: April 3, 1909

Spanish admiral. Pascual Cervera y Topete was born on February 18, 1839, in Medina Sidonia, Spain. His naval career began in 1852 when he attended the San Fernando Naval Academy. He saw service in Spanish naval operations off Africa, the Philippines, and Cuba. He was promoted to captain in 1891, and Queen Regent María Cristina requested that he direct operations at the Nervion Shipyards, then building three Vizcaya-class armored cruisers, the *Vizcaya*, the *Alimrante Oquendo*, and the *Infanta Maria Teresa*. In 1893, Cervera, promoted to rear admiral, accepted appointment as secretary of the navy. Although he believed that a more senior official should occupy the post, he accepted it on the condition that the Spanish politicians not reduce the naval budget. Spanish premier Práxedes Mateo Sagasta acceded to Cervera's request, but three months later the Spanish government reduced the naval budget, and Cervera promptly resigned.

In September 1893, Cervera was appointed chief of a naval commission sent to Britain. While there, he had ample opportunity to



Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete commanded the Spanish squadron in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba. (Library of Congress)

learn of the considerable advances in naval construction and armament by other powers. He foresaw that independence movements in Cuba and the Philippines during the 1890s could bring Spain into a conflict with the United States for which Spain was not prepared.

On October 27, 1897, the Spanish government appointed Rear Admiral Cervera commander of the Spanish squadron at Cádiz. He did what he could to prepare his ships and men for war, but he also understood all too well that the Spanish ships were for the most part antiquated and that the men were inadequately trained. Aware of the strength of the new ships of the U.S. Navy, he argued for a defensive strategy. The government's tight-fisted fiscal policy, however, sharply limited what he was able to accomplish. As late as April 1898, the secretary of the navy had yet to develop a strategic plan for war with the United States.

After the war began, Cervera was ordered to move his squadron to the Caribbean in order to break the U.S. blockade of Cuba. His pleas that he be allowed time to refit and supply his ships were rejected. He arrived in Santiago, Cuba, which had not been blockaded by the U.S. Navy, on May 19, 1898. Spanish governor-general Ramón Blanco y Erenas unwisely publicized Cervera's arrival. The Americans promptly learned of the situation, and Rear Admiral

William T. Sampson implemented a U.S. Navy blockade of Santiago Harbor on May 28.

Blanco ordered Cervera, over the latter's objections, to take his squadron to sea. Cervera knew that his ships lacked the firepower to match those of the U.S. Navy, but on July 3, 1898, he sortied. In the span of only four hours, the American ships had either sunk or run ashore all the Spanish ships. Cervera was among those taken prisoner. He was detained in the United States but repatriated to Spain in September 1898.

Court-martialed for the Santiago action, Cervera was exonerated and resumed his naval career. He was promoted to vice admiral in February 1901 and was appointed chief of the Naval Staff in December 1902. In May 1903, King Alfonso XIII appointed Cervera senator for life. In 1906, he was placed in charge of the Maritime Department of Ferrol. In 1907, he retired to his home of Puerto Real in southern Spain, dying there on April 3, 1909.

MICHAEL R. HALL AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Blanco y Erenas, Ramón; María Cristina, Queen Regent of Spain; Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Spain, Navy; United States Navy

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Céspedes y del Castillo, Carlos Manuel de

Birth Date: April 18, 1819

Death Date: February 27, 1874

Cuban revolutionary who launched the Ten Years' War (1868–1878) on October 10, 1868, from his Cuban plantation, La Demajagua. Carlos Manuel de Céspedes y del Castillo was born on April 18, 1819, in Bayamo, Cuba. His family owned extensive lands in Cuba. Although he began his university education at the University of Havana, he went to Spain, where he earned a bachelor of law degree from the University of Barcelona and a doctorate of law degree from the University of Madrid.

In 1843, Céspedes joined Juan Prim's failed attempt to overthrow the Spanish government. After fleeing Spain, Céspedes returned to Cuba in 1844 and purchased La Demajagua. In Cuba, he became an outspoken critic of Spanish colonial rule. Following the overthrow of Queen Isabella II in September 1868, Céspedes became more vocal in his disenchantment with Spanish rule. On October 8, the Spanish governor-general of Cuba, realizing that Céspedes was plotting rebellion, sent a telegram to the provincial governor ordering Céspedes's arrest. The telegraph clerk, a member of Céspedes's extended family, warned the would-be revolu-



Cuban independence leader Carlos Manuel de Céspedes y del Castillo, who began the Ten Years' War in 1868. (Library of Congress)

tionary, who proceeded to launch a preemptive strike against the Spanish authorities in his province.

The Ten Years' War began on October 10, 1868, when Céspedes rang the slave bell on his plantation in eastern Cuba. Once the slaves were assembled, he announced their immediate freedom (and conscription into his revolutionary army) and proclaimed Cuban independence from Spain. At the time, slavery was still legal in Cuba.

The Ten Years' War, the first in a series of three wars for Cuban independence during the 19th century, set the stage for the final Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898), which directly contributed to American intervention in Cuba's internal affairs and to the Spanish-American War. On October 11, Céspedes and a small band of supporters attacked the nearby town of Yara. Although the attack was a failure, the event, commonly known as the Grito de Yara (Shout of Yara), unleashed both a war of independence and a slave revolt throughout the island nation.

The revolutionary spirit quickly spread throughout the eastern half of Cuba. By the end of the year, the rebellion counted more than 10,000 revolutionaries, many of whom were former slaves. Hoping to win the support of plantation owners in the western half of the island, Céspedes, who preferred gradual emancipation, proclaimed the death penalty for any revolutionary who attacked sugar estates

or slave property. Following the Grito de Yara, Céspedes organized a provisional government. On October 20, the revolutionaries captured Bayamo, which became the seat of the new government. They held the city until January 11, 1869, when, faced with a superior Spanish force, the revolutionaries burned Bayamo to the ground rather than surrender.

The revolutionary forces, although moderately successful in the countryside, were unable to capture many cities and towns on the eastern half of the island. On April 10, 1869, a constitutional assembly met in Guáimaro under Céspedes's leadership. Two days later, the assembly transformed itself into the Congress of Representatives, electing Céspedes president and appointing Manuel de Quesada, Céspedes's brother-in-law, the first chief of the armed forces.

Neither the Spanish nor the revolutionary forces were able to achieve any notable victories by 1873. Céspedes's inability to expand the war into the prosperous western half of the island cost him support. On October 27, 1873, the Congress of Representatives removed Céspedes from power, and Salvador Cisneros became president. Spanish troops captured and executed Céspedes in San Lorenzo, Cuba, on February 27, 1874. His son, Carlos Manuel de Céspedes Quesada, was provisional president of Cuba from August 12 to September 5, 1933, following the overthrow of President Gerardo Machado.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Ten Years' War

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Chadwick, French Ensor

Birth Date: February 29, 1844

Death Date: January 27, 1919

U.S. Navy officer, naval reformer, historian, and president of the Naval War College (1900–1905). Born in Morgantown, Virginia (present-day West Virginia), on February 29, 1844, French Ensor Chadwick grew up in Virginia and graduated from the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis on November 22, 1864. He joined the fleet just in time for a brief tour of duty before the American Civil War ended in April 1865. Over the next decade and a half, he served in a variety of posts at sea and on shore that included teaching mathematics at the Naval Academy and studying seamanship training in foreign navies.

The U.S. Navy declined markedly following the American Civil War, a victim of low budgets and poor administration, and Chadwick attached himself to other officers of his generation who sought to modernize the navy's administration and warships. These officers included Stephen B. Luce and Alfred Thayer Mahan.

In 1882, the U.S. Navy dispatched Chadwick to Great Britain as the first permanent overseas U.S. naval attaché. Reporting to both the secretary of the navy and the newly created Office of Naval Intelligence, Chadwick sent home information that ranged from life-saving and medical care to armor, munitions, and ship design that proved vital to the fleet's modernization in the 1880s and the construction of its first new warships in more than a decade. Chadwick's value was such that the navy did not order him home until 1889, when he received command of the new gunboat *Yorktown*, which sailed with the Squadron of Evolution that included all the navy's new warships.

In the 1890s, Chadwick headed first the Office of Naval Intelligence and then the Bureau of Equipment. In 1897, he assumed command of the cruiser *New York*, which he commanded during the Spanish-American War. Rear Admiral William T. Sampson, who commanded the North Atlantic Squadron during the war, chose the *New York* as his flagship, and Chadwick, recently promoted to captain, as his chief of staff.

Chadwick then took part in the naval blockade of Cuba. The *New York*, which Sampson had elected to utilize for a conference with Major General William R. Shafter, the U.S. ground force commander in Cuba, missed most of the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3, 1898. In Sampson's absence, Commodore Winfield Scott Schley, on the cruiser *Brooklyn*, commanded the American warships in the one-sided battle. Sampson, Schley, and their respective advocates then bickered over who deserved credit for winning the Battle of Santiago de Cuba. Chadwick became Sampson's most outspoken advocate and publicly criticized Schley for his strange maneuvering of the *Brooklyn* in the battle and other command decisions. Well-publicized by the press, this bitter feud led to a court of inquiry that failed to resolve the issue. Many senior officers, however, blamed Chadwick for publicizing what should have been an internal naval matter and that, by being publicized, did much to harm the navy.

Chadwick served as president of the Naval War College from 1900 to 1905 but failed to achieve other prestigious assignments despite his promotion to rear admiral on October 6, 1905. He served briefly as commander of the South Atlantic Squadron and retired on February 28, 1906, a day before his 60th birthday.

Chadwick then embarked on a new career as a writer and historian. He wrote several acclaimed books, including the three-volume *The Relations of the United States and Spain: The Spanish-American War* (1909–1911), a work that continued to win scholarly praise long after Chadwick's death, and *The Causes of the Civil War, 1859–1861* (1906). Chadwick died of pneumonia at his home in Morgantown, West Virginia, on January 27, 1919.

STEPHEN K. STEIN

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; V Corps; Luce, Stephen Bleeker; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Sampson, William Thomas; Sampson-Schley Controversy; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Schley, Winfield Scott; Shafter, William Rufus

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Chaffee, Adna Romanza, Sr.

Birth Date: April 14, 1842

Death Date: November 1, 1914

U.S. military officer and army chief of staff. Born on April 14, 1842, in Orwell, Ohio, Adna Romanza Chaffee served in the U.S. Army from 1861 to 1906, taking part in the American Civil War, the Indian Wars, the Spanish-American War, and the 1900 Boxer Rebellion. At the outset of the Civil War, he enlisted in the Union Army. On July 22, 1861, he was assigned to the 6th Cavalry as a private and would remain with the same regiment for more than a quarter century. He won promotion to sergeant for his performance in the 1862 Peninsula Campaign. He fought in the bloody Battle of Antietam (September 17, 1862) and in May 1863 was commissioned a second lieutenant. Wounded at the Battle of Gettysburg (July 1–3, 1863), he narrowly escaped capture. In February 1865, he was promoted to first lieutenant, and because of his valor at the Battle of Dinwiddie Court House on March 31, 1865, he was breveted captain.

Chaffee remained in the U.S. Army following the war. Promoted to captain in 1867, he was posted to Fort Griffin in 1868. In March 1868, he won a brevet promotion to major following an engagement against the Comanches at Paint Creek, Texas. For three decades, he fought in a series of Indian wars on the Great Plains and in the Southwest against the Cheyenne, Kiowas, and Apaches.

On March 31, 1875, Chaffee married Annie Frances Rockwell. His son, Adna Romanza Chaffee Jr., who also became a U.S. Army officer, was a pioneer in the creation of U.S. armored forces.

In 1888, the elder Chaffee was promoted to major and transferred to the 9th Cavalry, which was composed of African American enlisted men. In 1894, he was assigned to Fort Leavenworth, where he taught military tactics for two years. In 1897, he was transferred to the 3rd Cavalry and was promoted to lieutenant colonel.

Following the beginning of war with Spain in April 1898, Chaffee was promoted to brigadier general of volunteers and assumed command of a brigade of volunteers in May. Following his important role in the U.S. victory in the Battle of El Caney on July 1, 1898, he was promoted to major general of volunteers. From the conclu-



U.S. Army brigadier general Adna Romanza Chaffee Sr. distinguished himself in the Battle of El Caney in Cuba and was later chief of staff of the army. (Library of Congress)

sion of the Spanish-American War to May 1900, he served as chief of staff to Lieutenant General Leonard Wood, U.S. military governor of Cuba.

In July 1900, Chaffee was assigned to command the U.S. Army's China Relief Expedition, a force of 2,500 men charged with relieving the foreign legations at Beijing during the Boxer Rebellion. On August 14, 1900, his troops entered the city.

Promoted to major general in the regular army in 1901, from July to October 1902 Chaffee served as military governor of the Philippines during the latter part of the Philippine-American War. Returning to the United States, he commanded the Department of the East from October 1902 to October 1903. Promoted to lieutenant general in January 1904, he then served as army chief of staff during 1904–1906. In that position, he implemented significant organizational reforms. He retired from active duty in February 1906. Chaffee died of typhoid on November 1, 1914, in Los Angeles, California.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Boxer Rebellion; El Caney, Battle of; Wood, Leonard

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Chandler, William Eaton

Birth Date: December 28, 1835

Death Date: November 30, 1917

Attorney, politician, secretary of the navy (1882–1885), and founder of the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island. William Eaton Chandler was born on December 28, 1835, in Concord, New Hampshire, where he grew up. He attended Harvard Law School from which he graduated in 1854 and returned to Concord to establish his legal practice.

Chandler soon became active in the new Republican Party and won election to the New Hampshire Assembly in 1863. In March 1865, President Abraham Lincoln appointed Chandler naval solicitor and judge advocate general. After Lincoln's April 1865 assassination, President Andrew Johnson appointed Chandler assistant secretary of the treasury, a post he held through 1867. The following year, the Republican Party elected him secretary of its National Committee. Over the next 12 years, Chandler helped direct Republican campaign strategy.

At the 1880 Republican National Convention, Chandler helped sway critical votes to James Garfield. After winning the presidency in November 1880, Garfield appointed Chandler U.S. solicitor general. After Garfield's death, President Chester A. Arthur reshuffled the cabinet and appointed Chandler secretary of the navy on April 16, 1882. Chandler replaced William H. Hunt, who had launched an ambitious program to modernize the navy and reform its administration. Chandler continued Hunt's work and helped convince Congress to fund the construction of the navy's first new warships in a decade. This essentially initiated the steel warship program in the U.S. Navy that would prove so valuable during the Spanish-American War.

In 1883, Congress authorized the construction of the ABCD warships, the first vessels in a modernization plan produced by a special Naval Advisory Board appointed by Chandler. The cruisers *Atlanta* (3,000 tons), *Boston* (3,000 tons), and *Chicago* (4,500 tons) and the dispatch boat *Dolphin* (1,500 tons) were the U.S. Navy's first steel warships. Their main armament included 8-inch and 6-inch guns, but as an economy measure a full set of sails supplemented their steam engines. Only the *Dolphin* was completed before William C. Whitney replaced Chandler as secretary of the navy on



Republican politician William Eaton Chandler was U.S. secretary of the navy during 1882–1885 and oversaw the effort to build a modern battle fleet. (Chaiba Media)

March 6, 1885, following Democrat Grover Cleveland's presidential victory the previous November.

Shortly before he left office, Chandler convinced Congress to authorize four more warships: the gunboats *Yorktown* and *Petrel* and the cruisers *Charleston* and *Newark*. The latter were the navy's first cruisers to dispense with auxiliary sails, relying entirely on their steam engines. Design problems and American shipbuilders' lack of experience with steel ships slowed construction of the ABCDs and produced substantial cost overruns. President Arthur's and Chandler's political critics accused them of collusion with the ships' builder, John Roach, who had been previously accused of corruption in the nation's naval purchasing. In a decision that still remains controversial, Whitney used his authority as secretary of the navy to seize the *Atlanta*, the *Boston*, and the *Chicago* and complete them in the navy's own yards.

Perhaps Chandler's greatest legacy remains the Naval War College, which he founded in October 1884 at Newport, Rhode Island. Stephen B. Luce, the navy's leading reformer, had originally conceived the idea for a postgraduate school for naval officers that would teach them strategy and other skills beyond ship handling, and Chandler appointed him the college's first president. Over the next decade, many of the navy's most promising officers taught or

attended classes at the college, including Alfred Thayer Mahan, William T. Sampson, and Henry C. Taylor. These officers transformed the navy's ships, administration, and strategic thought over the next generation.

Chandler remained active in politics after his tenure as secretary of the navy. Elected to the U.S. Senate in 1886, he served until an electoral defeat in 1900. President William McKinley then appointed him to chair the Spanish Treaty Claims Commission, and Chandler served on it for six years. Afterward, he retired from public service to resume his legal practice. Chandler died on November 30, 1917, in Concord, New Hampshire.

STEPHEN K. STEIN

See also

Luce, Stephen Bleeker; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Sampson, William Thomas; Taylor, Henry Clay; United States Navy; Warships

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Chapman, Carlton Theodore

Birth Date: September 18, 1860

Death Date: February 12, 1925

Prominent American maritime and landscape painter who produced a number of works treating the Spanish-American War. Born in Oberlin, Ohio, on September 18, 1860, Carlton Theodore Chapman was educated in local schools. His interest in the sea was kindled by spending summers at an uncle's shipyard in Maine. Moving to New York City, Chapman studied at the Art Students League and the National Academy. He also traveled and studied art in both France and England. A student of marine architecture, Chapman's naval paintings are prized for their attention to detail and historical accuracy.

The U.S. Navy commissioned Chapman to execute a series of paintings treating naval actions that had occurred during the War of 1812. His works also found their way into a number of books on naval history. During the Spanish-American War, *Harper's Magazine Weekly* of New York sent Chapman to record scenes of the war in Cuba. He remained with Rear Admiral William T. Sampson's North Atlantic Fleet during the war and witnessed a number of engagements, including the Battle of Santiago de Cuba and the Puerto Rico Campaign. Chapman supplied the magazine with both art and articles, which it then published. His illustrations also appeared in

Harper's Monthly. Later he was employed by *Scribner's Magazine* to illustrate Captain Alfred T. Mahan's articles on famous U.S. naval battles.

Chapman won numerous prestigious awards for his paintings, which are today included in a number of prominent museum collections. The United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, owns a number of his works. Chapman died in New York City on February 12, 1925.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Artists and Illustrators; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Puerto Rico Campaign; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of

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Chichester, Edward

Birth Date: November 20, 1849

Death Date: September 17, 1906

British rear admiral whose actions following the Battle of Manila Bay (May 1, 1898) helped foster the growing rapprochement between the United States and Great Britain. Born on November 20, 1849, at Shirwell, Devonshire, England, Edward Chichester became the 9th Baronet and head of an ancient house in Devonshire. He joined the Royal Navy in 1863 and became a lieutenant in 1870. After serving in the First South African (Boer) War as a transport officer in 1881, he participated in British operations against Alexandria, Egypt, in 1882 and was promoted to commander that same year and to captain in 1889.

At the time of the Spanish-American War, Chichester commanded the cruiser *Immortalité* on the China Station. He was friendly with U.S. Asiatic Squadron commander Commodore George Dewey, having paid him courtesy visits when the American squadron was at Hong Kong. Following Dewey's victory in the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, Chichester was ordered to Manila with a squadron consisting of the *Immortalité*, the cruiser *Iphigenia*, and the gunboat *Linnet*.

Chichester was steadfast in observing rules governing the American blockade of Manila, and he also let it be known in no uncertain terms that he supported the Americans. In addition to the British vessels, there were five German warships under Vice Admiral Otto von Diederichs and one each from France and Japan. It appeared that by the size of the German squadron, Germany was more interested in laying claim to the Philippines than protecting its limited interests in Manila. Because the German squadron was more powerful than that of the Americans, this alarmed Dewey greatly.

While the other foreign vessels observed internationally accepted diplomatic and naval rules of engagement by informing Dewey's squadron of their presence, Diederichs's apparent disregard for the rules of blockade seemed to indicate the possibility of hostile action against the American squadron. On August 13, 1898, when Dewey moved his ships into position to be able to bombard Manila in support of American troops ashore, Diederichs placed his squadron behind Dewey's ships. During the subsequent American bombardment, two of Chichester's ships repositioned in order to provide a better view of the bombardment. This innocent maneuver gave rise to the myth that Chichester had deliberately placed his ships between the Germans and the Americans to demonstrate his support for the latter. Following the U.S. capture of Manila, Chichester ordered the *Immortalité* to fire a 21-gun salute honoring the U.S. flag flying over Manila.

Chichester's role was subsequently celebrated on both sides of the Atlantic. The British rewarded him for his handling of the situation with the position of commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, while the Americans applauded him for preventing a possible German attack. Chichester, in fact, had official orders to comply with Dewey's terms for the blockade. Nonetheless, Chichester's supposed gesture of Anglo-American solidarity did much to strengthen relations between the United States and Britain.

Between 1899 and 1901, Chichester took part in the Second South African (Boer) War. He commanded the Fleet Reserve at Devonport in 1901 and was promoted to rear admiral in 1902. From 1904 to 1906, he served as admiral superintendent of all naval establishments in Gibraltar. Chichester died at Gibraltar on September 17, 1906.

DINO BUENVIAJE

See also

Dewey, George; Diederichs, Ernst Otto von; Germany; Great Britain; Manila Bay, Battle of; Philippine Islands, Blockade of

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Chickamauga, Georgia

See Camp Thomas

China

China remained neutral during the Spanish-American War, a conflict whose reverberations nonetheless had a significant impact on the country's own affairs. The acquisition of the Philippines,

Hawaii, and Guam by the United States brought American power far closer to China, making the U.S. government more assertive in its efforts to influence developments within and affecting China. For several decades, the sizable Chinese population of the Philippines had looked to China for redress of grievances. In the 20th century, many Philippine Chinese would become enthusiastic supporters of the nationalist Chinese revolution.

When the Spanish-American War began in April 1898, China was preoccupied with internal affairs. In the aftermath of China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), the youthful emperor Guangxu sought to escape the tutelage of his aunt, the more traditional Dowager Empress Cixi, and institute a broad program of modernizing reforms. Between June and August 1898, the emperor and his supporters attempted to initiate radical changes in China. On September 21, 1898, they were overthrown in a palace coup orchestrated by Cixi, who revoked all their policy innovations. Chinese official preoccupation with this political struggle meant that except for proclaiming its formal neutrality in the struggle, China's involvement in the Spanish-American War was minimal.

The Chinese territory of Hong Kong, then under British colonial rule, was much more involved in the war. During the 1890s, many Filipino would-be revolutionaries had based themselves in largely Chinese Hong Kong, which for decades provided a hospitable haven for dissidents from China and elsewhere in Asia. Before the United States declared war on Spain in April 1898, the U.S. Asiatic Squadron, commanded by Commodore George Dewey, spent considerable time in Hong Kong Harbor. This location, together with the companion British colony of Singapore farther south, provided useful opportunities for Dewey and American diplomats to meet with Filipino independence activists, including Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, and reach an informal understanding that both American forces and Filipino nationalists would move against the Spanish in the Philippines.

Although Britain was officially neutral in the war, the British authorities were generally sympathetic to the United States and eager to give all legal assistance to the Americans. Dewey accorded the rehearsals and training maneuvers that he had conducted in and around Hong Kong waters in the previous months much of the credit for his victory over the Spanish squadron at Manila Bay on May 1, 1898.

The outcome of the war brought American military and diplomatic power several thousand miles closer to China's shores. Those Americans who favored permanent retention of the Philippines after the war depicted the islands as valuable stepping-stones that would facilitate the development of U.S. trade with China, a country that some American businessmen believed offered unparalleled opportunities as a market for their goods. American annexation of the Philippines was only one among a number of near-simultaneous foreign acquisitions of territorial concessions and rights in Asia, many of them at China's expense, that dramatically highlighted how intense the international struggle for strategic and economic advantage around the Pacific had become. In 1895, China



Dowager Empress Cixi, whose policies proved unfortunate for China.
(Library of Congress)

ceded the island of Taiwan to Japan, and Japanese expansionists also had ambitions to take over Manchuria.

In the late 1890s, Russia meanwhile tightened its hold on Manchuria, apparently seeking to exclude other foreigners from the region, and completed construction of much of the Trans-Siberian Railroad, which eventually linked Vladivostok to St. Petersburg. In 1897, Germany seized Qingdao and Jiaozhou Bay in Shandong Province. In 1899, Great Britain obtained a 99-year lease on the New Territories, adjoining its existing colony of Hong Kong on the coast of China, and also took the port of Weihai on the Shandong Peninsula.

American leaders feared that if competition for Chinese spheres of influence continued unchecked, the struggle among the rival powers would precipitate the breakup of China into territorial regions from which American businessmen might well be excluded. In the autumn of 1899, Secretary of State John Hay therefore dispatched simultaneous notes to the major powers—Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Japan, and Russia—asking each to declare formally that it would respect China's territorial and administrative integrity, not interfere with existing interests within territories leased from China, and not discriminate against the nationals of any other state in trade and commerce. Very reluctantly in negotiations over the next nine months, the various powers agreed in principle to accept these conditions. The U.S. government presented these undertak-

ings, not all of which were subsequently honored, as a major triumph and a shining example of its own benevolent intentions toward China. A more cynical interpretation was that the United States sought with minimum effort to ensure that its own nationals could enjoy the most favorable terms on which to profit from the economic opportunities that China offered foreigners while avoiding the trouble and expense of seeking special concessions of its own from China.

The Open Door Notes were one example of the enhanced self-confidence and assertiveness that characterized American dealings with other powers in the aftermath of victory in the Spanish-American War. Despite American diplomats' stated concern to maintain the viability of the Chinese government, in 1900 the United States contributed forces to the relief expedition dispatched to suppress the Boxer Rebellion. This popular movement, launched by aggressive young Chinese nationalists who deeply resented the concessions that foreign powers extorted from China in 1899, sought to drive all foreigners out of China. The Boxers, or Righteous Fists, initially attacked foreign missionaries and their Christian converts but soon expanded their targets to include all foreigners, including businessmen and diplomats. The Boxers received tacit support from Cixi and many of her officials. Facing escalating violence against all foreigners, legations in Beijing, where the diplomatic quarter endured a lengthy siege by the rebels, sent urgent requests to their own governments for military and naval assistance. In July and August 1900, U.S. naval forces and marines and the 14th Infantry Regiment took part, together with German, Japanese, French, British, and Russian troops, in an international rescue expedition that first took the port of Tianjin and then marched on Beijing, capturing the capital in mid-August.

China was later forced to pay a substantial indemnity to all the powers involved. Most U.S. forces soon returned to the Philippines, from which they had come, to continue their suppression of the Filipino rebels seeking independence. From then until 1941, the United States maintained a permanent military and naval presence in China, concentrated in Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai and on the Yangtze River. The lingering Chinese sense of humiliation was also a significant factor impelling many nationalist revolutionaries to turn away from reform, repudiate their country's existing regime, and seek to overthrow the Manchu dynasty entirely and replace it with a new and, they hoped, more effective form of government.

While China's direct part in the Spanish-American War was almost nonexistent, the wider ramifications of the conflict and its outcome nonetheless had an important bearing on domestic developments within China and on its international position.

PRISCILLA ROBERTS

See also

Boxer Rebellion; China Market; Hong Kong; Open Door Policy; Spheres of Influence

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China Market

The concept of the China Market first developed in the mid-19th century with the British, who sought to maintain open trade relations with China in the aftermath of the First Opium War (1839–1842). For the remainder of the 19th century, the allure of the China Market ostensibly promised a huge and ready-made market for Western-made goods in China. This drove imperial interests in the area, in particular those of the British, Japanese, Russians, Ger-

mans, French, and Portuguese. Even before the Spanish-American War, the United States had been involved in that market. With the war, however, it became a significant power in Asia with its annexation of Guam and the Philippines. One of the reasons advanced for securing the Philippine Islands was their proximity to China.

In reality, however, the China Market was far more myth than reality. While it is true that China was among the most populous nations on earth by the turn of the 20th century, there is scant evidence to suggest that the Chinese were eagerly seeking to buy Western-made goods. First, the vast majority of Chinese were peasants who barely eked out a subsistence living and had little or no money to purchase manufactured products. Second, Chinese culture at the time was not at all conducive to the mass introduction of Western-manufactured goods. Finally, none of the Western industrial powers took any concrete steps to make their goods more attractive or useful to potential Chinese consumers.

Be that as it may, the prevailing thought among many policy makers in the West was that the China Market could help stave off economic downturns in their own nations and promote increased prosperity at home by absorbing excess inventories of finished



View of Fuzhou (Foochow), China, one of the first ports in China opened to outside trade following the First Opium War of 1839–1842. (Library of Congress)

goods. While all of the imperial contenders with interests in China were also interested in exploiting China's natural resources and raw materials, they seemed primarily concerned with locking up Chinese markets for their manufactured products. A number of nations—most notably Britain, Russia, and Japan—invested millions of dollars in China around the turn of the century, including the construction of railroads to open up the Chinese interior. Again, the purpose for such activity was thought to be essential for expanding trade with the Chinese.

In the United States, expansionists invariably pointed to the mythical China Market as a prime factor for their championing of U.S. imperialism in the Far East. This perceived need was made far more urgent by the economic instability of the 1890s, which included the nation's deepest economic depression to date that lasted from 1893 to 1897. Meanwhile, industrialization, which had the United States poised to become the world's leading producer of finished goods by 1914 or so, had produced a huge export surplus. Indeed, in 1890 the United States exported \$855 million in finished goods, but by 1900, that number had increased to \$1.4 billion. Thus, expansionists and industrialists could not help but believe that the China Market was the next major market to exploit.

What began in September 1899 with the first of Secretary of State John Hay's so-called Open Door Notes to Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Italy, and Japan soon ushered in the concept of the Open Door Policy in China, wherein all nations were urged to respect China's territorial and political integrity and to maintain an open door to trade for all nations. In essence, Hay was trying to prevent the establishment of rigid spheres of influence in China that would hamper or impede free trade. In this sense, the United States was trying to keep the China Market open to its own interests without engaging in military rivalry or confrontation in China. This establishment of what some historians have labeled an informal American empire in the Far East was based largely on the preservation and expansion of the China Market. Hay's approach also made it appear that the United States had more altruistic concerns in China, which was certainly the case, but this was very much overplayed by American policy makers. The Open Door Notes were also the genesis of the idea—at least among Americans—that the United States had a special relationship with China.

When foreign interests in China were threatened by the Boxer Rebellion (1897–1901), the major powers, including the United States, dispatched troops to quell the disturbance and protect its citizens and interests there. Significantly, when the rebels seized control of the Legation Quarter in Beijing in the winter of 1900, President William McKinley sent 10,000 U.S. troops under the command of Brigadier General Adna R. Chaffee. This marked the first time in American history that U.S. troops participated in a multinational relief effort. It also demonstrates that U.S. policy makers were serious in their attempts to preserve the mythical China Market and keep trade with that nation open and unfettered. Following World War I, U.S. interest in China receded a bit, exacerbated by the isolationism of the 1930s. However, the Americans took renewed

interest in China during World War II and actively aided the Nationalists (Guomindang) during the 1945–1949 resumption of the Chinese Civil War. Today, as China's leaders open their nation and economy to foreign investors, the West now seems far more concerned with industrial competition from China than preserving the illusory China Market.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Boxer Rebellion; Chaffee, Adna Romanza, Sr.; China; Hay, John Milton; Open Door Policy

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Christy, Howard Chandler

Birth Date: January 10, 1873

Death Date: March 3, 1952

American artist and illustrator. Howard Chandler Christy was born in rural Morgan County, Ohio, on January 10, 1873. After completing local schools in Ohio, he went to New York City at age 17 to study art at the National Academy of Design and the Art Students League, studying under William Merritt Chase, best known for his paintings in impressionism.

At a time in which many magazines in New York were demanding more and more illustrations to attract new readership, the talented Christy had little trouble finding work. In 1895, his *Christy Girl* painting that appeared in *The Century* magazine drew much praise. By age 24, he had earned the reputation as a top illustrator. His illustrations for an 1897 edition of *Hamlet* are not well known today but drew much attention when they were published. Sometime in 1897 or 1898, Christy met Theodore Roosevelt, then assistant secretary of the navy. This began a long friendship between the two men and also inspired Christy to create numerous illustrations of Roosevelt and the Rough Riders during the Spanish-American War.

When the war broke out in April 1898, Christy was sent to Cuba as chief illustrator for *Leslie's Magazine*. He produced numerous illustrations while in Cuba, including scenes from the Battle of Las Guásimas, the Battle of San Juan Hill (where he helped immortalize Roosevelt and the Rough Riders), and other smaller engagements during the campaign for Santiago de Cuba. His first illustration in Cuba, that of several wounded Rough Riders straggling toward Siboney, accompanied an article by famed war correspondent Richard Harding Davis. Christy's work was so evocative that it ended up in the pages of *Scribner's Magazine*, *Harper's Magazine*, and *Leslie's Magazine*, among others. Readers were drawn to the young artist's renderings, which made it appear that the viewers were themselves part

of the scene. Christy's series titled "Men of the Army and Navy" that ran in *Collier's Weekly* in 1899 was especially well received.

By 1899, Christy, now very well known, embarked on ever more elaborate and complex projects, including the celebrated portfolio *Pastel Portraits from the Romanic Drama*. By the early 1900s, his illustrations graced the pages of *McClure's Magazine*, *Ladies Home Journal*, *Harper's Magazine*, and numerous others. Christy preferred to work in black and white, although he did work in color and to good effect. His work portrays a singular facility, a bold but not excessive style, and usually represents a strong sense of contemporary American values. The so-called *Christy Girl*, which he first drew in 1895, featured a somewhat romantic view of women.

During World War I, Christy created a number of recruitment posters for both the Red Cross and the U.S. Navy. Perhaps his most famous war poster portrayed a stylized woman in a navy uniform with the tag "Gee!! I wish I were a man—I'd join the Navy!" In addition to his prolific art production, he also found time to teach at the Art Students League, the New York School of Art, the Cooper Union, and the Chase School, the latter founded by his former mentor. After Christy had gained fame and fortune, he lived mostly in his native Ohio, where he had constructed an elaborate studio.

When photography and printing improvements rendered illustrations increasingly obsolete after World War I, Christy turned to portrait painting. He produced portraits of Presidents Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, and Franklin D. Roosevelt; celebrities such as Will Rogers, Eddie Rickenbacker, Amelia Earhart, Norman Vincent Peale, and Mrs. William Randolph Hearst; and Italian dictator Benito Mussolini. Christy worked nonstop, even during the lean years of the Great Depression, producing portraits and paintings with astounding quality and regularity. Perhaps his most famous color painting is the almost mural-sized *Scenes of the Signing of the Constitution of the United States* (1940), which currently hangs in the Capitol in Washington, D.C. During World War II, he once again lent his talent to the production of war posters. Christy died at his home near Duncan Falls, Ohio, on March 3, 1952.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Artists and Illustrators; Davis, Richard Harding; Las Guásimas, Battle of; Roosevelt, Theodore; Rough Riders; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign

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expansion, and nationalism. American churches, particularly Evangelical Protestant denominations, had long been involved in national and international political issues. When the nation was at war, American churches provided chaplains, ministers, and social services to the U.S. military. During the American Civil War, Northern and Southern churches had split along sectional lines over the issue of slavery, and although denominational splits remained, after that conflict American churches refocused much of their energy toward rebuilding a prewar vision of the American republic.

Throughout the 19th century, American churches generally supported American expansionist goals, falling squarely in line with the philosophy of Manifest Destiny, so-named by John O'Sullivan in 1845, that suggested that white Americans had a God-given destiny to spread the country's territory, culture, and influence over the entire North American continent. Manifest Destiny had been used to promote the annexation of the West and Southwest from Mexico before and during the Mexican-American War of 1846–1848.

By the end of the 19th century, as the United States controlled territory from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean, Americans began looking overseas for additional territory. Additionally, American politicians began searching for ways to increase American influence on the international stage. In addition to a generally expansionist point of view, American Protestants had begun a concerted effort to send missionaries to so-called uncivilized parts of the world, especially in Asia and Africa.

At the time of the Spanish-American War, the Methodist Church was the largest denomination in the United States, and although denominational differences occasionally appeared, the Methodist Church can be used as a guidepost for religious sentiment within the United States. Since the 1860s, the Methodist Church, through its general and annual conferences, bishops' statements, and national publications, made its support for expansion quite clear. It couched its arguments in primarily theological terms but also advanced the ideas that American Protestantism and culture could act as a civilizing force, which would lead to divinely ordained prosperity and morality throughout the world.

As the Cuban rebellion against Spanish control coalesced in the late 1890s, Methodists and other Protestants were generally sympathetic to the rebels' cause but officially proclaimed neutrality on the issue (mirroring the U.S. government's stance). Not surprisingly, American Protestants were unsympathetic to Catholic Spain's claims to Cuba and to other territories and considered the Spaniards to be unjust and cruel rulers of less-civilized peoples. As the rebellion grew more violent, American Protestants leaned toward intervention, although they encouraged President William McKinley, himself a devout Methodist, to work for a solution short of war.

Generally, churches in the South were less in favor of intervention and war than those in the North, yet once the war began, churches rallied around the flag in support of American intervention regardless of their geographical location. Once the conflict was under way, American successes in the Caribbean and the Pacific as well as a renewed relationship with Great Britain served to unify

Churches and the War

In the lead-up to and in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War, American Protestant churches participated actively in discussions about American foreign policy, imperialism, overseas

Protestant denominations still divided over the Civil War and its bitter aftermath.

By the turn of the 20th century, American Protestants were deeply involved in Progressivism and progressive movements worldwide. These movements emphasized the ability of humans to do God's work in the world and included such domestic movements as temperance and social assistance for poverty-stricken and immigrant communities. Globally, however, missionaries and church groups were slower to accept the humanitarian side of Progressivism, and they continued to view schools and hospitals as the primary avenues for converting foreign populations. American churches viewed foreign missions as a way to elevate societies and to introduce them to modern reform. Some churches even framed the Spanish-American War as one that was being waged against evil and social injustice in the world.

When the war ended in August 1898, American churches had to take positions on the issue of annexation and expansion. After extensive discussions, most churches supported the idea of the United States retaining control of the Philippines and Cuba, again couching their arguments in terms of Christian duty and benevolence. Popular and influential ministers such as Josiah Strong, a leader of the Social Gospel Movement, provided vocal and adamant theological justifications for expansion and American cultural imperialism. Such adamant support for imperialistic goals provided justification and credence for the religious support of nationalist goals. During and after the Spanish-American War, American churches provided vital justifications for American actions abroad and helped to create a national consensus on the role of the United States in the world.

JACQUELINE E. WHITT

See also

Expansionism; Imperialism; Manifest Destiny; Missionaries; Progressivism; Social Gospel Movement; Strong, Josiah

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Cienfuegos, Naval Engagements off

Event Dates: April 29, May 11, and June 13, 1898

The first naval engagement of the Spanish-American War and operations beginning on May 11, 1898, undertaken by the U.S. Navy to sever underwater cables linking Cuba with Madrid via the West In-



Illustration depicting sailors in boats from USS *Nashville* and *Marblehead* cutting telegraph cables off Cienfuegos, Cuba, on May 11, 1898, while under fire from the Spanish on shore. (Naval Historical Center)

dies. There were three such cables at Cienfuegos at the beginning of the war. Cienfuegos, with an 1898 population of 65,000 people, was an important Spanish naval base on the south coast of Cuba, some 140 miles southeast of Havana. Three minor naval actions would be fought off the coast there, including the cable-cutting expedition. The United States knew of two underwater telegraph cables there, one to Trinidad and the other to Batabano farther to the west on the Cuban coast. It would be discovered during the war, however, that there was a third cable. Cienfuegos's garrison was made up of elements of the Santa Clara Infantry Division, headquartered in that city. Also present were some smaller warships, including the torpedo-gunboat *Galicia*, the first-class gunboat *Vasco Núñez de Balboa*, the second-class gunboat *Diego Velasquez*, the *Alsedo*, and the third-class gunboats *Cometa*, *Gaviota*, *Lince*, and *Satélite*.

On the morning of April 29, 1898, Commander Bowman H. McCalla of the unprotected cruiser *Marblehead* in company with the gunboats *Nashville* and *Eagle* arrived off Cienfuegos to enforce the blockade. The *Nashville* ran down and captured an approaching steamer, the *Argonauta*, that was carrying mail, munitions, and some Spanish Army officers and men. The *Galicia* then appeared at the head of the harbor supported by two small gunboats, which were covered by light shore batteries. The Spanish ships then exchanged fire with the *Eagle*. With the arrival of the *Marblehead*, the *Galicia* withdrew deeper into the harbor. The only damage in the exchange of fire occurred from two shells that landed in a small village and a Spanish hit on the *Galicia* that required repairs.

On May 11, 1898, McCalla returned, reinforced by the revenue cutter *Windom* and collier *Saturn* to attempt a cable-cutting operation close to shore and near the harbor entrance. The *Eagle* was detached to the west to cut another cable, which it failed to locate. With the *Nashville* and the *Marblehead* close to shore providing covering fire, 52 men led by Lieutenant Cameron M. Winslow in two steam and two sailing launches closed on the shore.

Winslow's men located two large cables and one small one. His men then dragged the two large cables up and cut both. Spanish small-arms fire and fire from the shore increased as the operation unfolded, and the Americans thus did not attempt to cut the small cable, which provided telegraphic communication with Jamaica and continued to operate throughout the war. The lighthouse at Cienfuegos, also used by the Spanish for a firing position, was destroyed by gunfire from the two supporting warships, joined by the *Windom*.

Three Americans were killed and several more wounded in the cable-cutting operation. Spanish losses are unknown but are believed to have been higher. The men in the launches who took part in the actual cable-cutting operation were each awarded the Medal of Honor.

The third and last engagement at Cienfuegos occurred on June 13 at about 1:15 p.m. The *Diego Velasquez* was off the harbor entrance on patrol when the U.S. Navy auxiliary cruiser *Yankee* approached but had not raised its flag. The *Velasquez* turned toward the *Yankee* to investigate, and after the *Yankee* showed its colors, a brisk fire opened between the two ships at a range of about 1,500 yards, the *Yankee* chasing the *Diego Velasquez* back toward the harbor in a running gunfight. As it neared the entrance, shore batteries joined the fight, as did the *Lince*, then the *Cometa*, and finally the *Balboa*. The *Diego Velasquez* succeeded in gaining the harbor, and the action was over at about 3:00 p.m. During this action, the *Diego Velasquez* was struck once with a 5-inch round, killing 3 of its crew and wounding 10. The *Yankee* was hit once and had 1 man wounded.

JACK GREENE

See also

Cables and Cable-Cutting Operations; McCalla, Bowman Hendry

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Cisneros, Evangelins

See Cosío y Cisneros, Evangelina

"Civilize 'em with a Krag"

A phrase from a popular war song that originated during the Philippine-American War. The song, which ignored the nationalistic aspirations of the Filipinos, was an expression of the anger, frustration, and ignorance exhibited by U.S. Army personnel fighting the Filipino revolutionaries, led by Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy. The refrain from one version of the song reads:

Damn, Damn, Damn the Filipinos
Cut-throat khakiac ladrones
Underneath our starry flag
Civilize'em with a Krag
And return us to our own beloved homes

The Krag-Jorgensen was a repeating bolt-action rifle designed by Norwegians Ole Krag and Erik Jorgensen in 1886. Superior to the meager weapons possessed by most of the Filipino revolutionaries, it was the primary weapon employed by U.S. Army regulars during the Philippine-American War. Because of the Filipinos' guerrilla tactics, soldiers often referred to them as cutthroat *ladrones* (thieves). The implication of the song is that there was justification for the U.S. military's occupation of the Philippines after the Spanish-American War. The phrase "civilize 'em with a Krag" was of course reflective of the paternalistic racism that permeated the thinking of most Americans during this era. It smacks of the concept of the white man's burden and stands in sharp contrast with the alleged benevolent assimilation associated with the American occupation of the Philippines.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Benevolent Assimilation; Expansionism; Imperialism; Philippine-American War, U.S. Reaction to; White Man's Burden

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Clark, Charles Edgar

Birth Date: August 10, 1843

Death Date: October 1, 1922

U.S. Navy officer. Born in Bradford, Vermont, on August 10, 1843, Charles Edgar Clark received a warrant as an acting midshipman in the U.S. Navy on September 29, 1860. Graduating from the



U.S. Navy captain Charles Edgar Clark commanded the battleship *Oregon* during its historic voyage around Cape Horn to join the U.S. fleet in the Caribbean during the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, he became an acting ensign on October 21, 1863. His American Civil War service included command of the screw sloop *Ossipee* during the Battle of Mobile Bay in August 1864. He was promoted to master on May 10, 1866; lieutenant on February 21, 1867; lieutenant commander on March 12, 1868; commander on November 15, 1881; and captain on June 21, 1896.

After having commanded the double-turreted monitor *Monterey*, on March 17, 1898, Clark assumed command of the battleship *Oregon* at the Mare Island Naval Shipyard in San Francisco. The battleship had left Bremerton, Washington, on March 9 for San Francisco. Receiving orders to proceed to Callao, Peru, Clark commanded the *Oregon* on its historic voyage around Cape Horn to join the U.S. ships off Cuba during the Spanish-American War. The battleship departed San Francisco on March 19, 1898, and steamed around Cape Horn through very severe weather. Learning of the outbreak of war while at Rio de Janeiro on April 30, Clark proceeded to Key West, Florida, arriving there on May 26 after an epic voyage of more than 14,000 miles, during which the *Oregon* had made five stops for coal. This highly publicized voyage resulted in Clark becoming known as “Clark of the *Oregon*.”

On July 3, Clark commanded his ship against the Spanish squadron led by Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete in the Bat-

tle of Santiago de Cuba. The *Oregon* played a key role in the destruction of the Spanish squadron, and Clark received advancement in seniority. He was named to command a squadron intended to attack Spain, but illness forced him to give up that position in August. He then commanded the Philadelphia Navy Yard. Promoted to rear admiral on June 16, 1902, he retired from the navy in 1905. In 1917, he published his memoirs, *My Fifty Years in the Navy*. Clark died at Long Beach, California, on October 1, 1922.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; *Oregon*, USS; *Oregon*, USS, Voyage of; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; United States Navy

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Clayton-Bulwer Treaty

Treaty signed between the United States and Great Britain on April 19, 1850, that guaranteed British rights to a joint isthmian canal venture in Central America. The treaty remained in effect until November 1901 when the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty superseded it.

A passage connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans had long been a dream of American naval and shipping interests. In the mid-19th century, a canal across Nicaragua had been considered the most feasible isthmian waterway. Following the Mexican-American War (1846–1848), the British government became concerned about increasing American influence in the Caribbean and Central America.

In 1850, British foreign minister Henry Lytton Bulwer negotiated a treaty with U.S. secretary of state John M. Clayton. The treaty was signed on April 19, 1850. In it, both countries agreed to cooperate in the construction of an isthmian canal and pledged never to fortify or exercise exclusive control over it. Article I of the treaty also provided that neither party was to occupy, colonize, or exercise dominion over any part of Central America. After a short debate, the U.S. Senate approved the treaty by a vote of 42 to 11.

Considering that the United States was not at the time a major world power, the treaty was something of a triumph for American diplomacy. It was certainly in keeping with the 1823 Monroe Doctrine. Yet the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was persistently perceived as a poor agreement by most Americans. Some critics charged that it violated the principles established in the Monroe Doctrine. They believed that it allowed Britain to maintain territories in Central America despite the fact that this treaty actually placed a roadblock to British expansion in the region and thereby strengthened the

Monroe Doctrine. The unpopularity of the treaty largely resulted from the fact that the U.S. government had abandoned its plans for a canal exclusively under American control.

The successful outcome of the Spanish-American War and the appearance of the United States as a world power renewed desires for exclusive American control of an isthmian waterway. As the U.S. empire continued to grow in both the Atlantic and Pacific, Washington realized that it needed two navies, one to protect its interests in the Pacific and the other to safeguard investments in the Atlantic and Caribbean. A viable alternative to a two-ocean navy, which would have been prohibitively expensive, was construction of a canal across the Central American isthmus. Such a canal would enable a fleet to pass quickly from one ocean to another, shaving many days off the voyage and saving much fuel. A canal would also be of enormous commercial value to the United States. Determined to control the canal by itself, the United States began negotiations with the British to abrogate the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which would be dissolved by the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

See also

Hay, John Milton; Hay-Pauncefote Treaty; *Oregon*, USS; Panama Canal; United States Navy

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Clemens, Samuel Langhorne

See Twain, Mark

Cleveland, Stephen Grover

Birth Date: March 18, 1837

Death Date: June 24, 1908

Democratic Party politician, anti-imperialist, and the only man to serve two nonconsecutive terms as president of the United States (1885–1889 and 1893–1897). The fifth child of a Presbyterian clergyman, Stephen Grover Cleveland was born on March 18, 1837, at the parsonage in Caldwell, New Jersey. Four years later, the family moved to Fayetteville, New York, and then in 1850 to Clinton, New York, where Cleveland's father died in 1853. Cleveland worked at the New York Institution for the Blind and, through the financial

help of an uncle, also read for the law. He was admitted to the bar in 1859 and in 1863 became an assistant district attorney of Erie County, New York. The financial burden of caring for his mother and sister prevented him from enlisting in the Union Army during the American Civil War. Thus, he paid a substitute to go in his place, a legitimate practice at the time.

A 44-year-old bachelor with a modest law practice, Cleveland was selected by the Democratic Party in 1881 to be its reform candidate for mayor of Buffalo, New York. His campaign motto was "Public office is a public trust." He did such a thorough job of cleaning out corruption in Buffalo that the party chose him to be its candidate for governor in 1882. His refusal to accept the spoils system or to support legislation favored by the party leaders and by Tammany Hall earned him powerful enemies as well as the dismay of some of his supporters, but it certainly endeared him to voters.

When the Republicans nominated the scandal-tainted James G. Blaine for the presidency in 1884, the Democrats saw in Cleveland a candidate who, because of his record of honesty, could win the general election by drawing disenchanted Republican votes. During the campaign, the Republicans savagely attacked Cleveland for not having served in the Civil War and for fathering an illegitimate child. When Cleveland's supporters asked how they should respond to the charge that he had a child out of wedlock, he replied, "Tell the truth." He had indeed fathered an illegitimate child and, although he had refused to marry the woman, had faithfully contributed to the child's financial support. Cleveland was elected in a close race and thus, at the age of 48, became the first Democrat to be elected president after the Civil War.

In the heated debate over civil service reform, Cleveland attempted to chart a middle course concerning patronage appointments, but his efforts enraged party regulars and disappointed civil service reformers. Cleveland accomplished little during his first two years in office, partly because he believed that the president should not do much and partly because the Republicans retained control of the Senate. His marriage to his former ward, the 21-year-old Francis Folsom, in 1886 created a public sensation, making the new First Lady a public celebrity.

In 1887, Cleveland signed the Interstate Commerce Act into law and risked considerable political popularity by resisting pension abuse. A generous Congress with a surplus in the treasury and the desire to win votes had made it extremely profitable for its constituents to find excuses to claim military pensions. Fraudulent claims were frequently being granted through the passage of private pension bills. In 1886, Cleveland began vetoing pension bills that he believed were without merit, and in 1887, he vetoed a general pension bill that allowed any veteran who had served 90 days and was in need to receive financial benefits. Republican supporters of the bill branded Cleveland an enemy of old Civil War soldiers.

Later that same year, Cleveland made a potentially damaging political mistake. He decided to return Confederate battle flags that were in the possession of the War Department to their states of origin. The same act 20 years later would be applauded, but in 1887,



Democrat Grover Cleveland was president of the United States during 1885–1889 and 1893–1897. An isolationist, he opposed imperialistic policies that would have brought confrontation with Spain over Cuba. (Library of Congress)

it was still too soon for a Democrat and someone who had not fought in the war to make such a symbolic gesture of generosity to the South.

Cleveland incurred more political wrath when he decided to push for a reduction in tariff rates to eliminate the federal budget surplus. He was convinced that surplus revenue invited extravagant government spending and was determined to end “unnecessary taxation.” The Republicans reasserted their typical defense of tariffs and protectionism by advocating even higher tariff rates. Their platform in the presidential campaign of 1888 stressed the need for a high tariff to protect “the general business, the labor, the farming interests of the country.”

In his bid for reelection in the 1888 election, Cleveland won the popular vote but lost the election to Benjamin Harrison by 233 electoral votes to 168. Cleveland returned to New York in 1889 to resume his law practice. Harrison’s high-tariff policy led to growing discontent among voters, the formation of the Populist Party, and eventual defeat for the Republican Party in the congressional elections of 1890. Cleveland was renominated on the first ballot of the 1892 Democratic convention and went on to defeat Harrison by a wide margin, primarily because Populist Party candidate James B. Weaver drew votes away from Harrison, thereby enabling Cleveland to win in states normally carried by Republicans.

Cleveland’s second term in office was beset with difficulties and overwhelmed by the effects of the Panic of 1893, a deep financial depression that began shortly after his second inauguration. One immediate problem stemmed from the large outflow of gold from the U.S. Treasury. Under the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890, treasury notes issued to buy silver could be redeemed for gold. Because the public preferred gold to silver, masses of people turned in their silver treasury notes and demanded payment in gold. By law, the treasury had to keep reissuing the notes even though they were being turned in for gold, and thus, the treasury’s gold reserves fell below \$100 million. Before Cleveland could deal with the crisis, however, his doctor discovered a mouth cancer that required surgery in July 1893, something that was kept secret to prevent a further panic in financial markets.

After his recovery, Cleveland called a special session of Congress and managed, after both parties split on the issue, to have the Sherman Silver Purchase Act repealed.

When the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act did not provide sufficient relief in time to protect the nation’s gold supply, Cleveland asked millionaire industrialist J. P. Morgan for help. Morgan organized a group of bankers who sold \$65 million in U.S. bonds in Europe. Morgan’s success alleviated the nation’s financial problems, but the fortune that Morgan earned only served as further evidence to millions of Americans that Cleveland had sold out to the wealthy. Meanwhile, civil and labor unrest added to his burdens. In 1894, he authorized the use of federal troops in Chicago, over the objections of Governor John Peter Altgeld of Illinois, to restore order when serious violence occurred during the infamous Pullman Strike. In congressional elections that same year, the Republicans regained control of the House and Senate in a massive public display of anger and disappointment over Democratic management of national affairs.

Cleveland took foreign policy actions that were just as unpopular as his domestic policies. He refused to support the annexation of Hawaii, where American plantation owners had overthrown Hawaiian queen Liliuokalani on January 17, 1893. Despite Cleveland’s denunciation of the Hawaiian coup and his calls for Liliuokalani’s reinstatement, Cleveland was a firm proponent of free trade with Hawaii and reluctantly permitted the presence of a U.S. naval installation and coaling station there. Upon the outbreak of the Cuban War of Independence in 1895, Cleveland refused to recognize the revolutionary government despite tremendous public pressure to do so and the passage of resolutions by both the House and the Senate. The situation in Cuba continued to deteriorate, and Cleveland’s isolationist policies handed his successor, William McKinley, a festering problem with which he would be forced to deal. Cleveland’s one major foreign policy success occurred in 1895, when he pressured Great Britain into accepting American arbitration of a boundary dispute involving Venezuela and British Guiana.

Cleveland had lost any hope of renomination long before the Democratic convention in 1896, but the lengths to which his fellow Democrats went to denounce him and his support for the gold

standard were exceptional. Cleveland retired to Princeton, New Jersey, where he wrote articles and gradually regained the grudging admiration of the public for his refusal to sacrifice his principles to popular opinion. In the aftermath of the Spanish-American War, he lent his support to the Anti-Imperialist League, which firmly opposed annexation of the Philippines. Cleveland died in Princeton, New Jersey, on June 24, 1908.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Anti-Imperialist League; Cuban War of Independence

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Coaling Stations

Seaports at which warships could refuel from coal stockpiles. During the latter half of the 19th century, the term came to indicate ports beyond a nation's borders yet under either its direct or indirect control. The U.S. Navy quickly learned the importance of coaling stations during the American Civil War, when creation of such establishments became essential for supporting the ships enforcing the blockade of the Confederacy. When hostilities terminated and the navy reverted to coastal defense and support of overseas commerce, the need for coaling stations lessened, as fuel could be obtained under contract from civilian suppliers abroad. There was also strong popular and political sentiment against the colonial adventures that establishing overseas coaling stations usually entailed. Nevertheless, the United States, by treaty in 1878, established a coaling station to refuel ships transiting to the Far East on Pago Pago in Samoa.

As the influence of Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan's writing on sea power grew and the United States began to create a modern blue-water navy, fueling its overseas operations loomed large. Implementation of Mahan's thesis of the strategic reach of a powerful battle fleet required the acquisition of overseas coaling stations. In the 1880s and 1890s, such figures as Secretary of the Navy Benjamin F. Tracy and Naval War College president Captain Stephen B. Luce endorsed the acquisition of coaling stations despite the nation's reluctance to undertake colonial ventures. Hawaii, the crossroads of the Pacific, in particular became the focus of their interest, leading to support for efforts by American businessmen in the islands to assert control over the native monarchy there.

While coaling stations formed one solution to the problem of maintaining a fleet distant from the continental United States, there was some exploration of other options. The navy observed with interest experiments in refueling from colliers at sea conducted by



Workers loading coal into SS *Siberia* at a coaling station in Nagasaki, Japan, in 1904. Coaling a ship was a time-consuming and often difficult process. (Library of Congress)

the Royal Navy during its 1892 naval maneuvers as well as the Japanese fleet's use of colliers located in sheltered waters close to the zone of operations during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895.

As war with Spain loomed in the spring of 1898, the navy was forced to face the prospect of operating in the Philippines without adequate coaling facilities at hand. In the weeks before war broke out, the Asiatic Squadron was ordered to base itself at Hong Kong to keep its bunkers full. When war erupted, Commodore George Dewey departed Hong Kong for the Philippines but refueled his squadron from two accompanying unarmed colliers, the *Zafiro* and the *Nanshan* in the shelter of Dapeng Wan (Mirs Bay) in violation of Chinese neutrality during April 25–26, before setting out for Manila Bay.

Simultaneously, the navy purchased as many suitable colliers as possible to support operations against Cuba. Rear Admiral William T. Sampson maintained his blockade of Santiago for more than a month, refueling at sea or from an extemporized coaling station established at Guantánamo Bay, before destroying the Spanish squadron on July 3.

The balance of American naval opinion regarding coaling stations tipped decisively in their favor during the Spanish-American War. The United States annexed Hawaii, the Philippines, and Guam, and a treaty in 1903 with Cuba established an indefinitely renewable lease at Guantánamo Bay as a coaling station.

PAUL E. FONTENOY

See also

Asiatic Squadron; Dewey, George; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; North Atlantic Squadron; Sampson, William Thomas; United States Navy

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Coamo, Battle of
Event Date: August 9, 1898

Battle between U.S. and Spanish forces at Coamo, Puerto Rico, that occurred on August 9, 1898. Coamo lies in a broad valley in south-central Puerto Rico. Prior to the American landing at Guánica, Puerto Rico, on July 25, 1898, Spanish commander Lieutenant Colonel Rafael Martinez-Illesas fell back with his 248 men to Coamo, 20 miles inland, where they dug entrenchments. During the night of August 8, Major General James H. Wilson sent the 16th Pennsylvania Volunteer Regiment through the cross trails and valleys to flank the Spanish troops at Coamo. The following day, the 2nd and 3rd Wisconsin, along with the 2nd and 3rd U.S. Regular Artillery batteries, led by Wilson and Brigadier General Oswald H. Ernst, traveled down the military highway against the town. Wilson’s plan was for all troops to reach the Spanish position shortly after daylight on August 9 in hopes of cutting Spanish communications north to San Juan. The assignment for Troop C (Brooklyn) of the New York Volunteer Cavalry was to cover the right side against a flanking attack from Spanish troops believed to be at Los Banos.

At 6:00 a.m. on August 9, the 3rd and 4th U.S. Artillery took positions in an open field south of the road leading to Coamo and began sighting their guns on the blockhouse that defended the Banos Road 2,000 yards in front of them. They commenced firing at 8:00 a.m. At this time, the 2nd Wisconsin under Colonel Martin T. Moore and the 3rd Wisconsin under Colonel Charles A. Born moved east toward the town, with Troop C under Captain Bertram T. Clayton headed southeast to engage the Spanish at Los Banos. However, Colonel Martinez had been advised of the advancing Americans troops and ordered a majority of his troops and wagons eastward to Aibonito in the central highlands. He positioned the rest of his infantry west of Coamo in hopes of delaying the Americans.

During the night of August 9, under the guidance of Lieutenant Colonel John Biddle of General Wilson’s staff, Colonel Thomas M. Hulings and soldiers of the 16th Pennsylvania headed northeasterly along trails toward Barranquitas. Having been delayed until 9:00 p.m. owing to the rough terrain, they still caught Colonel Martinez’s retreating troops off guard. The Pennsylvanians met the Spanish troops 3.5 miles beyond Coamo where the Spaniards had

Estimated Casualties of the Battle of Coamo

	<i>Killed in Action</i>	<i>Wounded</i>	<i>Captured</i>
Spain	5	8	167
United States	1	6	0

taken cover in the trees and ditches. The first battalion opened fire, while the second battalion, which had formed in the rear, moved to the left and took a position along the road. After slightly more than an hour of fighting during which Colonel Martinez was killed, the main body of Spanish troops surrendered. Spanish losses totaled 5 killed, 8 wounded, and 167 prisoners. The Pennsylvanians suffered 1 killed and 6 wounded.

At the same time, the Spanish delaying action in front of Coamo had collapsed under American artillery pressure. Colonel Moore with the 2nd Wisconsin and Colonel Born with the 3rd Wisconsin entered Coamo at 9:40 p.m. However, the Wisconsin troops were beaten to the city by Captain Clayton’s cavalry, who had entered the town after galloping north from Los Banos after discovering that the Spanish had abandoned the area. Clayton’s troops pursued the retreating Spaniards five miles down the military road but were stopped by Spanish artillery posted on Asomante Hill and El Penon, above the town of Aibonito.

RONALD RAY ORTENSIE

See also

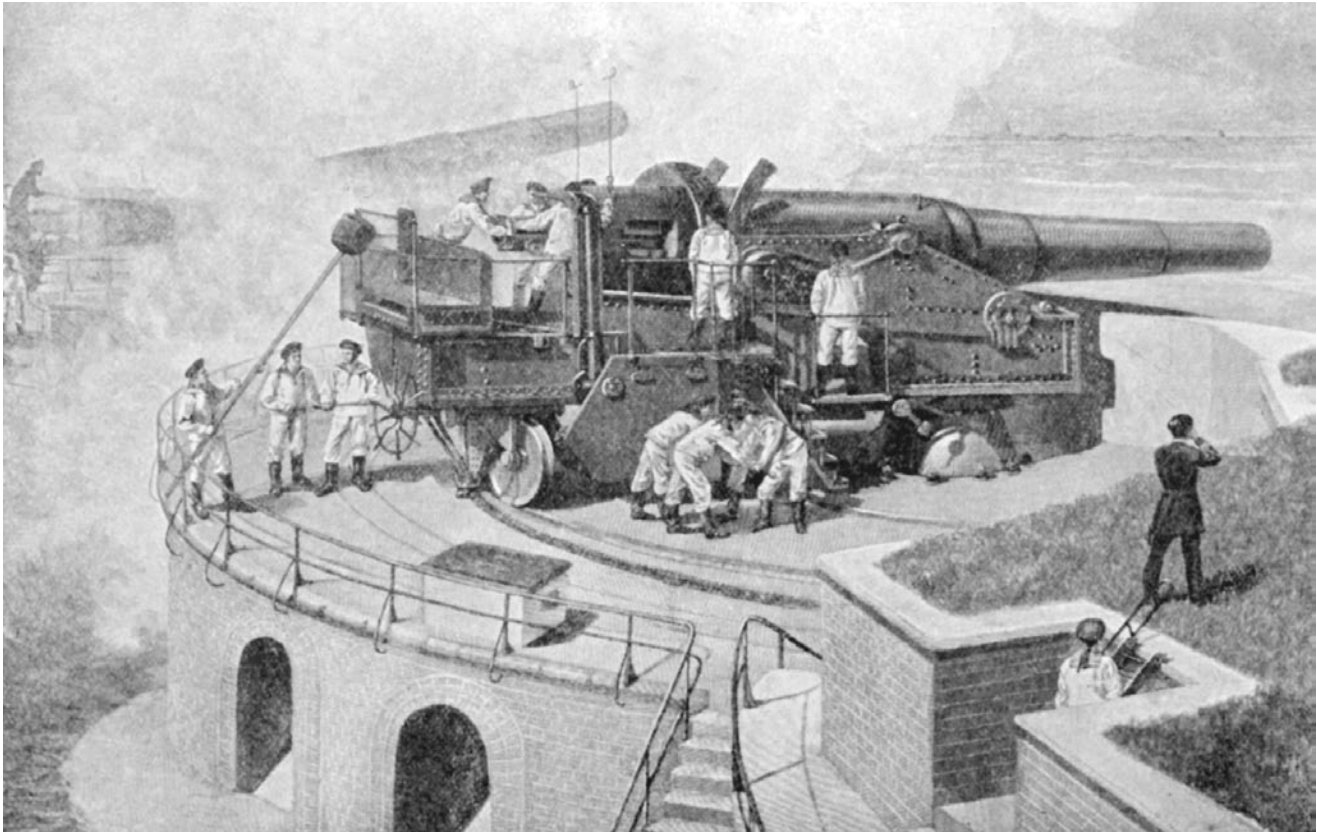
Asomante Hills, Engagement at; Ernst, Oswald Hubert; Guánica, Puerto Rico; Puerto Rico Campaign; Wilson, James Harrison

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Coastal Defenses, U.S.

In the several decades prior to the Spanish-American War, revolutionary changes occurred in artillery, especially with the large-scale manufacture of steel guns, the perfection of breech-loading techniques, and the introduction of more effective propellants that were slower burning and provided greater velocity to the shell being fired. These developments, coupled with improved metallurgical and machinery techniques, led to lighter, stronger, and more lethal artillery. Improved manufacturing techniques also made possible the near universal adoption of rifling, which in turn led to improved projectiles and more accurate fire. New lighter carriages on which



A heavy U.S. coastal defense gun. Its carriage is mounted on a track so that the gun can be more easily trained. (James Rankin Young and J. Hampton Moore, *History of Our War with Spain*, 1898)

the guns were mounted were developed, often of a design that allowed the recoil energy from the gun being fired to withdraw it behind the parapet so that it could be reloaded there in comparative safety. Such changes were in wide use by 1890 and dramatically impacted coastal defense arrangements.

These dramatic developments, which found their way onto new ships, heightened interest in the United States in improving the nation's coastal defenses, which had languished since the termination of congressional appropriations for harbor defense in 1875. Members of Congress and influential army and navy officers eventually sounded the alarm, however, and in 1885 President Grover Cleveland assembled a board of military and civilian leaders headed by Secretary of War William C. Endicott to study U.S. coastal defenses and to recommend a plan of action. The resulting Endicott Report presented early in 1886 called for a vast \$126 million program for new defensive works that would include armored turrets housing large artillery pieces of unprecedented size and power. In addition to construction of these at 26 coastal works and 3 on the Great Lakes, the Endicott Plan provided for floating batteries, torpedo boats, underwater mines, searchlights, and machine guns. In all, the plan called for the procurement of some 1,300 heavy guns and mortars of 8-inch or greater caliber.

The heavy guns of the Endicott era were of 8-, 10-, and 12-inch calibers. The largest of these could hurl a 1,000-pound projectile 7–8 miles. All were flat-trajectory weapons limited to about 15 degrees of elevation, and they compared favorably to and could even outrange the main armament of contemporary battleships. The guns were mounted on highly sophisticated (and expensive) disappearing or barbette carriages. Ultimately, only about 300 of these guns were ever installed.

In addition to the long guns, there were also large 12-inch mortars, designed to fire their 700-pound shells at a high arc. The shells would descend almost vertically, exploding above a target ship and showering it with fragments. These weapons were usually grouped in batteries of four mortars each in pitlike emplacements.

A third class of guns were rapid-firing (5–15 rounds per minute) pieces of from 3-inch to 6-inch caliber. These were designed to defend against smaller ships that might be sent in to sweep mines and also shallow-draft torpedo craft. Such weapons were usually protected by steel shields. Eventually, some 500 of the light guns were installed during 1896–1908.

Finally, there were submarine or underwater mines. Considerable work had been done on these weapons since their first effective employment in the American Civil War. Mines were usually stowed

ashore and were only planted when an emergency arose. Special mine-laying vessels were used to deploy them.

By the eve of war with Spain, only a small portion of the Endicott Plan had been met. By then, only 30 of the prescribed 500 heavy guns and 70 of the 1,000 mortars were in place in the fortifications. Not until 1888 did Congress begin funding the program and even then only a small part of it. The failure to fully implement the plan was in part because of the high costs associated with the new ordnance and its sophisticated carriages but also because of the unrealistic nature of the plan. Also, the high performance of the new armament meant that the number of weapons required could be substantially reduced. Thus, of the 1,300 heavy guns and mortars envisioned, fewer than 700 were ever actually installed. Despite the failure to implement it fully, however, the Endicott Plan formed the basis for the modern U.S. seacoast defenses of the Spanish-American War extending into the first decade of the 20th century.

Even more troublesome was the refusal to provide the manpower required to man the fortifications. Estimates for staffing the works ranged up to 85,000 men, although only about 8,500 would require extensive training. The funding shortfall ensured that the fortifications remained poorly staffed throughout the period. As war with Spain loomed in early 1898, however, Congress finally added two new artillery regiments (the 6th and 7th), which would bring to 8,000 men the number of trained personnel needed to man the fortifications. This was part of the Fifty Million Dollar Bill, signed in March 1898. Then both the Corps of Engineers and the Ordnance Department embarked on a crash program to remedy deficiencies in coastal defense operations, especially on the East Coast. Still, building and procurement lagged, and this meant that the coastal defenses were hardly ready for the war with Spain. Indeed, the Endicott Plan was not largely implemented until 1910, when advances in weapons and naval technology had begun to render such installations increasingly obsolete. Nonetheless, they survived, with steady modification and modernization, to World War II.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Endicott Plan; Fifty Million Dollar Bill; Flagler, Daniel Webster; Mines; Wilson, James Moulder

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Cohen, John Sanford

Birth Date: February 6, 1870

Death Date: May 13, 1935

Journalist, war correspondent, soldier, and briefly U.S. senator from Georgia (1932–1933). John Sanford Cohen was born on February 6, 1870, in Augusta, Georgia, the scion of a distinguished Jewish family whose roots dated to the pre-American Revolutionary War era. His father, Philip Lawrence Cohen, abandoned his studies at the Citadel in Charleston, South Carolina, to fight in the Confederate Army in 1862. The younger Cohen pursued studies in several private schools, including one in Augusta, Georgia; the Richmond Academy; and the Shenandoah Valley Academy in Winchester, Virginia. In 1885, he entered the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, but his tenure there was short. He left the next year to pursue his passion for writing and journalism.

Cohen's first assignment as a reporter came in 1886 with the *New York World* newspaper. There he came under the tutelage of the publishing magnate Joseph Pulitzer, who had purchased the paper in 1883. Determined to make the paper successful and profitable, Pulitzer inaugurated investigative journalism and often stirred up publicity for the paper by staging pseudo news events and offering up sensationalistic reporting. Cohen soon became wrapped up in this new journalism, and the *New York World* became so successful by 1890 that Pulitzer built New York City's tallest building to date, then an astonishing 18 floors, that housed the offices of the newspaper. By the mid-1890s, Pulitzer was also engaged in a war for readers and circulation with his arch rival, William Randolph Hearst. Both men sought to outdo the other by stirring up public sentiments about alleged Spanish atrocities in Cuba.

Cohen, a staunch Democrat, continued his journalism career and from 1893 to 1896 served as the secretary to Secretary of the Interior Hoke Smith. From 1893 to 1897, Cohen also covered congressional happenings as a member of the press gallery of Congress. When the Spanish-American War began in April 1898, Cohen asked his employer—now the *Atlanta Journal*—to send him to the war front, which it immediately did. Caught up in the war frenzy, Cohen soon enlisted with the 3rd Georgia Volunteer Infantry, attaining the rank of major. He stayed on in Cuba after the war for a time serving with U.S. occupation forces. During his active service, he continued to report on the progress of the war and its immediate aftermath, making him (in modern parlance) an embedded reporter who wrote firsthand of battlefield events from within his own unit.

After the war, Cohen remained in journalism. In 1917, he was named president and editor in chief of the *Atlanta Journal*, perhaps the South's largest and most important newspaper at the time. He retained this position until his death in 1935.

In the early 1930s, with the ascendancy of the Democratic Party and the beginnings of the New Deal, Cohen became more actively involved in politics. From 1932 to 1935, he was the vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee and submitted a proposal to

Congress—on his own initiative—for the U.S. government to build a modern, uninterrupted national highway that connected New York City and Jacksonville, Florida. The plan was later implemented, and the highway served as the major north-south route along the East Coast until it was made obsolete by the interstate highway system in the 1960s and 1970s.

In April 1932, when U.S. senator William J. Harris (D-Ga.) died, Cohen was appointed to replace him. Cohen, however, was a reluctant politician and chose not to run for election on his own in the November 1932 elections. On January 11, 1933, his duly elected successor took the oath of office, thereby ending Cohen's nine-month stint in the Senate. Cohen returned full-time to his publishing and editing duties with the *Atlanta Journal*. He died in Atlanta on May 13, 1935.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Hearst, William Randolph; Journalism; Pulitzer, Joseph; Yellow Journalism

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Collazo, along with José Martí and Máximo Gómez, signed the orders to commence the revolution. He served as the guide for U.S. Army lieutenant Andrew S. Rowan in the latter's intelligence-gathering mission to Cuba and accompanied Rowan on his return to the United States.

Following the war, Collazo won election to the Cuban House of Representatives representing the Havana district. He also served as the comptroller general of the Cuban Republic; founded a newspaper, *La Nación*; and published several historical studies, including *Los Americanos en Cuba* (1905) and *La Guerra de Cuba* (published posthumously in 1926). Collazo died in Havana on March 13, 1925.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR. AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cuban War of Independence; García y Iñiguez, Calixto; Gómez y Báez, Máximo; Martí y Pérez, José Julián; Rowan, Andrew Summers; Ten Years' War

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Coleman, Kit

See Watkins, Kathleen Blake

Collazo y Tejada, Enrique

Birth Date: May 28, 1848

Death Date: March 13, 1925

Cuban general and commander of the Mayarí Brigade in the Cuban Revolutionary Army. Enrique Collazo y Tejada was born in Santiago de Cuba on May 28, 1848. At the age of 14, he was sent to study in Spain at the Colegio in Segovia and graduated as an artillery cadet with the rank of second lieutenant.

Collazo fought against Spain in the Ten Years' War (1868–1878), at which time he renounced his Spanish military career. In 1868, he left Spain via France and went to the United States, where he joined a small group of Cuban insurrectionists under the command of Manuel Suarez. In May 1869, Collazo joined a filibustering expedition to Cuba aboard the *Perritt*. Two years later, he departed for Jamaica as part of a revolutionary commission. He returned to Cuba in 1875 in another filibustering expedition under Pio Rosado and remained on the island, with the rank of major, until the war ended with the Treaty of Zánjon.

During the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898), Collazo served under General Calixto García y Iñiguez. In January 1895,

Colonial Policies, U.S.

The colonial policies pursued by the United States in the overseas territories acquired during the Spanish-American War of 1898 were designed to maximize white American control over the native populations, exploit their natural and labor resources, and expand markets for U.S.-produced finished products. Before this overseas expansion, the United States was inexperienced in ruling nonwhite peoples outside North America. Faced with the problem of directly controlling and administering the former Spanish possessions of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam (along with newly annexed Hawaii), American officials had to test, invent, and improvise economic, political, and social policies that would affirm and define their right to rule foreign lands and peoples.

Confronted with this challenge, U.S. policy makers turned to the colonial administrations of the European imperial powers (particularly Great Britain) for models upon which to build. At the same time, American leaders saw themselves as promoting democracy and American ideals abroad. Thus, they had to deal with conflicts inherent in colonial administrations based on the assumptions of white peoples' rights to dominate nonwhite populations in the new territories while preserving the democratic values of the American political system. The result was a uniquely American form of colonialism that combined dominance with a limited form of democratization. The peoples in the new territories were subject to the



Political cartoon from 1898 depicting Uncle Sam standing on a map of the United States reeling in fishing lines that have hooked Hawaii, the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico. Following the Spanish-American War, the United States had to develop colonial policies for its new overseas territories. (Library of Congress)

protections provided by the U.S. Constitution, but informal controls limited the ability of the native peoples to make full use of those rights and liberties.

As they asserted their rule over their new possessions, U.S. officials scoured the European colonies of Southeast Asia in search of practical models of colonial state building. Americans sought advice on everything from the nature of Islam (the prevailing religion in the southern Philippines) to how much rubber could be planted on a hectare of Southeast Asian lowland. American administrators in the Philippines took their place in a network of colonial officials from the Dutch East Indies, the British Straits settlements, Malaya, and Singapore. Americans compared notes with their British and Dutch colleagues on regime organization, schooling, public health, plantation agriculture, opium, and vice control.

The colonial societies that evolved in the new possessions (particularly in the Philippines) reflected the same assumptions about American altruism, racial supremacy, and masculinity that had propelled the United States into war with Spain in the first place. The acquisition of colonial territories provided opportunities for young white American males to prove their manhood. Like the European colonial powers (the Netherlands, France, Germany, and Great Britain), the United States initially promoted a system of imperial governance that viewed white males—whether administrators, soldiers, missionaries, or businessmen—as the embodiment of the masculine virtues of strength, courage, and resourcefulness that were needed to govern and exploit the new territories. The assumptions that white Americans brought to their new duties as colonial administrators clearly reflected the social values that

prevailed in late 19th- and early 20th-century American society. These, of course, had led to the subjugation of both blacks in the South and Native Americans in the West under the guise that whites of European descent were inherently superior and far better suited to govern than nonwhites were.

American colonial policies grew from a well-grounded set of values and assumptions regarding the relations of white and non-white peoples. In this system, colonial administration involved the teaching of native apprentices by white American father/teachers. Strict codes of conduct separated white rulers from native subjects. In the Philippines, for example, the U.S. colonial administration barred Filipino men from senior positions in the government and minimized their social contacts with white males and females. The restriction of social contact extended to social clubs such as the Army-Navy Club and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in Manila. Both of these facilities provided opportunities for athletics and other activities that American culture defined as masculine. Membership was limited to members of the white elite.

As in the possessions of the European powers, American colonial policies grew from a culture of fear that sought to affirm white masculinity through the subordination of native peoples to a position of inferiority. American administrators believed that any display of weakness or breakdown in the social hierarchy would undermine the established system, resulting in chaos, violence, and the possible massacre of white men, women, and children. These fears were particularly strong in the Philippines, where the United States faced a stubborn peasant-based insurgency from 1899 to 1913.

At the same time, however, American officials felt obliged to teach their subjects democratic virtues. The colonial governments therefore undertook limited reforms, which they viewed as efforts to uplift their subjects. Colonial administrators undertook extensive efforts to build schools in rural areas, improve public health, and increase the number of native teachers and doctors. Americans often pointed to these reforms as examples of benevolent American exceptionalism, selflessness, uplift, assimilation, and the promise of eventual self-government. Filipinos and Puerto Ricans were brought into the lower levels of the governing bureaucracy and became teachers, district administrators, and noncommissioned officers in military and police organizations such as the Philippine Scouts.

In regard to Puerto Rico, the U.S. Congress established a democratic structure there through passage of the Foraker Amendment in 1899. This legislation provided for a lower house elected by literate male adults. Nevertheless, policy making was left in the hands of an appointed governor and an Executive Council, both appointed by the American president. Only five Puerto Ricans were allowed to serve on the council at the same time. The rest of the council members were drawn from the upper echelons of government and were invariably white Americans. The Foraker Amendment also created a supreme court, subject to U.S. laws and presided over by political appointees.

The immediate impact of these reforms was limited by assumptions concerning native capabilities and the social relations between rulers and ruled. They were aimed less at ensuring self-government and improving the quality of life of the people than at co-opting the male native elites into collaboration with American rule. As such, they had little effect on native laborers and peasants. Indeed, American economic policies aimed at developing commercial agriculture and mining industries disrupted traditional patterns of life in the countryside and caused continuing social unrest, especially in the Philippines. The stifling of native industry and the near-total reliance on U.S. imports and exports stunted the economy there and mired millions of Filipinos in an endless chain of poverty.

The patriarchal assumptions that drove American colonial policies resulted in a gendered hierarchy in which the ruling white men sought to control both white women and natives of both genders. Women were relegated to a position of childlike inferiority. White women were a subordinated class who served chiefly to reinforce and justify white male dominance. White American women in both the Philippines and Puerto Rico might be employed as nurses or schoolteachers, but none served in senior administrative posts responsible for policy decisions. The wives of senior American administrators and military commanders, meanwhile, were expected to provide a respectable domestic environment and serve as examples of idealized womanhood, particularly in displaying sexual purity for upper-class native women so that they also might achieve the same idealized model themselves through imitation.

Native men were also subordinate in day-to-day living. As cooks and houseboys, they served white women and provided white Americans with the leisure that defined their privileged class status. At the same time, the presence of native domestic servants in the homes of whites raised fears that young native males might become intimate with white women, particularly the young adult daughters of senior white male administrators. In many ways, this social and cultural hierarchy closely resembled that of the South during the days of slavery. This paradox generated anxieties toward native male workers that pervaded all of the American possessions in Asia, the Pacific, and the Caribbean.

In the post-World War I period, many of the assumptions that drove American colonialism began to erode. Disillusionment with overseas commitments led the United States to scale back military and political obligations, particularly in East Asia. This desire led Congress to pass a law in 1934, the Tydings-McDuffie Act, creating the Philippine Commonwealth and providing for Philippine independence by 1946. Creation of commonwealth status for both the Philippines and Puerto Rico led to the creation of native legislatures there and greater participation by the native elites in administrative and leadership positions. The trappings of colonialism, however, remained strong. White Americans still controlled the highest military and administrative posts, and the United States retained a strong military presence. Whites remained exempt from native-instituted laws, and whites accused of crimes against natives were

tried in white courts. Native elites, moreover, were alienated from the grassroots lives of the majority of their people. In the Philippines, this led to considerable social and economic conflict that generated political instability, problems that were intensified by the Japanese occupation during World War II. This instability has had strategic and political consequences for the United States that have persisted to the present day.

WALTER F. BELL

See also

Expansionism; Guam; Hawaiian Islands; Imperialism; Manifest Destiny; Philippine Islands; Puerto Rico

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Colwell, John Charles

Birth Date: 1856

Death Date: Unknown

U.S. Navy officer and naval attaché in London during the Spanish-American War. John Charles Colwell, born in 1856, received a midshipman's warrant on September 23, 1870, and graduated from the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, in June 1874. He was promoted to ensign on July 17, 1875, and to master on June 1, 1881. He made lieutenant, junior grade, on March 3, 1883, and lieutenant on June 30, 1887. Lieutenant Colwell was one of two men (the other being Lieutenant William S. Sims) who played a key role in developing the U.S. Navy's intelligence network in Europe during the conflict.

At the outset of the Spanish-American War in April 1898, the U.S. Navy sought additional ships of all types. One of the earliest actions undertaken by Colwell while serving in London was to secure for the U.S. Navy two protected cruisers being built for Brazil. These became the *Albany* and the *New Orleans*. The navy also sought information on the location of Spanish warships and their strategic employment. For this information the navy relied mainly on its naval attachés in Paris and London, and it was in the area of intelligence gathering that Colwell performed his greatest service.

In concert with Sims, Colwell created an intelligence network that ran across Europe from London to Paris, Madrid, and

Antwerp. Whereas Sims made his base in Paris, Colwell began his network in London on June 7, 1898. It received direct support from the White House. Together, Colwell and Sims not only collected information on Spanish military intentions but also worked to verify the gleanings of each other. Probably their greatest success came in information they provided on the Spanish squadron based in Cádiz under Rear Admiral Manuel de la Cámara y Libermore. Washington was concerned that this squadron might sail to the Philippines or would steam to Cuba and there assist Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron at Santiago de Cuba in breaking out of the blockade. Secretary of the Navy John D. Long pressed both Sims and Colwell to acquire information on the intentions of the squadron at Cádiz. Colwell was able to learn that the squadron would be dispatched to the Philippines. This information helped set the stage for the U.S. victory in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3, 1898.

Colwell and Sims also mounted a successful disinformation campaign, feeding the Spanish authorities bogus information to conceal U.S. intentions. The successes of the intelligence network went beyond collecting military information and disseminating disinformation to also include diplomatic efforts. Colwell's network, for example, detected the readiness of the Spanish government to open negotiations just prior to the Spanish government sending diplomatic feelers through French ambassador to the United States Jules-Martin Cambon.

Colwell spent \$27,000 to establish the intelligence network. The money certainly appears to have been well spent. In recognition of his important service, he was promoted to lieutenant commander on March 3, 1899.

Despite its significance, Colwell's work is often largely ignored. As befits an intelligence operative, little information is available on him, and not even the year of his death is known with certainty.

JAMES R. MCINTYRE

See also

Cámara y Libermore, Manuel de la; Cambon, Jules-Martin; Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Long, John Davis; Military Intelligence; Naval Strategy, Spanish; Naval Strategy, U.S.; Sims, William Sowden; Spain, Navy; United States Navy

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Committee on the Philippines

U.S. Senate committee established by Senate resolution on December 15, 1899. The Committee on the Philippines focused mainly on legal and economic matters in the Philippines. At the end of the Spanish-American War, Spain had ceded the Philippines to the United States in the Treaty of Paris (1898) in exchange

for \$20 million. Under the same agreement, the United States had also acquired Puerto Rico, Wake Island, and Guam. Cuba was not formally annexed, but the United States exercised considerable control over that island nation's economy and politics for more than a generation. The Senate created the Committee on the Philippines to administer and adjudicate public policies and trade issues regarding the islands.

Soon after the end of the Spanish-American War, insurgent warfare broke out in the Philippines that pitted revolutionaries under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy against American occupation forces. At the same time, a debate raged in the United States between those who opposed imperialist policies—the so-called anti-imperialists—and those who wished to extend U.S. sovereignty over the newly acquired territories. The latter position prevailed, and the United States sent more troops to fight the Filipino insurgents. By early 1902, some of the darker aspects of the war were becoming clear to the United States, with frequent reports of atrocities committed by both sides in the fighting. American brigadier general Jacob Hurd Smith's public comments that he intended to burn native villages and kill male inhabitants over the age of 10 were a great cause for concern in Congress. Senator George Frisbie Hoar (R-Mass.), one of two anti-imperialist Republican members of the Committee on the Philippines, demanded an investigation.

In these circumstances, the creation of the Committee on the Philippines, chaired by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (R-Mass.), was seen as the most prudent course of action. This committee, usually referred to as the Lodge Committee, was entrusted with the investigation into U.S. policies in the islands. Its hearings were closed to the public. Not surprisingly, the anti-imperialists were incensed that the committee would be under the charge of the vocal proimperialist Lodge. Between January 31 and June 28, 1902, the committee held several hearings regarding alleged cruelties inflicted on Filipino prisoners by American servicemen. However, the hearings often degenerated into disputes between Lodge and Senator Albert J. Beveridge (R-Ind.) on the imperialist side and Hoar and Senator Thomas MacDonald Patterson (D-Colo.) for the anti-imperialists. Other members of the Lodge Committee were anti-imperialist senators Charles A. Culberson (D-Tex.), Joseph L. Rawlins (D-Utah), Edward W. Carmack (D-Tenn.), and Eugene Hale (R-Maine). The imperialists included Redfield Proctor (R-Vt.), William B. Allison (R-Iowa), Charles H. Dietrich (R-Nebr.), Louis E. McComas (R-Md.), and Julius C. Burrows (R-Mich.).

William Howard Taft, governor of the Philippines since June 1900, was the first to testify before the committee. He conceded the use of a "mild form of torture" by the U.S. military in the Philippines. Other U.S. Army witnesses testified that burning houses and torturing civilians were necessary to obtain information and to discourage support for the insurgents. In the meantime, U.S. Marine Corps major Littleton Waller had been charged with murder for his involvement in atrocities committed during the Samar Campaigns, during which he had ordered the killing of civilians and the execu-

tion of prisoners. His court-martial began in March, but he was eventually acquitted of all charges on the reasoning that he had only followed Smith's orders to "kill and burn."

General Smith's court-martial followed in May, during which he insisted that his tactics had been necessary and in fact successful. Although the tribunal found him guilty, he received a hero's welcome upon his return to the United States and was retired by President Theodore Roosevelt without any punishment. Admiral George Dewey was the last witness before the committee in June, at which point the committee adjourned all further hearings. In the end, little of substance emerged from the committee hearings. The testimony heard by the committee tended to confirm the position of the imperialists that U.S. military policies in the Philippines had been correct, considering the circumstances, and that U.S. forces had only done what was necessary to break the back of the insurgency. Senator Beveridge presented his own conclusions to the Senate, essentially utilizing only such testimony as supported his hypotheses. All else was ignored.

On July 1, 1902, the U.S. Congress passed a bill establishing a Philippine government, including an elected assembly, under the auspices of the United States. Taft returned to the islands as governor. The Committee on the Philippines continued in existence for almost 20 more years but never again captured the headlines as it had in 1902. In 1921, the committee was dissolved, and all jurisdiction over legislative issues was transferred to the newly established Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Atrocities; Dewey, George; Hoar, George Frisbie; Lodge, Henry Cabot; Paris, Treaty of; Philippine-American War, U.S. Reaction to; Roosevelt, Theodore; Samar Campaigns; Smith, Jacob Hurd; Taft, William Howard; Waller, Littleton Tazewell

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Competitor Incident

Event Date: April 25, 1896

The seizure of two U.S. citizens, one British citizen, and two Cuban rebels by Spanish authorities in Cuba during a failed filibustering expedition on April 25, 1896. The *Competitor*, which had been car-

rying the individuals and was also seized by the Spanish, was a small schooner being used to provide Cuban revolutionaries with arms, ammunition, and other goods in their revolt against the Spanish colonial government, which had begun the year before. The expedition was not, however, sanctioned by the U.S. government, which at that point had vowed to take a position of neutrality in the conflict between Cuban rebels and the Spanish government.

Indeed, the *Competitor* expedition was just one of many filibustering exploits launched in part or in whole by American citizens acting in a nonofficial capacity. The U.S. government had, in fact, taken fairly significant measures to preclude such activity, including employing U.S. warships and revenue cutters to interdict filibustering expeditions before they reached foreign shores. On occasion, the Spanish and U.S. governments had even cooperated in apprehending filibusterers. Nevertheless, numerous expeditions had successfully made their way to Cuba over the years, provoking such earlier crises as the 1873 *Virginus* Affair and the 1895 *Allianca* Incident, in which a Spanish gunboat fired on the U.S. merchant ship *Allianca* that was not part of a filibustering expedition.

On April 25, 1896, as the *Competitor* landed at Punta Berracos, not far from Havana, Spanish troops lay in wait fully expecting the filibustering expedition to go ashore. The ship's crew had begun to unload its cargo when the Spanish struck. The Briton and two Cubans were apprehended ashore; the two Americans were captured while still aboard ship. The Spaniards immediately imprisoned the men in Havana and subjected them to a summary court-martial, which sentenced four of the five (including the Americans and the British citizen) to death by firing squad. When news of the incident made its way to the United States, there was a loud public outcry against the Spanish government. The American press made the story front-page news. Meanwhile, Washington attempted to defuse the situation and gain the release of the men through diplomacy.

The American consul general in Havana, Fitzhugh Lee, argued that unless the men had themselves raised arms against the Spanish, treaties between Spain and the United States dictated that the men had to be given a full trial in a civilian court. Spanish officials rebuffed the American protests, arguing that they had every right to treat the men as enemy combatants. Lee and the U.S. State Department, however, insisted that the men be granted a civilian trial and be charged with lesser acts. Meanwhile, the yellow press in the United States had a field day with the incident, stirring up considerable anti-Spanish sentiments.

Realizing that the Americans would not back down and leery of their deteriorating image in the minds of many Americans, the Spanish relented and agreed to give the filibusterers a new trial in an ordinary tribunal. The men, however, had remained in prison for quite some time. Finally, in October 1896, the two Americans and the British citizen were released from prison and allowed to return home. The Cubans' fate is not known, although it is doubtful that they too were released or even spared the original execution order.

The *Competitor* Incident was part of the escalatory spiral of mutual incrimination and tensions between Madrid and Washington during the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898), which would ultimately climax in the Spanish-American War. The incident also provided yellow journalists with the first significant fodder in what would become a war of words and images over the situation in Cuba.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Allianca Incident; Cuban War of Independence; Filibuster; *Virginus* Affair; Yellow Journalism

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Congressional Cuban Commission

See *Anita* Expedition

Constabulary, Philippine

See Philippine Constabulary

Converse, George Albert

Birth Date: May 13, 1844

Death Date: March 29, 1909

U.S. Navy officer. George Albert Converse was born on May 13, 1844, in Norwich, Vermont. After attending Norwich College, he was appointed an acting midshipman in the U.S. Navy on November 29, 1861. Graduating from the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, in September 1865, he was advanced to ensign on December 1, 1866; master on March 12, 1868; lieutenant on March 26, 1869; and lieutenant commander on July 12, 1878.

Keenly interested in naval engineering and technological innovation, Converse helped pioneer the use of electricity aboard naval ships and the introduction of smokeless powder. He commanded the Torpedo Service during 1893–1897.

During 1897–1899, Converse commanded the cruiser *Montgomery*, helping to suppress U.S. filibustering expeditions. He testified before the naval board of inquiry investigating the cause of the sinking of the battleship *Maine* that he believed the ship was destroyed by two explosions, one internal and one external, but that the internal explosion alone could not have caused the structural

damage sustained by the ship. During the Spanish-American War, he commanded the *Montgomery* in Rear Admiral William T. Sampson's squadron, seeing action off the coasts of Cuba and Puerto Rico. At the beginning of the war, Converse's ship captured several Spanish vessels in the Bahamian Channel, and he suggested employing the *Merrimac* to block the channel at Santiago de Cuba.

Converse was promoted to captain on March 3, 1899. After leaving the *Montgomery* in 1899, he served in the Bureau of Navigation and then headed the Bureau of Equipment, Ordnance, and Navigation. In 1904, he was promoted to rear admiral. He died on March 29, 1909, in Washington, D.C.

ARTHUR STEINBERG AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Maine, USS, *Inquiries into the Loss of; Sampson*, William Thomas

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Cook, Francis Augustus

Birth Date: May 10, 1843

Death Date: 1916

Career naval officer and commander of the U.S. Navy armored cruiser *Brooklyn* at the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3, 1898. Born in Northampton, Massachusetts, on May 10, 1843, Francis Augustus Cook was the son of a state militia general. An acting midshipman from September 20, 1860, Cook graduated from the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, and was commissioned an acting ensign on October 1, 1863. That same year, he was assigned to the Western Gulf Blockading Squadron and participated in the latter stages of the American Civil War.

In the years that followed the war, Cook held a variety of assignments afloat and in administrative posts. He was promoted to master on May 10, 1866; lieutenant on February 21, 1867; lieutenant commander on March 12, 1868; and commander on October 12, 1881. During 1893–1896, he was assigned to the Bureau of Navigation. Promoted to captain on February 27, 1896, he assumed command of the new armored cruiser *Brooklyn* when it entered service on December 1, 1896.

During the Spanish-American War, the *Brooklyn* was initially assigned to the navy's Flying Squadron as the flagship of Commodore Winfield Scott Schley. It eventually served in the blockade of Cuba as part of the North Atlantic Squadron off Santiago de Cuba.

The *Brooklyn* was at the center of a controversy surrounding events in the first moments of the Battle of Santiago de Cuba. The battle commenced as the Spanish squadron under the command of Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete attempted to leave the harbor. When Cervera's four cruisers and two destroyers exited the



U.S. Navy captain Francis Augustus Cook, commander of the armored cruiser *Brooklyn* at the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3, 1898. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

harbor on July 3 at the opening of the battle, the *Brooklyn* executed a starboard turn, away from the Spanish ships, and almost collided with the battleship *Texas*. Controversy continues over whether Schley or Cook gave the order to turn to starboard. Later a court of inquiry, requested by Schley, censured him for this turn, which gave the Spanish ships additional time to escape. Cook was never officially censured or reprimanded for the affair.

After the war, Cook was assigned to the Naval Examining Board and held a variety of posts. He eventually attained the rank of rear admiral before retiring from the navy in 1903. Cook died in 1916.

JAMES R. MCINTYRE

See also

Brooklyn, USS; Cuba, U.S. Naval Blockade of; Flying Squadron; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Schley, Winfield Scott

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Coppinger, John Joseph

Birth Date: October 11, 1834

Death Date: November 4, 1909

U.S. Army general and commander of IV Corps during the Spanish-American War. John Joseph Coppinger was born in Middleton, County Cork, Ireland, on October 11, 1834. In 1857, he joined the Warwickshire Militia as an ensign and in 1860 was promoted to lieutenant. That same year, however, he answered a call from Pope Pius IX for Catholics worldwide to rally in defense of the papal states. Coppinger traveled to Italy, where he was appointed a captain, distinguishing himself in fighting at Spoleto in Umbria. His bravery under fire won two papal decorations.

Bored with subsequent duties at the Vatican as part of a small Irish company, Coppinger secured a commission as a captain in the 14th U.S. Infantry Regiment on September 30, 1861, through the intercession of Archbishop John Hughes of New York and U.S. secretary of state William H. Seward. In fighting during the American Civil War, Coppinger was severely wounded in the neck in the August 29–30, 1862, Second Battle of Bull Run (Manassas). He returned to duty following a six-month recovery. Brevetted major for his actions in the Battle of Trevilian Station in Virginia (June 11–12, 1864), he was brevetted lieutenant colonel for his role in the Battle of Cedar Creek (October 19, 1864). In January 1865, he was advanced to colonel in command of the 15th New York Cavalry. He was again wounded in a skirmish near Appomattox Court House, Virginia, at the end of the war.

Remaining in the army thereafter as a captain in the 23rd Infantry Regiment, Coppinger served in the American West in a number of different infantry regiments. He was promoted to major in the 10th U.S. Infantry Regiment in March 1879 and to lieutenant colonel in the 18th Infantry Regiment in October 1883. For his performance in actions against hostile Native Americans during 1886–1888, Coppinger was advanced to colonel. He took command of the 23rd Infantry Regiment in January 1891, and he was appointed brigadier general on April 25, 1895.

At the beginning of the Spanish-American War, Brigadier General Coppinger commanded the 1st Independent Division of troops at Mobile, Alabama. On May 4, 1898, however, he was promoted to major general of volunteers, and his unit was redesignated as IV Corps. Although the corps had been assigned to take part in the Puerto Rico Campaign, the early end of the war precluded its deployment, and it remained in the United States.

Coppinger retired on October 11, 1898. He died in Washington, D.C., on November 4, 1909.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Puerto Rico Campaign; United States Army

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Corbin, Henry Clark

Birth Date: September 15, 1842

Death Date: September 8, 1909

U.S. Army officer and adjutant general of the U.S. Army during the Spanish-American War. Henry Clark Corbin was born on his family's farm in Clermont County, Ohio, on September 15, 1842. He attended public school before enrolling for two years at Parker Academy. He then taught school and studied law before becoming a second lieutenant with the 83rd Ohio Infantry in June 1862 during the American Civil War. He quickly rose through the ranks to become a lieutenant colonel of the 14th Colored Infantry in March 1864 and was brevetted brigadier general of volunteers for meritorious service in March 1865.

Corbin returned briefly to civilian life before reenlisting in 1866 as a second lieutenant in the 17th Infantry Regiment. Promoted to captain of the 38th Infantry, which combined with the 41st Infantry to form the 24th Infantry Regiment in 1869, Corbin spent much time in Kansas and the Southwest fighting in the Indian Wars. In



Brigadier General Henry Clark Corbin was adjutant general of the U.S. Army during the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

1876, he was transferred to Columbia, South Carolina, to keep order during the contested presidential election of that year and became acquainted with Rutherford B. Hayes, James A. Garfield, and William McKinley. After Hayes's disputed victory, Corbin was briefly assigned to the White House before being transferred to fight Indians in the Northwest. In the autumn of 1877, he became the secretary of the Sitting Bull Commission that dealt with the problems of Indians traversing the American-Canadian border.

In 1880, President Hayes appointed Corbin to the adjutant general's office as a major. A close adviser to President Garfield, Corbin was present when the president was shot and later died and advised Garfield's successor, Chester A. Arthur. In 1882, Corbin became assistant adjutant general of the Department of the South. In 1885, he again participated in the Indian Wars, and in 1889, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel before taking the position of adjutant general of the Department of Missouri in 1890. The following year, he was transferred to the Department of Arizona. He received promotion to colonel in 1896, and in February 1898, he rose to the rank of brigadier general when he assumed the post of adjutant general. This was one of the most powerful positions in the army, for it controlled personnel matters.

Corbin was convinced that the United States was unprepared for war with Spain, and he labored unsuccessfully to muster the Hull Bill through Congress to increase military preparedness. As McKinley began to lose confidence in Secretary of War Russell A. Alger and commanding general of the army Major General Nelson A. Miles, he turned increasingly to Corbin for advice and support. Corbin also filled the void left by the increasingly rancorous relationship between Alger and Miles. Although Corbin unsuccessfully argued against using Tampa as a staging area for the war, he nonetheless increased the efficiency of the operation there, which served the army well. Because all army instructions came through the adjutant general's office, Corbin made certain that it never closed, and he often worked long hours without breaks. He also attended numerous meetings with civilian leaders to discuss the war effort.

After the war, Corbin recommended Elihu Root as secretary of war because the War Department would be responsible for administering the newly acquired overseas territories. As secretary of war, Root, a lawyer with no formal military training, relied heavily on Corbin for military advice.

In recognition of his services, Congress promoted Corbin to major general in June 1900, and he continued to work with Root to reorganize the army. Corbin toured China, Japan, and the Philippines in 1901, and the next year he observed German Army maneuvers. After returning to the United States, he commanded the Department of the East and the Department of the Atlantic and organized maneuvers in Manassas, Virginia, in 1904. Later that year, he received command of the Department of the Philippines before retiring as a lieutenant general in September 1906. Corbin died in New York City on September 8, 1909.

GREGORY C. FERENCE

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; Hull Bill; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Root, Elihu; Tampa, Florida; War Department, U.S.

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Correa y García, Miguel

Birth Date: 1830

Death Date: 1900

Spanish Army general and minister of war. Born in 1830, Miguel Correa y García joined the army as a young man and advanced rapidly in rank. During 1891–1894, he was governor of Cueta and of the captaincy-general of North Africa. On October 4, 1897, Premier Práxedes Mateo Sagasta appointed Lieutenant General Correa as minister of war. On March 26, 1898, Correa declared that war with the United States was inevitable. As this was generally opposed by the army, he threatened to resign, probably pro forma, when in April 1898 Sagasta announced a suspension of hostilities in Cuba. Although Correa understood Spain's weakness at sea, he believed that the army was ready for hostilities with the United States.

Following the beginning of the war, on June 3, 1898, Correa urged that Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's Spanish squadron be sent to the Philippines rather than to the Caribbean, but the government rejected this request. Following the Spanish defeat in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3, Correa urged both Governor-General Ramón Blanco y Erenas in Cuba and Captain-General Manuel Macías y Casado in Puerto Rico to hold out against the Americans and opposed the Protocol of Peace of August 12, 1898. Correa died in Madrid in 1900.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Blanco y Erenas, Ramón; Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Macías y Casado, Manuel; Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Spain, Army

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Corregidor Island

Small island located at the entrance to Manila Bay, Luzon, the Philippines. Manila, the largest and most important city of the Philippines, is located on the interior of the bay. Luzon is the largest

and most northerly island in the Philippine archipelago. Tadpole-shaped Corregidor Island is about 3.5 miles in length and 2.74 square miles in total area. Its topography is somewhat rugged, and the tallest hills are on the round bulge about 1 mile wide and formed by rock cliffs sloping sharply upward some 628 feet. Toward the east, the surface levels off, creating a mesa that drops down to the edge of a lower flat area, which in turn falls off to a lengthy and thin extremity. Near the middle of the tail there is the 250-foot elevation of Malinta Hill.

The island's location at the mouth of Manila Bay effectively creates two distinct channels leading into and out of the bay. To the island's north lies the Boca Chica passage, and to the south is the Boca Grande passage, the larger of the two. Given its location, the island long protected the seaward passages to Manila.

When Europeans first landed at the Philippines in 1521, Corregidor was devoid of inhabitants. Once Spain colonized the Philippines, however, it erected fortifications along Manila Bay's shoreline. Recognizing Corregidor's strategic position as ideal for an outstation to warn coastal defenses of incoming ships, the Spaniards eventually placed three 8-inch guns on the islet. These were supported by subterranean arsenals and billets. Two of the guns were placed so as to cover the Boca Grande passage between the island and the Cavite Province coast that rounds the southern coast of Manila Bay. The third was positioned to be able to fire toward the Bataan Peninsula on the northern rim of the bay and command the two-mile-wide Boca Chica passage. Corregidor also housed a quarantine hospital and relay post where semaphore flag signals provided communications between Spanish vessels in the South China Sea and Fort Santiago's commandant in Manila. In 1836, Spanish authorities erected a lighthouse on the island to provide navigation assistance to merchantmen approaching Manila Bay. No additional defensive firepower was added during the approach of war with the United States.

When the Spanish-American War began in April 1898, Rear Admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón, commander of the Spanish squadron in the Philippines, considered giving battle to Commodore George Dewey's U.S. squadron at Boca Grande. But Montojo rejected the idea because the channel there was extremely deep, and mines were unavailable.

Dewey's Asiatic Squadron sailed through the passage on the evening of April 30, and after a rocket was shot from Corregidor, a battery on El Fraile, a satellite islet equipped with three 4.7-inch guns, fired on the American ships. The U.S. warships returned fire, the squadron navigated the channel, and the following day Dewey annihilated the Spanish squadron in the Battle of Manila Bay.

Following the Battle of Manila Bay, crewmen from the U.S. cruisers *Baltimore* and *Raleigh* demanded and received the surrender of the bay's island strongholds. Each surrendered, and their garrisons were paroled. Sailors from the U.S. ships landed, spiked the guns, and destroyed the munitions.

When the United States took possession of the Philippines following the Treaty of Paris in December 1898, it fortified Corregi-

dor. At the opening of the Pacific theater during World War II in early 1942, the island served as an American stronghold, withstanding a devastating five-month bombardment from Japanese forces. After a gallant defense, Americans and Filipinos on the island were forced to surrender on May 6, 1942. U.S. forces retook Corregidor in February 1945.

RODNEY J. ROSS

See also

Asiatic Squadron; Boca Grande; Dewey, George; Manila Bay, Battle of; Montojo y Pasarón, Patricio; Philippine Islands; United States Navy

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Cortelyou, George Bruce

Birth Date: July 26, 1862

Death Date: October 23, 1940

Politician, attorney, cabinet member, and private secretary for Presidents Grover Cleveland and William McKinley. George Bruce Cortelyou left voluminous diary entries that offer intimate insights into the moods, tensions, concerns, and activities of McKinley and his administration during the Spanish-American War. Cortelyou was born on July 26, 1862, in New York City. In 1882, he received a bachelor's degree from Massachusetts State Normal School, a teacher's college.

Cortelyou taught briefly before taking stenographic courses and mastering shorthand in search of a more lucrative career. His career in government service began with an appointment as secretary to the chief postal inspector of New York in 1891. He went on to graduate from Georgetown University Law School in 1895.

In 1895, President Cleveland hired Cortelyou as chief clerk at the White House. Cleveland in turn recommended him to his successor, McKinley. McKinley appointed Cortelyou as his assistant secretary in 1897. Cortelyou served as the president's principal secretary from 1900 until McKinley's death in September 1901. Indeed, Cortelyou was at the president's side when he was gunned down by a crazed assassin in Buffalo, New York. Cortelyou retained his post during the first years of the Theodore Roosevelt administration, becoming a trusted adviser to the president.

Historians have found Cortelyou's diaries and personal papers written during his service in the McKinley administration particularly valuable in reconstructing the president's views and attitudes prior to and during the Spanish-American War. It is through Cortelyou's correspondence that we know about McKinley's desire to minimize land warfare in Cuba and to emphasize command of the sea to bring about a quick resolution to the conflict with Spain. Cortelyou's papers also illuminate other aspects of the war,



George Bruce Cortelyou was private secretary to presidents Grover Cleveland and William McKinley. Cortelyou's diaries offer great insight on the formation of U.S. policy during the Spanish-American War. (John Clark Ridpath, *Ridpath's History of the World*, 1901)

including the strain on McKinley, his continued efforts to stay abreast of the situation in Cuba, and his manipulation of his own cabinet throughout the discussions about peace terms with Spain to achieve the conditions that he himself wanted at the outset of negotiations.

As part of his duties under Roosevelt, Cortelyou was charged with reforming, professionalizing, and consolidating White House operations in what became known as the West Wing. Cortelyou developed a set of procedures for White House protocol and established a formal line of communications between the White House and the press. He issued frequent press releases and appreciated the power of the media to advance a president's agenda. He also set up the first formal presidential effort to gauge public opinion through analyzing articles in the media. Roosevelt then selected Cortelyou as the first secretary of commerce and labor (1903–1904). In 1904, Cortelyou resigned his position to become the chairman of the Republican National Committee and oversaw Roosevelt's reelection. Roosevelt appointed Cortelyou postmaster general (1905–1907) and then secretary of the treasury (1907–1909). Cortelyou served in the latter post during the economic panic of 1907.

While Cortelyou realized that the Treasury Department had little power to maintain national economic stability, he affirmed the role of the treasury in protecting the nation's banking system and advocated the creation of a centralized banking system and an increase in the nation's money supply. He supported the passage of the Aldrich-Vreeland Act, which provided special currency to be issued in times of panic, and created a commission that eventually led to the creation of the Federal Reserve Board in 1913. In matters of social as well as economic policy, he was squarely in the vanguard of Progressivism, as reflected by the Roosevelt administration's policies.

Upon leaving government service, Cortelyou returned to the private sector as president of the Consolidated Gas Company, which later became New York Gas Company. He died in New York City on October 23, 1940.

ANDREW BYERS

See also

Cleveland, Stephen Grover; McKinley, William; Paris, Treaty of; Progressivism; Roosevelt, Theodore

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Cosío y Cisneros, Evangelina

Birth Date: 1880

Death Date: Unknown

Daughter of Cuban revolutionary and president Salvador Cisneros Betancourt imprisoned by the Spanish at the beginning of the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898). Evangelina Cisneros became a central focus of yellow journalists' attempts to portray the Spanish in the worst possible light in the years leading up to the Spanish-American War. Very little is known about her early life or her life after the brief notoriety she received in the mid-1890s. She was born in Cuba, probably in 1880. Her father was briefly president of the Cuban Revolutionary Government during the Ten Years' War in Cuba (1868–1878). After the revolt had been quashed, Spanish authorities sent Betancourt into exile on the Isle of Pines (present-day Isle of Youth), located off the southwestern coast of Cuba. His daughter eventually joined him on the Isle of Pines. There they were subjected to repeated abuses at the hands of Spanish authorities.

In July 1896, in the midst of the latest insurrection against Spanish colonial rule in Cuba, Cisneros was implicated in an alleged plot to murder the military governor of the Isle of Pines, Colonel José Bériz. With almost no evidence to even suggest her guilt, Spanish officials removed her from the island and imprisoned her in the Casa de Recojidas, a much-feared prison located in Havana. According to Cisneros, she was persecuted because she had rebuffed

the physical advances of Bériz, who concocted the assassination story to punish her. The Spanish, however, claimed that she had tried to lure Bériz into a trap.

It did not take yellow journalists long to uncover the story of Cisneros, which soon became a cause célèbre in the United States. While newspaper publishers Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst engaged in a virtual war for circulation and readership particularly among their flagship papers in New York City, the Cisneros story became almost impossible to resist. Both men sought to exploit the story—and Cisneros's incarceration—for their own ends. Yet the story, as it unfolded, came to be seen as emblematic of Spain's colonial policies in Cuba. Indeed, Cisneros was the personification of the thousands of faceless Cubans languishing in prisons, many of whom had been put there because of their beliefs and not necessarily because of illegal activities. It did not hurt the cause, however, that Cisneros was young (not yet 17) and very attractive.

Hearst, via the *New York Journal*, an archetypal newspaper of the yellow press, reported extensively on Cisneros's plight. Always portraying the Spanish in the worst possible light and sometimes dramatizing the Cisneros story for effect, Hearst began a public relations blitz designed to pressure the Spanish to release Cisneros. Presenting the story as an epochal fight of freedom against oppression, the *New York Journal* urged its readers—particularly women—to begin a campaign to effect the release of the young Cuban. By the summer of 1897, some 15,000 American women had signed a petition that was sent to the Spanish Court in Madrid and demanded the immediate release of Cisneros. Among the women involved in the campaign were President William McKinley's mother, Julia Ward Howe, and Varina Howell Davis, the widow of Confederate president Jefferson Davis.

Despite the continuous and increasingly lurid coverage of the affair, the Spanish refused to release Cisneros, and General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, the heavy-handed governor-general of Cuba, indicated that the woman would be put on trial to determine her guilt or innocence. Few in the United States believed, however, that any trial proceedings would treat her fairly. Thus, in late August 1897, Hearst decided to launch a daring mission that would free Cisneros from prison and transport her to the United States. Hearst knew full well, of course, that such a mission would make for sensational headlines and news coverage.

Hearst charged one of his star reporters, Karl Decker, with plotting the prison escape. Enlisting the help of two Cuban revolutionaries, Carlos F. Carbonell and Francisco (Paco) De Besche, Decker planned the escape for October 7, 1897. Under the cover of darkness, the three men stole into the prison facility, sawed through the bars of Cisneros's prison cell and, with Cisneros in tow, scaled a ladder to reach beyond the prison walls and made good their escape to the harbor. Now disguised as a Spanish sailor, Cisneros was kept well hidden for two days, until Decker and Cisneros could board a steamer bound for New York. They arrived in New York Harbor on October 13 to much fanfare and throngs of giddy well-wishers. Hearst had pulled off one of the great feats of yellow jour-

nalism, although a good number of Americans—and his journalistic rivals—dismissed the story as an elaborate hoax.

After her brief flirtation with fame, Cisneros married Carbonell, who also happened to be a dentist. When the Spanish-American War ended, Cisneros settled in Cuba and faded into obscurity. Details of her later years and death are not available. The fact that Cisneros married Carbonell and the murky circumstances of her release have led many to believe that the entire affair was a hoax, perhaps conducted with the help of U.S. officials in Cuba. How Decker and his two accomplices were able to steal into the prison and then leave it entirely undetected has been a subject of considerable conjecture. Some have argued that the prison break was aided by clandestine Cuba revolutionaries who held positions of power within the Spanish colonial government. No matter how the story unfolded, it marked the apogee of yellow journalism. It also seemed to be representative of Hearst's revolutionary idea that news could be created and not simply reported.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cuban War of Independence; Hearst, William Randolph; Journalism; Pulitzer, Joseph; Ten Years' War; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano; Yellow Journalism

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Cottas

Moro (Muslim) forts or strongholds indigenous to the southern Philippines. Prominent datus (chiefs) owned many cottas, which included their residences. When menaced by an enemy, the datu and his followers mustered the community to a common defense behind the cotta's protective walls.

The cotta was an earthwork of soil or rock that was surfaced and massed with a thornlike bamboo exterior. Moats between 5 and 30 feet in depth and two or more in number ringed the typical cotta. Their pits were 6 to 8 feet apart with bases dotted with sharp palisades into which attackers would tumble and become impaled. Slender and indirect entry ports shielded gateways from external projectiles. For protection from hostile fire, the cotta contained a split-bamboo shelter with a 10-foot-wide top slanted out at a 20-degree angle. Small brass cannon known as lantakas were placed either outside the cotta to cover the moats or inside to discharge through recessed openings or apertures in the earthworks.

The cotta's ramparts were anywhere from 75 to 100 feet in length per side and 10 to 12 feet in height. Outside walls were vertical, but their interior consisted of stairs 2 feet or more wide. The

summit was usually 2 feet thick but at least 12 feet thick at ground level. The typical cotta's physical structure could for a time withstand limited artillery fire, mining, and assaults by those attempting to scale the ramparts.

Nevertheless, protracted siege campaigns made the cotta untenable. Generally supplied with only limited provisions and munitions, the fortress was meant to hold against a fairly brief enemy assault. The Moros generally avoided siege warfare. Cottas were usually poorly armed, and most of their cannon were obsolescent. Manufactured in China, these guns were secured in barter for other goods.

In operations against the Moros, the U.S. military usually encircled a cotta with as few as 300 soldiers at distances of 200 to 500 yards. Whenever a cotta was surrounded, escape became impossible. U.S. troops used mortars to bombard a cotta's interior and used light artillery against its walls. Generally the Moros hunkered down, refusing to either charge the besiegers or vacate their stronghold. As the Moros were generally ill-prepared for a long siege, U.S. forces usually won by the sheer endurance of their siege or by slowly pulverizing the cotta's walls.

The Moros excelled in hand-to-hand fighting, generally employing the kris (dagger) and barong (thin-edged sword). Many also carried lances. Those Moros in Lanao and Cotabato provinces

on Mindanao and afterward in the Sulu archipelago who opposed U.S. rule used these weapons with great effectiveness against U.S. troops. For that reason and because the Moros insisted on taking their families with them to the cottas, many U.S. commanders preferred siege operations.

RODNEY J. ROSS

See also

Bud Bagsak, Battle of; Bud Dajo, Battle of; Bud Dajo Campaign; Lake Lanao Campaigns; Mindanao; Moro Campaigns; Moro Province; Moros; Pershing, John Joseph

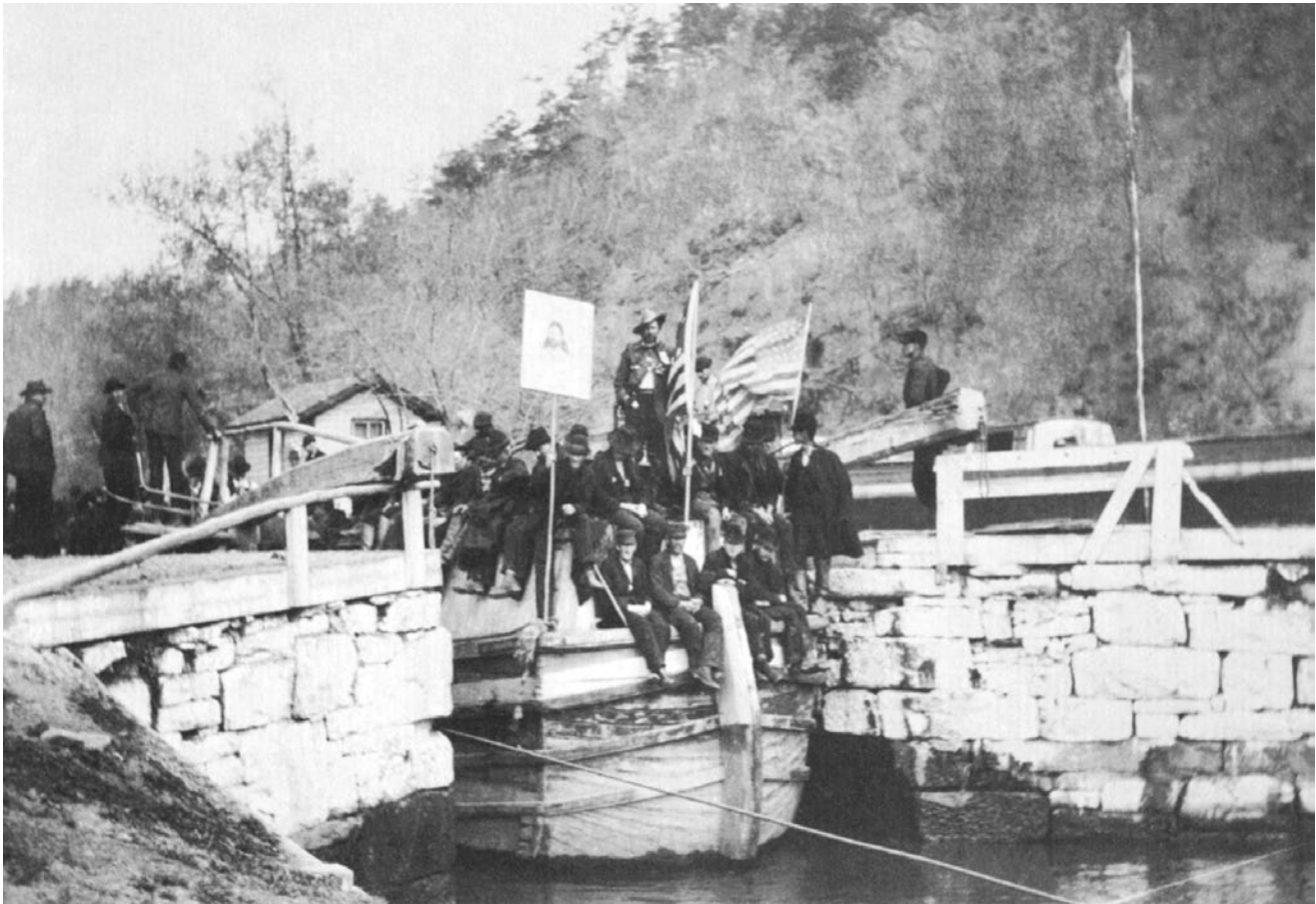
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Coxey's Army

A group of unemployed men led by Jacob Coxey who marched to Washington, D.C., during March and April 1894 to protest the wide-



Members of Coxey's Army on a barge in the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal on their way to Washington, D.C., to protest the widespread unemployment of the economic depression that began in 1893. (Library of Congress)

spread unemployment caused by the Panic of 1893, an economic depression during 1893–1897. In 1893, a panic and crash on Wall Street combined with other economic problems to create a profound economic crisis in the United States. Indeed, it was the worst depression to hit the nation in its history and was superseded only by the Great Depression of the 1930s. By the spring of 1894, nationwide unemployment had reached 15 percent and would eventually reach 18 percent before receding. The depression affected millions of Americans, many of them city dwellers who labored in factories. But it also profoundly affected American farmers, who had been in dire straits even before the economy turned downward.

To bring to the attention of Washington the plight of the embattled farmer and factory worker, Coxey, a Populist Party politician from western Pennsylvania, organized a march on Washington that began in Massillon, Ohio, on March 24, 1894. Coxey had hoped to pressure Congress and the president to alleviate the high unemployment of the time by appropriating funds to be used to put the unemployed to work on public works projects. Coxey also believed that the federal government should begin printing more unbacked money to jump-start the economy and put Americans back to work. He was an ardent foe of the gold standard and was, as most Populists were, an adherent of free silver monetary policies. While Coxey's proposals do not seem so far-fetched today (indeed the Franklin Roosevelt administration followed some of Coxey's prescriptions in the 1930s), in 1894 they were considered radical and unworkable.

It is believed that the Coxey protest was the first notable popular protest movement marching on Washington, D.C. Beginning with about 100 men in Ohio on March 24, Coxey's Army grew en route, joined by farmers and industrial workers alike. By April 30, 1894, as the throng marched into the nation's capital, the protest numbered more than 500 people. President Grover Cleveland was neither moved nor amused by Coxey's Army and ordered federal troops to disperse the crowd, which had not engaged in any violence or destructive behavior.

The following day, federal troops along with Washington, D.C., police arrested Coxey and other leaders of the march, while the remaining protestors dispersed on their own initiative. Cleveland set a precedent by using federal troops to break up the protest, and he again used them to break the paralyzing Pullman Strike in the summer of 1894. While Coxey was not successful in lobbying Congress to implement the plans he had envisioned, he was quite successful in bringing to the fore the suffering of unemployed Americans. Coxey's Army was covered extensively in the national press, and Coxey received support from groups all across the country. His efforts were particularly well received in farming communities, and in Osceola, Nebraska, as many as 5,000 people organized a picnic to honor Coxey's efforts.

It is widely believed that the popular book *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (1900), a highly symbolic story, was based at least in part on Coxey's Army. The creator of the tale, L. Frank Baum, had witnessed Coxey's Army as it made its way to Washington. Dorothy

and the Scarecrow represent farmers, the Tin Man stands for industrial laborers, the Cowardly Lion represents timid do-nothing politicians, and the Yellow Brick Road signifies the route Coxey's Army took to Washington to see the Wizard (allegedly the president). Meanwhile, Dorothy's shoes (silver in the book) represented free silver, which would set them all free. Coxey's Army resonated throughout the nation in spectacular fashion and is a prime example of the problems and opportunities present in America in the 1890s.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Economic Depression; Populist Party; Pullman Strike; Silver Standard

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Crane, Stephen

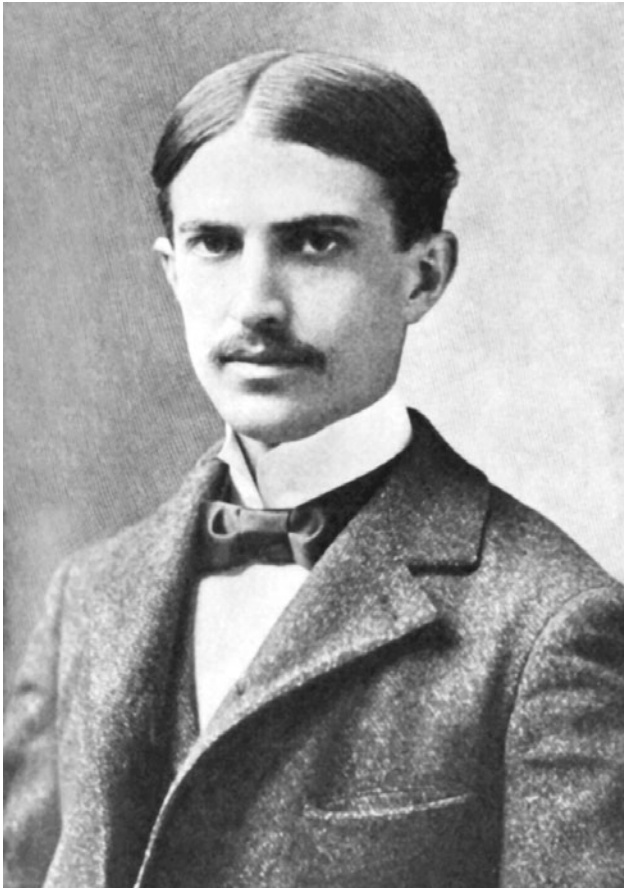
Birth Date: November 1, 1871

Death Date: June 5, 1900

Celebrated novelist and journalist during the Spanish-American War. Stephen Crane was born on November 1, 1871, in Newark, New Jersey, the 14th child of a Methodist minister. Crane began writing stories at a young age and attended Lafayette College and Syracuse University but never earned a degree. By 1890, both his parents were deceased, and he moved to New York City, where he worked as a journalist and freelance writer. In 1895, his second novel, *The Red Badge of Courage*, became a popular and critical tour de force. Considered the first truly modern war novel, it traces the life of a soldier during the American Civil War. It remains a classic of its genre.

Because of his journalistic expertise and international reputation as a writer, Crane was employed in 1896 as a war correspondent by the *Bachelor Newspaper Syndicate* to cover the Cuban rebellion. His ship sank en route, leaving him and seven other passengers drifting for 30 hours in an open boat awaiting rescue. This provided him a backdrop for his most famous short story, "The Open Boat" (1898). Thwarted in his attempt to cover the Cuban revolt, he soon began to report on the Greco-Turkish War, which gave the young novelist his first personal look at war.

In 1898, Crane again became a war correspondent when war broke out between Spain and the United States. This time his assignment was to cover several Cuban battles for a number of New York papers. Crane was said to have seen more of this war, including both naval engagements and land battles, than anyone else and was also recognized for his coolness under fire. As with most of the other American reporters, he saw little distinction between participant and reporter. He carried weapons and helped American



American author Stephen Crane, best known for his American Civil War novel *The Red Badge of Courage*, served as a war correspondent during the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

forces, even being praised in at least one official report that acknowledged his assistance.

Crane's early war reporting was almost jingoistic in its patriotic mantra. As the conflict continued his reports matured, mixing opinion with actual events, the uncommon with the everyday. He also focused not on celebrities or high-ranking officers but instead on rank-and-file soldiers.

By mid-1899, Crane's health was rapidly deteriorating, a condition brought on by malaria he had contracted in Cuba. He had also contracted tuberculosis. Crane died at the age of 28 in Badenweiler, Germany, on June 5, 1900. His writing was not only typical of its time—sensationalistic, Anglo-centric, and at times jingoistic—but it also set the stage for modern journalistic techniques. Indeed, his reporting during the Spanish-American War represented a new style of journalism that endures to the present day.

MARGARET SLOAN

See also

Jingoism; Yellow Journalism

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Creelman, James

Birth Date: November 12, 1859

Death Date: February 12, 1915

Writer, journalist, editor, and quintessential practitioner of yellow journalism. James Creelman was born in Montreal, Canada, on November 12, 1859, to a working-class family. He attended primary school in Canada but left home in 1872 at age 13 to move to New York City. A precocious and inquisitive youth, he caught the eye of Thomas De Witt Talmadge under whose tutelage he studied for a time at New York's Lay Theological College. Creelman also read for the law under Roscoe Conkling, a major Republican Party operative and politician.

Creelman's first full-time job was in the print department of the Episcopal newsletter *Church and State*. This began his long fascination with writing and publishing. He dabbled in poetry but quickly realized that he was unlikely to make a living from that pursuit alone. He did not, however, give up on his dream to become a well-read writer. After working for several small newspapers, in 1876 he landed his first big job as a reporter, working for the *New York Herald*.

Early on, Creelman exhibited reporting and writing techniques that would serve him well in the era of yellow journalism. While working for the *New York Herald*, he relished traveling great distances and putting himself at considerable risk to ferret out and report on a story. He was reportedly shot at while attempting to report on the famous Hatfield-McCoy feud, and he broke an arm while participating in a hot air balloon ride. By the early 1880s, he had become the newspaper's star reporter and had exposed fraud in the railway and steamship industries. Several of his stories prompted court action or government inquiries, including U.S. congressional hearings in which he was a principal witness.

In 1889, James Gordon Bennett Jr., the owner and publisher of the *New York Herald*, asked Creelman to take over the editor's desk of the London edition of the *Herald*. That newspaper was in serious trouble, however, and Creelman proved unable to make it financially viable. In 1890, he joined the Paris edition of the *Herald*. It was here where the journalist developed his trademark penchant for seeking out and successfully conducting interviews with notorious, obstreperous, or secretive individuals. Among his most famous interviews were those with Russian novelist Leo Tolstoy and Pope Leo XIII. Creelman was the first non-Catholic, English-speaking journalist to talk with the pope. Creelman also interviewed Chief Sitting Bull and Mexican president Porfirio Díaz, among other interesting characters.

In 1891, now back in New York, Creelman edited the *Evening Telegram* before returning to the *New York Herald*, for which he reported for several months from Haiti, covering that country's political and cultural scene. Two years later, in 1893, he left the newspaper business for a brief foray into magazines. For a short time he worked for *Illustrated American* and *Cosmopolitan*. He soon tired of the more staid employment offered by magazines and returned to the newspaper world in 1894. This time, he took a reporting job with Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*, a publication that became synonymous with yellow journalism. Creelman's first assignment was to cover the conflict between the Japanese and Chinese in China, where he followed the Japanese Army. He went missing for a time and was mistakenly reported to have been beheaded by the Chinese. He then moved on to Korea, where the Japanese were also actively involved, and interviewed the Korean monarch. Creelman's reporting of atrocities committed by the Japanese during the fighting at Port Arthur earned him great attention, although many Americans questioned the validity of some of his reporting.

In 1896, Pulitzer sent Creelman to Cuba to report on the Spanish-Cuba conflict. His reporting of Spanish atrocities and mistreatment of the Cubans helped whip up U.S. condemnation of Spain. The Spanish were not amused by his reporting, however, and expelled him from the island. The following year, William Randolph Hearst, the other great scion of yellow journalism, recruited Creelman to write for his *New York Journal*. Creelman was dispatched first to Europe to gain interviews with leaders and politicians there and then briefly reported on the Greco-Turkish War before going to Cuba as war was about to break out in the spring of 1898. Ever the adventurer, Creelman joined the 12th Infantry in July 1898 and was badly wounded in the arm during an engagement with Spanish troops. Throughout his reporting from Cuba, from 1896 on, he made no bones about his sympathy for the Cubans and his antipathy for the Spanish.

Creelman returned from the war something of a war hero and was also greatly admired for his reporting from the front. By now, his almost unbelievable journalistic exploits and the fame he had garnered because of his writing had far exceeded his expectations when he entered journalism some 20 years earlier. With this sense of accomplishment came a momentous ego, however, and he found himself at constant odds with his publishers, including Pulitzer and Hearst.

Creelman turned to book writing for a time, publishing a record of his exploits titled *On the Great Highway* (1901) and a novel titled *Eagle Blood* (1902). He then turned to writing editorials until 1906, at which time he took a position as a civil servant in New York with an eye toward effecting reform. Soon realizing that fighting city hall was almost impossible, he went back to Hearst's *New York Journal* and covered the beginning of World War I in Europe. In poor health, which was exacerbated by his smoking habit of 30 cigars a day, he fell ill soon after reaching Germany. Creelman died in a medical clinic in Berlin on February 12, 1915.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Hearst, William Randolph; Journalism; Pulitzer, Joseph; Yellow Journalism

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Crosby, Ernest Howard

Birth Date: November 4, 1856

Death Date: January 3, 1907

Anti-imperialist poet, judge, social reformer, member of the New York Peace Society, and head of the New York Anti-Imperialist League. Born in New York City on November 4, 1856, Ernest Howard Crosby was the son of a wealthy theologian and educator who served as pastor of the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church and for 11 years as chancellor of the City University of New York.



American author Ernest Howard Crosby, who headed the New York Anti-Imperialist League during the Spanish-American War. Crosby sharply criticized U.S. actions in Cuba and the Philippines. (Library of Congress)

Educated in an elite private school, Crosby attended New York University and Columbia Law School. For 10 years, he practiced law and in 1887 succeeded Theodore Roosevelt as a Republican assemblyman in the New York state legislature. In 1889, President Benjamin Harrison appointed Crosby to an international judgeship in Egypt.

Crosby's service on the International Court in Alexandria, Egypt, was a life-changing experience. In Egypt he saw firsthand the consequences of European imperialism in Africa. This spiritual crisis in 1894 led him to read Leo Tolstoy's *My Life*. The work converted Crosby to Tolstoy's doctrine of love and nonresistance to evil. Crosby resigned his \$10,000-a-year judgeship and went on a pilgrimage to Tolstoy's home at Yasnaya Polyana in Russia.

Returning afterward to the United States, Crosby immediately took up the banner of nonresistance and became a leading disciple of Tolstoy in America. In numerous speeches and articles, Crosby advocated pacifism, antimilitarism, and anti-imperialism. The Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War aroused his deepest passions.

After Congress declared war against Spain in April 1898, Crosby and several other reformers issued "A Declaration of Peace." Addressed to the "Workers of America," it called for arbitration to settle a "senseless war" between American workers and Spanish workers. Crosby believed it ironic that jingoists calling for justice in Cuba ignored economic oppression at home. His *Peace Echoes* (1898) and *Swords and Plowshares* (1902) were collections of poems indicting the war and those responsible for it.

Crosby, who had been a member of the New York Peace Society, accepted the position as president of both the New York Anti-Imperialist League and the American Anti-Imperialist League. Inspired by his Tolstoyan belief in nonresistance, he lashed out at the war in Cuba and the Philippines. Despite having previously held the rank of major in the National Guard, he mocked all things military in a 1901 Boston speech titled "The Absurdities of Militarism."

Crosby was a popular speaker for the Anti-Imperialist League, traveling principally throughout the Northeast questioning how great powers such as Britain and the United States wantonly picked on nations of peasants such as the Boers in South Africa and the Filipinos.

In the span of six weeks, Crosby composed the best anti-imperialist novel of the period, *Captain Jinks, Hero* (1902). The work was a fanciful tale depicting the American conquest of the Cubapines and the daring rescue of the missionaries in Porsslania. The book was modeled on *Don Quixote*. Although *Captain Jinks* makes better reading than a serious literary work, it targets the military mind while condemning the press and Christian churches for praising the exploits of the so-called heroes of war.

With military conflict continuing in the Philippines, Crosby continued his denunciations of American imperialism. These were published in the magazine *The Independent* (1902). In these works he criticized President Theodore Roosevelt's plan to construct a large navy and accused the United States of trying to spread its in-

stitutions by physical force, of transporting racism by calling Filipinos "monkeys," and of deceiving itself by claiming that its mission was justified in the name of benevolent Christianity.

The persistent theme in Crosby's anti-imperialism was that the American ideal of the chosen people led to the twin evils of hypocritically violating those ideals overseas while failing to fulfill them at home. Crosby's final effort for world peace was "A Precedent for Disarmament: A Suggestion to the Peace Conference" (1904). It was offered as a model to the delegates to the Second Hague Peace Conference. Crosby died in Baltimore, Maryland, on January 3, 1907.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

See also

Anti-Imperialist League; Expansionism; Imperialism; Philippine-American War, U.S. Reaction to; Roosevelt, Theodore; Spanish-American War, U.S. Public Reaction to

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Crowninshield, Arent Schuyler

Birth Date: March 14, 1843

Death Date: May 27, 1908

U.S. admiral. Born in New York City on March 14, 1843, Arent Schuyler Crowninshield was appointed an acting midshipman on September 25, 1860. He graduated from the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, on May 28, 1863, during the American Civil War (1861–1865). He served with the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron and was advanced to ensign on July 4, 1863. Serving on the steam sloop *Ticonderoga*, he took part in the assault on Fort Fisher during December 1864–January 1865.

Continuing in the navy after the war, Crowninshield enjoyed routine assignments and promotion. He was advanced to master on November 10, 1865; to lieutenant on November 10, 1866; to lieutenant commander on March 12, 1868; and to commander on March 25, 1880. During 1878–1881 he commanded the sailing sloop *Portsmouth* and during 1887–1891 he had charge of the naval school ship *St. Mary's*. From 1891 to 1892 he commanded the screw sloop

Kearsarge. Promoted to captain on July 21, 1894, Crowninshield took command of the battleship *Maine* on its commissioning in 1895.

In 1897, Crowninshield was appointed chief of the Bureau of Navigation with the rank of rear admiral. During the Spanish-American War, he was an important member of the Naval War Board that directed the naval war with Spain, and Secretary of the Navy John D. Long relied heavily on his advice in developing naval strategy during that conflict and the subsequent Philippine-American War (1899–1902). Crowninshield retired from the navy in 1902 and died on May 27, 1908.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Long, John Davis; *Maine*, USS

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Cuba

Island located between the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, approximately 90 miles south of Key West, Florida. The island of Cuba covers an area of 42,804 square miles and is 708 miles long from west to east and 135 miles wide from north to south. In addition, the coastline of the island is approximately 2,100 miles long. Cuba's climate is categorized as tropical to semitropical, meaning that it has long, hot, humid, and relatively wet summers and drier but warm winters. Except at higher altitudes, Cuba is frost-free. The island is, however, quite susceptible to hurricanes, especially along its southeastern coast. The temperature averages 82 degrees during the summer and 70 degrees in the winter. Average annual rainfall on the island is about 50 inches. Major Cuban cities include Havana (the current capital), Santiago, and Camagüey. At the time of the Spanish-American War, Cuba's population was estimated at 1.57 million, making it the most populous by far of all the Caribbean islands. As with other locales in the Caribbean, Cuba's chief industries at the time were largely agricultural, with sugar cultivation and processing being the predominant moneymaker and employer.

After the landing of Italian-born explorer Christopher Columbus on the island in 1492, Cuba effectively came under the control of Spain in 1511. This was mainly a result of the decimating conquest of Diego Velázquez and Pánfilo de Narváez, a campaign that was designed to scare the local inhabitants into submission. Bartolomé de las Casas described their tactics as being nothing short of a blood-bath. In 1512, gold was discovered in the streams of the highlands of central Cuba, and under the circumstances of a brief gold rush, six towns had been established on the island by 1515. However, as Spanish invaders penetrated farther into present-day Central and South America and found vast mineral wealth there, Cuba lost its great im-

Deployment of the Spanish Navy on the Eve of the Spanish-American War

Location	Sailors	Marines	Vessels
Spain	6,778	5,412	6 battleships, 3 protected cruisers, 3 auxiliary cruisers, 8 destroyers, 14 torpedo boats, 15 gunboats, 12 lesser craft
Cuba	2,533	581	6 cruisers, 6 destroyers, 9 gunboats, 29 patrol boats, 3 tugs, 6 lesser craft
Philippines	2,479	2,515	10 cruisers, 15 gunboats, 9 patrol boats, misc. lesser craft
Puerto Rico	291	23	2 cruisers, 2 gunboats

portance to the Spanish Crown and was relegated to being a strategic position at the crossroads of transoceanic naval transport.

In 1762, during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), the British captured the Spanish colony. Anglo rule would be short-lived for a variety of reasons. The most important was that Cuba was a rival to English-held Jamaica in terms of sugar production. Many Englishmen who held investments in Jamaican sugar interests did not wish to see a competitor taken over by England. Many of these men served in Parliament, and consequently they substantially influenced the peace negotiations once hostilities between the English and Spanish ended in 1763. As a result, Spain regained control of Cuba in July 1763.

From this point on, the Spanish tried to capitalize on the agricultural wealth of the island. The motives for this were financial: to increase revenue for the Bourbon monarchy and to raise funds to pay for the defense of this highly strategic position.

What Cuba lacked in terms of precious metals it certainly made up for in agricultural potential. The principal crops of Cuba in the 19th century were sugar, tobacco, and coffee. They remain so to this day. The 1800s saw increases in production for all three cash crops, but by century's end sugar had emerged as the dominant export. One reason for Cuba's impressive agricultural growth was the fact that between 1762 and the mid-1860s the island had escaped the massive turmoil that had produced independence movements in numerous Latin American nations. In addition, there were major technological advances over the course of the century, such as steam shipping and railroads, that promoted increased agricultural production. Moreover, the economic growth of the agricultural industries coincided with the increase in the slave trade in the region from roughly 1762 through 1886, at which point slavery was abolished in Cuba.

The question of how to supply workers for such labor-intensive efforts as sugar cultivation had been an issue that bedeviled the island since it came under Spanish rule. By 1515, many of the indigenous peoples of the island had perished because of either diseases introduced by the Spaniards or inhumane working conditions. Consequently, many of the workers required for the backbreaking labor of Cuba's agricultural industries had to be imported from



Postcard depicting the taking of Guáimaro by insurgent forces led by General Calixto García y Iñiquez in October 1896 during the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898). Luis Rodolfo Miranda is depicted raising the Cuban flag at center. (Library of Congress)

either Africa or nearby Caribbean islands. The majority of these workers came as slaves. The regulation of slave labor was complicated further in 1791 thanks to the Haitian Revolution. While Cuba's major competitor in sugar production at the time was effectively eliminated, the exiles who went to Cuba brought with them horrid tales of the death and destruction wrought by the slaves. This in turn forced tighter controls on the Cuban slave labor source.

Despite the ongoing labor issue, the period between the reacquisition of Cuba by the Spanish in 1763 and the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898 witnessed a substantial increase in international trade to and from the island. While Spain had temporarily granted Cuba freedom to engage in international trade, the Spanish Crown reneged on those rights in 1799. However, Spain was preoccupied with the Napoleonic Wars in Europe and could not efficiently regulate activities in its overseas dominions. This dilemma was further complicated as the Spanish Navy took horrendous losses during the Napoleonic Wars, especially at the 1805 Battle of Trafalgar.

By 1898, the United States had emerged as Cuba's premier trading partner despite high American tariffs on international goods. Indeed, over the course of the 19th century, the United States strove to bring Latin America under its sphere of influence. Cuba became an island of vital importance because of its strategic position in the

Caribbean as well as its agricultural potential. The first attempt to bring Cuba into the United States occurred during Thomas Jefferson's administration (1801–1809) shortly after the 1803 Louisiana Purchase. Repeated efforts during the next century failed, such as the aspirations of Henry Clay in 1825 or those of American investors in the Cuban sugar industry at the end of the century. In 1825, U.S. policy prevented the annexation of Cuba because it best suited the U.S. government in terms of national strategy for Spain to remain the colonial power and because the North was loath to have another possible slave state. And in the latter half of the 19th century, American businessmen played a direct role in thwarting any effort at Cuban annexation in order to protect the domestic sugar beet market and to enhance sugar production in the western United States.

Cubans themselves were contemplating either assimilation into the United States or outright independence. In 1809, with many Latin American states actively fighting for independence, Román de la Luz advocated a similar course in Cuba. However, the Cuban intelligentsia and the planter class did not support it. In fact, many planters preferred annexation by the United States. Indeed, in 1822 a number of representatives of the planter class lobbied in Washington, D.C., for U.S. annexation. However, just like American attempts to bring Cuba into the United States, all such Cuban efforts proved futile.

In the last half of the 19th century, independence movements came to the fore, and Cuba found itself waging a series of devastating wars as it tried to break free from the increasingly weakening Spanish Empire and colonial rule. The first, the Ten Years' War of 1868–1878, left many agricultural regions, such as Cienfuegos and Oriente, in ruin. There was also considerable loss of life. Nevertheless, this painful experience further instilled in Cubans the idea of a united, independent Cuba as propagated by the Cuba Libre movement. During 1878–1879, yet another anticolonial struggle broke out, known as the Little War or Guerra Chiquita. This struggle was short-lived because many Cubans, exhausted from the earlier 10-year conflict, chose not to rally to the cause of independence.

Despite small increases in autonomy that Spain had grudgingly granted to the Cubans, by 1895 Cuba was again in the throes of a war for independence. This time, however, the United States would intervene. This came about in part to prevent another European power from gaining a toehold in the region and because of a sharp increase in American investments in Cuba.

As a result of the Spanish-American War, which lasted in Cuba for little more than two months (June–August 1898), Cuba came further under the hegemonic influence of the United States but was not annexed. Instead, the United States, via investment and trade, brought Cuba into its orbit chiefly by way of economic arrangements. While the U.S. government did eventually grant Cuba its independence in 1902, it did so under the restrictions of the Platt Amendment, which carefully stipulated how Cuba was to conduct its economic and foreign policies. Indeed, this amendment gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs any time American policy makers saw fit. Over the next 50 years, American investment in the island rose considerably in all relevant industries. American hegemony in Cuba was clearly evident in 1906, as the United States occupied Cuba for the second time in 10 years in response to a revolt against the Estrada government. The threat of American intervention endured through the first half of the 20th century.

Despite American hegemony over the new nation, many Cubans rallied behind José Martí y Pérez's ideal of a nation for all, forged in blood from the Ten Years' War. The common experience of the wars for independence emphasized this notion and galvanized Cubans around the idea of Cuban nationalism that de-emphasized the pressure of racial divisions. In 1901, suffrage was granted to all males regardless of racial background. Nonetheless, there were deep-rooted racial divisions that stretched back to the period of European conquest. Consequently, many of the conflicts experienced on the island after 1902 were either instigated or at least fueled by racial tensions, thus preventing Western notions of stability. Exacerbating these problems were American policy and economic hegemony, which tended to keep corrupt leaders in power and kept the lower classes mired in poverty.

ROB SHAFER

See also

Cuba, Spanish Colonial Policies toward; Cuba, U.S. Occupation of; Cuba Campaign; Cuba Libre; Cuban Sugar; Cuban War of Independence;

Martí y Pérez, José Julián; Monroe Doctrine; Platt Amendment; Ten Years' War

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Cuba, Spanish Colonial Policies toward

Spain planted its first permanent settlement in Cuba in 1511 amid strong native opposition. Within a few decades, the Spanish government had successfully instituted the *encomienda* system, a trusteeship labor arrangement in which natives were assigned to work for a wealthy Spaniard who was given control of a specific area of land. The system helped Christianize the natives, structure the economy, and consolidate Spanish political power. Spain initially ruled Cuba directly, and the governor, appointed by the Spanish Crown, had almost complete control of all basic government functions as well as the military. The Spanish abused the natives, however, and concentrated on exploiting the island's natural resources. In part through its influence with the Catholic Church, the Spanish monarchy thoroughly dominated natives, settlers, and blacks. Cuba received relatively little attention from the mother country after it became apparent that its other colonies were more valuable, and Cuba served chiefly as a way station within the empire. This resulted in more casual governance.

As tobacco farming emerged as a profitable enterprise, the Crown used its authority to create a government monopoly over that industry. Growers revolted in the 1720s, but Madrid maintained its tight control over the island for almost another century. King Charles III's Bourbon Reforms in the middle of the 18th century stimulated the Cuban economy and brought liberal ideas to the island. Later in the century, Spain acquiesced to settlers' requests to ease trade restrictions on sugar, end limits on the importation of slaves, and lower tariffs on Cuban imports in an effort to keep them loyal.

The Napoleonic Wars of the early 19th century diverted Spain's attention from Cuba, and the island's economy and political sensibility matured greatly with such salutary neglect. Madrid assented to the private ownership of land for the first time on Cuba by allowing large estates to be subdivided into sugar and coffee plantations and

giving them to established Spanish settlers. Thus, by the mid-19th century, the Cuban economy was flourishing, with sugar and coffee as the two cash crops that fueled economic growth.

Most Cubans were relatively content with Spanish rule through the first few decades of the 19th century. Nevertheless, the growing and prosperous Creole (locally born Cubans of European descent) aristocracy became increasingly concerned that Madrid would be ineffective in dealing with a large-scale slave rebellion such as that in Haiti. They also came to believe that continued rule by Spain might eventually result in the elimination of slavery, which would present grave economic consequences. Small slave revolts in the 1840s intensified these concerns and encouraged many wealthy landowners to covet a political connection with the United States.

Some liberal intellectuals in Cuba had been calling for independence since the 1820s, but Spain flatly rejected the idea of releasing its possessions and from the 1830s on steadfastly sought to continue its rule. By 1860, there were many Creole elites who favored U.S. annexation of Cuba, but a variety of factors, most notably the American Civil War, ended their aspirations. Still, the desire to reform the political relationship with Spain remained and was strengthened by others who wanted equal rights, less centralized power, and gradual emancipation. This reformist movement combined with the successful independence movement in nearby Santo Domingo prompted Madrid to explore possibilities for reform. But the government ignored the policy recommendations of a commission specifically elected to suggest reforms. This coupled with the fact that the government had levied new taxes demonstrated that the Crown was not serious about reform in Cuba.

In 1868, Creole landowners began the Ten Years' War, the first major effort to bring about Cuba's independence. Spain responded forcefully and by 1871 had largely contained the rebellion, which lacked foreign support and was hampered by internal leadership struggles. Exhausted revolutionaries finally signed a peace treaty in 1878. In the wake of the war, the Crown maintained its refusal to undertake political reforms. With the issues unresolved, a new independence movement coalesced under José Martí y Pérez. Working with key figures from the earlier conflict, he spearheaded the Cuban War of Independence that began in 1895. The effort survived Martí's death in the first year of hostilities, and Cubans made territorial gains until Madrid appointed a new governor-general in 1896, Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, who was known for his undue harshness.

Weyler soon announced his now infamous policy of moving civilians to reconcentration camps, known as the *reconcentrado* system. Although hundreds of thousands of civilians died from disease and starvation in the camps, the program was successful in regaining the initiative for Spain. However, Spanish policies toward Cuba beginning in 1896 garnered much attention in the United States. Before long, Spain and the United States were locked in an escalatory spiral of recriminations and denials that ultimately resulted in the Spanish-American War. It is no exaggeration to assert that Spanish policies toward Cuba were a major cause of the 1898 war.

MATTHEW J. KROGMAN

See also

Atrocities; Cuban War of Independence; Martí y Pérez, José Julián; *Reconcentrado* System; Spain; Ten Years' War; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano

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Cuba, U.S. Naval Blockade of

Start Date: April 22, 1898

End Date: August 14, 1898

On April 25, 1898, the United States officially declared war on Spain. On April 21, in anticipation of certain war, President William McKinley ordered a naval blockade of key Cuban ports on Cuba's northern coast to prevent Spanish reinforcements from reaching the island and to eliminate commercial trade with Cuba.

As early as March 23, 1898, Secretary of the Navy John D. Long produced a plan to close the ports along the western half of Cuba's northern coast. On April 18, Rear Admiral William T. Sampson, commander of the North Atlantic Squadron, issued a memorandum concerning ship dispositions for such a blockade. In early 1898, the U.S. Navy possessed 96 ships of varying qualities and capabilities. However, the navy's ability to enforce a blockade of Cuba was augmented substantially by a \$50 million emergency congressional appropriations bill passed on March 9. That bill authorized the purchasing or leasing of additional ships from private sources and other government agencies, including the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service.

Sampson's squadron began the process of implementing the blockade on April 22 when his ships sailed from Key West, Florida, for Cuba. Although the blockade officially commenced on the morning of April 23, it took time to fully implement because of delays in providing adequate numbers of ships as well as the requisite logistical support for the fleet, such as coal, food, and fresh water. Sampson was hard-pressed to cover 2,000 miles of Cuban shoreline with just 26 ships. The shortage of ships prevented him from maintaining a continuous blockade of the southern coast and prevented McKinley from proclaiming a blockade of it until June 28. By late June, Sampson was able to close off the southern ports as well, preventing the Spanish from obtaining supplies from Mexico and Central America. Eventually, his squadron grew to 124 ships. Still, his naval assets were spread perilously thin given the long shorelines and distances involved, and occasionally ships were absent on other duties. Additional ships were continually added to enforce the blockade, the most famous of these being the battleship *Oregon*,

NAVAL BLOCKADE OF SANTIAGO, 1898



which steamed from its Bremerton, Washington, home port around South America to reach Key West.

The blockade was carried out according to international law, with ships having left Spain prior to the war being declared immune from search. Spanish vessels that were docked in U.S. ports when the war was declared were given until May 21 to leave and were permitted to take on enough coal to reach their home port. However, inconsistencies in blockade enforcement did occur. On August 8, 1898, a Navy Department official reported that three neutral nations were filing complaints with the U.S. State Department about their vessels being seized and expressing concern about potentially costly damage claims that ship owners could file against the United States.

The blockaders intercepted ships in transit to Cuba, seized contraband goods consistent with maritime law provisions, and engaged in several battles with Spanish ships. The first of these clashes occurred on April 27 when U.S. ships were fired upon and responded by shelling Punta Gorda at Matanzas to prevent construction of Spanish artillery batteries there.

Further combat actions occurred on May 11 when U.S. warships cut the cable to Madrid at Cienfuegos. Later that same day, hidden Spanish batteries at Cárdenas attacked several U.S. ships including the torpedo boat *Winslow*, which was seriously damaged.

Another U.S. squadron, commanded by Commodore Winfield Scott Schley, was ordered to leave Charleston, South Carolina, for Key West to prepare to intercept a Spanish squadron under Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete, believed to be headed to Cuba from the Cape Verde Islands. Schley's squadron arrived off Santiago on May 26. These reinforcements enabled a southern front to be added to the U.S. naval blockade. In the meantime, however, Cervera's ships had managed to make it to Santiago de Cuba unhindered. Sampson then administered a tight blockade of Santiago. On the morning of July 3, 1898, Spanish forces attempted to break out of the harbor there, producing a running battle in which all the Spanish ships were either sunk or scuttled.

Assorted other engagements between U.S. and Spanish forces occurred at various locations in Cuba, including west of the Isle of Pines, Barracoa, and Manzanillo, which resulted in Spanish ships being destroyed or captured along with some modest U.S. losses. The war ended with a cease-fire agreement on August 12, 1898, although American naval assets remained in the area for a considerable time thereafter. The naval blockade was officially lifted on August 14.

Despite some inconsistency in execution and enforcement, the blockade was relatively successful in cutting off Spanish forces from supplies and reinforcements. A number of blockade runners did make it through the blockade, the most famous of these being the *Montserrat*. Many others were either destroyed or captured, however. Significant credit for the blockade's military successes stems from effective planning and from training exercises conducted by the U.S. Naval War College and the Office of Naval Intelligence in the years before the war and to legislation in 1890 and 1892 authorizing new naval construction. The blockade did cause some

hardship for the Cuban civilian population in the way of food shortages and clothing and a scarcity of kerosene, but its relatively short duration prevented these shortages from becoming more severe.

BERT CHAPMAN

See also

Cárdenas, Cuba; Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Cienfuegos, Naval Engagements off; Fifty Million Dollar Bill; Long, John Davis; Manzanillo, Cuba, Actions at; Naval Strategy, Spanish; Naval Strategy, U.S.; North Atlantic Squadron; *Oregon*, USS, Voyage of; Punta Gorda, Cuba; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Schley, Winfield Scott; Spain, Navy; United States Navy; United States Revenue Cutter Service

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Cuba, U.S. Occupation of

Start Date: January 1, 1899

End Date: May 20, 1902

The U.S. military occupation of Cuba, which occurred in the immediate aftermath of the Spanish-American War, began on January 1, 1899, and ended on May 20, 1902. This was a transition period between Spanish colonialism and formal Cuban independence. The American declaration of war against Spain in April 1898 essentially transformed the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898) into an American war of conquest. President William McKinley held that because Cuban revolutionaries had failed to dislodge the Spanish from Cuba, the United States was simply completing the task that the Cubans were unable to accomplish. Cubans were therefore excluded from participating in the peace negotiations that ended the Spanish-American War, and the U.S. government appropriated the right to unilaterally negotiate the peace treaty with Spain and supervise the transition from colonial rule to independence.

Although the April 1898 Teller Amendment prohibited U.S. annexation of Cuba, McKinley, who was determined to protect U.S. economic investments in Cuba and uncertain about the ability of Cubans to govern themselves effectively, authorized the U.S. military occupation of Cuba. During the occupation, American military officials facilitated the expansion of U.S. economic investments on the island while simultaneously disenfranchising the majority of

the Cuban population. At the same time, U.S. officials implemented numerous infrastructure improvements. As a result of the occupation, when Cuba became independent in 1902, the island was a virtual political and economic protectorate of the United States.

U.S. Army major general John Rutter Brooke, the first military governor of the island, formally took control of Cuba from Adolfo Jiménez Castellanos, the last Spanish governor, on January 1, 1899. Rather than immediately granting the Cubans independence, McKinley authorized Brooke to establish order and stability in Cuba and prepare its inhabitants for eventual autonomy. Numerous U.S. politicians and military officials contended that the Cubans should not be granted independence until extensive training and safeguards for order and stability could be implemented. Rear Admiral William T. Sampson, commander of the North Atlantic Squadron, insisted that the Cubans had no concept of self-rule and that it would “take a long time to teach them.” Major General William R. Shafter, who had commanded the U.S. invasion of the island, argued that the Cubans were “no more fit for self-government than gunpowder is for hell.”

Brooke immediately disbanded the Cuban Revolutionary Army and implemented a U.S.-supervised electoral system that disenfranchised the majority of Cubans. Only men over the age of 20 who had property valued at more than \$250 or were literate or had served in the Cuban Revolutionary Army were eligible to vote. As such, suffrage restrictions reduced the Cuban electorate to about 100,000 men. McKinley hoped that an electorate limited to the elite and the middle class would form the basis of a stable pro-American Cuban government. Brooke also attempted to reform the customs and postal services on the island.

On December 23, 1899, Major General Leonard Wood replaced Brooke as military governor. Wood, cognizant of the high death rates from disease among the Americans fighting in Cuba during the Spanish-American War, undertook a campaign for the eradication of malaria and yellow fever. Emphasizing public works programs, Wood supervised the building of schools, hospitals, railroads, roads, harbors, and bridges. The infrastructure of Cuba was thereby modernized.

As a result of these improvements, American businessmen and land speculators soon descended on the island and, following the U.S. occupation, purchased vast tracts of Cuban land. By the early 20th century, 60 percent of all rural land in Cuba was owned by U.S. investors and corporations. U.S. economic interests dominated the sugar industry, mining, public utilities, and the railroad network in Cuba. Clearly, the main beneficiaries of U.S. military occupation were U.S. citizens, not Cubans.

Notwithstanding his infrastructure improvements, Wood’s primary task was preparing the Cubans for independence and safeguarding U.S. interests in Cuba. Following the U.S.-supervised municipal elections of 1900, Wood was distressed that the pro-American Cuban elite failed to capture many votes. Instead, candidates whom Wood considered to be “political radicals” and “agitators” won the elections. This was also true of the elections for



American and Spanish soldiers in front of the captain-general’s palace in Havana on January 1, 1899, as control of Cuba is officially handed over to the United States. (Library of Congress)

members of the constitutional assembly held later in 1900. Wood believed that the majority of the members of the constitutional assembly were “adventurers, pure and simple,” and not “safe leaders.” He lamented that the intelligent men with commercial interests were not represented in the constitutional assembly. By January 1901, the U.S. government was eager to end the U.S. military occupation but not without securing guarantees protecting U.S. interests.

In January 1901, U.S. secretary of war Elihu Root, annoyed at the expense of continuing U.S. military occupation of Cuba, outlined a set of provisions that he deemed a prerequisite to Cuban independence. He contended that the United States must retain the right to intervene in Cuba to maintain Cuban independence and stability, that the Cuban government could not negotiate treaties with other nations that might impede Cuban independence, that the United States may indefinitely maintain naval bases in Cuba, and that the Cubans must accept the legitimacy of all legislation enacted by the U.S. military government. Root asked Senator Orville Platt to present his proposal to the U.S. Congress.

Before Platt presented the proposal to Congress, however, he added two more provisions: that the Cubans must continue sanitary improvements and that the Cubans could not contract loans that they could not repay. These provisions, collectively known as the Platt Amendment, were approved by the U.S. Congress on March 2, 1901, as a precondition for Cuban independence. The Platt Amendment represented a significant restriction on Cuban

self-determination. Nevertheless, the Cuban constitutional assembly, realizing that the U.S. military occupation would not end until Cuba accepted the validity of the Platt Amendment, incorporated it, by a margin of one vote, as an addendum to the Cuban Constitution on June 12, 1901. The Platt Amendment made Cuba a virtual protectorate of the United States and ceded the naval station at Guantánamo Bay to the United States. The U.S. military occupation of Cuba subsequently ended on May 20, 1902. The transition from Spanish colony to independent republic, albeit a republic with limited self-determination, was now complete.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Brooke, John Rutter; Cuban Revolutionary Army; McKinley, William; Platt Amendment; Root, Elihu; Sampson, William Thomas; Shafter, William Rufus; Teller Amendment; Wood, Leonard

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Cuba Campaign

Start Date: June 22, 1898

End Date: August 12, 1898

The Cuba Campaign was the most significant and publicized phase of the Spanish-American War. It is also now the best-known campaign of the conflict. The Cuba Campaign began with the initial landings of U.S. troops (V Corps) at Daiquirí and Siboney, Cuba, on June 22, 1898, and ended on August 12, 1898, with the signing of the Protocol of Peace.

The Spanish administration of Cuba was the chief cause of the conflict, and with the U.S. declaration of war of April 25, it was obvious that Cuba would become the principal theater of war. The island is only 90 miles from Florida, which meant that the United States would have both shorter supply lines and access to numerous ports for its small but modern navy. Spain's supply lines, by comparison, stretched all the way back across the Atlantic Ocean, and to compound problems, the Spanish Navy was incapable of challenging the United States for control of the seas around Cuba. This meant, of course, that the sizable Spanish ground forces in Cuba were essentially cut off from resupply during the war.

On April 21, several days before the actual U.S. declaration of war, the U.S. Navy began a blockade of Cuba. While the United States prepared its ground invasion forces, the naval blockade went forward, steadily growing in the number of ships involved and in effectiveness. On May 11, seamen from the U.S. Navy un-

protected cruiser *Marblehead* and gunboat *Nashville* cut Spanish undersea telegraphic cables at Cienfuegos in an effort to sever communication between Cuba and Spain. That same day, the U.S. Navy gunboat *Wilmington*, torpedo boat *Winslow*, and revenue cutter *Hudson* entered Cárdenas Harbor. In an ensuing action, the *Winslow* suffered five men killed and was disabled and had to be towed from the harbor.

Meanwhile, Madrid dispatched a squadron of four cruisers and three destroyers to the West Indies under Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete. The squadron sailed from the Cape Verde Islands on April 29. Only two of the destroyers made it to Cuba, however. Cervera realized that the mission was a tragic folly that might doom both the ships and their crews. He slipped into Santiago Harbor in Cuba on May 19. Soon U.S. rear admiral William T. Sampson's North Atlantic Squadron had Santiago blockaded. With Cervera's squadron unable to counter the growing strength of the American naval forces off Santiago and with Spain unable to send reinforcements and supplies to the Caribbean, the fate of Cuba was virtually sealed. The defeat of Spanish forces was now largely a matter of time.

To secure a local coaling base and protected anchorage, the U.S. Navy moved to capture Guantánamo Bay. The 1st Marine Battalion received the assignment, supported by warships in the bay. The battalion's 636 marines, accompanied by 4 sailors, went ashore on June 10. The marines secured the beachhead that same day, then routed a numerically superior Spanish force in the Battle of Cuzco Well on June 14.

Major General William R. Shafter, commander of V Corps, the U.S. expeditionary force to Cuba, wanted the navy to enter Santiago Harbor and destroy the Spanish ships there, but Sampson demurred, arguing that the ground forces should first capture the forts at the harbor entrance, the guns of which dominated the harbor entrance and posed a serious threat to his ships. Abandoning its initial plan for an attack on Havana, the army shifted to the capture of Santiago, which would force Cervera's ships to sea.

The U.S. Army, far less prepared than the navy for the war, was unable to begin its landings in Cuba until June 22. These came first at Daiquirí and then at Siboney. Once ashore, Shafter's V Corps lost little time in beginning an advance on Santiago. Still problems abounded, including the lack of effective army-navy cooperation. The army saw an assault on the heights at the entrance to Santiago Harbor, as requested by the navy, as a costly mission with the navy then reaping the glory. Navy leaders, on the other hand, were perturbed by the advance of the army directly to Santiago.

While the navy continued to tighten its blockade of Santiago and, for that matter, all of Cuba, U.S. forces under Major General Joseph Wheeler, rushing to engage the Spanish, clashed on June 24 at Las Guásimas on the road to Santiago. The battle pitted some 1,500 Spanish soldiers against 1,000 Americans, but the Americans prevailed. It was hardly of strategic importance and largely a morale booster for the Americans, who continued their advance toward Santiago.

On July 1, Shafter's V Corps began its main assault on Santiago, with forces advancing on the town of El Caney and San Juan



An illustration by William Glackens depicting the landing of V Corps at Daiquirí, Cuba, in June 1898. The drawing appeared in *McClure's Magazine* in October 1898. (Library of Congress)

Heights, a long series of ridges that included San Juan Hill and Kettle Hill, a smaller flanking promontory adjacent to San Juan Hill. Shafter's plan called for Brigadier General Henry W. Lawton's 6,000-man 2nd Infantry Division to defeat the Spanish garrison at El Caney and then join the remainder of V Corps in its attack on San Juan Heights. El Caney was supposed to be an easy objective, but it was vigorously defended and turned into a day-long fight in which the Americans were held at bay by a much smaller Spanish force under General Joaquín Vara del Rey y Rubio. When Lawton did achieve victory there on July 1, it was too late for his men to join in the fight at Santiago.

That same day at San Juan Heights, the American troops found themselves in a tenuous position at the base of the hills. As pressure from arriving troops continued to mount behind the line and accurate Spanish defensive fire began to exact a toll on the men in the front lines, the order finally came to assault the heights. Although heavily outnumbered, the Spanish defenders were strongly entrenched.

What became known as the Battle of San Juan Hill began around 1:00 p.m., three hours after the planned assault time. As Brigadier General Samuel S. Sumner's Dismounted Cavalry Division (including the 1st Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, also known as the Rough Riders) assaulted Kettle Hill, Brigadier General Jacob F. Kent's 1st Infantry Division advanced on San Juan Hill. A detachment of four Gatling

guns provided critical fire support, and the Spanish began to fall back. After Kettle Hill was taken, Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt of the Rough Riders organized a charge on San Juan Hill from the flank to take the pressure off the other U.S. forces attacking the heights by frontal assault. The combined attack was successful, and the Spanish troops were driven from their trenches.

With the Americans on the city's outskirts and in position to bring up artillery to shell Cervera's ships in the harbor, he sortied from Santiago on July 3 knowing that victory was impossible and that the odds of any of his ships escaping were slim. Within a few hours, his squadron had been destroyed in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba. That same day, Colonel Federico Escario García arrived in Santiago with reinforcements from Manzanillo. He had started out on June 22 with 3,752 men. In its 11-day, 160-mile trek to Santiago, the column had clashed with Cubans more than 40 times, suffering losses of 10 percent. The arrival of this force did not alter the strategic balance and instead merely taxed the city's dwindling resources.

Shafter, meanwhile, found his position at Santiago de Cuba tenuous, with increasing numbers of U.S. troops being felled by disease. He was considering a withdrawal when a request for the surrender of Santiago was forwarded to Spanish commander Brigadier General José Toral y Vázquez. The loss of Cervera's squadron, the American occupation of the heights, a shortage of ammunition, and sharply

deteriorating conditions within the besieged city, including a shortage of food, the result of the insurgent- and U.S.-imposed blockade, were too much to overcome. To Shafter's surprise, Toral, after negotiations, offered to surrender not only Santiago de Cuba but also all of the troops in the Division of Santiago, including 9,000 men who were not engaged in the battles at Santiago.

Following proposals and counterproposals and several days of negotiations, the Capitulation of Santiago de Cuba Agreement was signed on July 16, with a formal surrender ceremony the next day complete with the raising of the American flag in Santiago. Although the fighting was over, conditions continued to worsen for the men of Shafter's V Corps. Soon, tropical diseases, chiefly yellow fever and malaria combined with dysentery, were taking a serious toll.

The War Department, not fully aware of the dire situation, was in no hurry to have the men return to the United States, particularly with the concern of the communicable diseases creating epidemics on American shores. Knowing the potential devastation facing V Corps, its senior officers met to discuss the situation. The result was the Round-Robin Letter expressing concern over the scenario penned by Roosevelt but signed by most of the ranking officers on August 3, 1898. The letter was given to Shafter, who leaked it to the press. This letter, and a second one written and signed by Roosevelt alone, received wide newspaper publicity in the United States and forced the War Department to speed the replacement of the ailing elements of V Corps with new troops.

On August 12, the Protocol of Peace was reached with Spain and formally ended the war, although the formal end did not occur until December 10 with the signing of the Treaty of Paris.

PATRICK MCSHERRY AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Cienfuegos, Naval Engagements off; Cuzco Well, Battle of; El Caney, Battle of; V Corps; Guantánamo, Battle of; Kettle Hill, Battle of; Las Guásimas, Battle of; Lawton, Henry Ware; Roosevelt, Theodore; Sampson, William Thomas; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba, Capitulation Agreement; Shafter, William Rufus; Toral y Vázquez, José; Trocha; Wheeler, Joseph

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Cuba Libre

The phrase "Cuba Libre" (Free Cuba) became the rallying cry of the Cuban independence movement during the 1890s. Interestingly, the slogan became very popular in the United States after the beginning



An American propaganda postcard showing Union and Confederate soldiers shaking hands in front of a female personification of Cuba with broken shackles, circa 1898. The rallying cry of "Cuba Libre" (Free Cuba) originated with the Cuban independence movement and became wildly popular in the United States as well. (Library of Congress)

of the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898). Indeed, it was used to drum up American support for the Cuban rebels' cause and was a favorite phrase for yellow journalism in the United States.

Vanquished twice in rebellions known as the Ten Years' War (1868–1878) and the Guerra Chiquita (1879–1880) against the tottering Spanish Empire, Cubans in the 1890s found a new catalyst for their nationalism in the exiled scholar José Julián Martí y Pérez. For years he had lobbied in the United States for the arms and funding needed to renew the insurgency. But he also feared U.S. annexationists, who looked to join a great scramble for colonies among European powers. Dwelling in the slums of New York City sobered him as to the reality of U.S. race relations and their implications for foreign policy. He thus warned that U.S. assistance portended as much peril as promise. His warnings were most prescient.

In 1892, Martí formed the Cuban Revolutionary Party in exile to transcend the factionalism that still divided many anti-Spanish Cubans. By 1894, Cuba had gravitated toward the United States, as a global economic depression enabled Americans to buy bankrupt farms and strengthen commercial ties to the island.

When Spanish authorities suspended constitutional guarantees in February 1895, Martí, along with Antonio Maceo Grajales and Máximo Gómez, launched another insurrection. Unique among the

leadership of the rebellion, Martí envisioned full political and racial equality for a postwar Cuba that would serve as a beacon for other Latin American societies. Determined to inspire with deeds as well as with rhetoric, he was one of several leaders to infiltrate the island in 1895 in search of martial glory. He was killed in an encounter with Spanish forces at Dos Rios in Oriente Province on May 19, 1895.

Maceo, dubbed the “Titan in Bronze” for his military exploits, fell in Havana Province later that year. Despite the loss of key figures in the rebellion, the Spanish were reeling from this fresh wave of assaults. Rather than confront the much larger and better-equipped Spanish Army, Cuban rebels relied on guerrilla tactics aimed at eliminating all economic assets. With attacks upon the bountiful sugar crop and its supporting infrastructure, the rebels controlled much of the elevated countryside of eastern Cuba.

Throughout the ordeal, the United States had taken a position of neutrality, although popular support, propped up by the yellow press with the use of slogans such as “Cuba Libre,” meant that American neutrality was one of rhetoric rather than reality. In 1895, the confounded Spanish governor-general Arsenio Martínez de Campos resigned rather than preside over brutal reprisals against the Cuban population. Rapidly losing ground against the insurrection, Spanish authorities turned to most-desperate measures to separate their enemies from civilian support. The newly arrived governor-general, Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, instituted a policy of forcibly relocating more than 500,000 Cubans into reconcentration camps, where squalid conditions may have claimed as much as 40 percent of the inhabitants.

With this new draconian policy, U.S. newspapers railed against Spanish atrocities, but Washington lacked the consensus to move decisively on behalf of Cuban independence. Meanwhile, some American investors had suffered from rebel attacks on the sugar industry and figured that their best hopes for reimbursement rested with continued Spanish rule. In 1896, the lame-duck administration of Grover Cleveland straddled the fence by opposing the revolution while urging concessions upon Spain. Cleveland’s successor, William McKinley, desired a colonial empire forged without military conquest and studiously avoided the question of Cuban political aims. The Spanish removed Weyler from command in October 1897 and offered the Cubans a measure of self-government, but Cuban insurrectionists, sensing momentum, would settle for nothing less than a complete victory.

Facing growing pressure from an imperialist lobby both within and beyond his Republican Party, McKinley dispatched the battleship *Maine* to Havana to protect Americans from pro-Spanish *voluntario* riots and to signal the gravity of U.S. concerns. On February 15, 1898, a mysterious explosion sank the anchored vessel, resulting in the loss of 266 lives. McKinley considered bidding to purchase Cuba for \$300 million, but chauvinism ruled the day. The final U.S. demands consisted of an armistice, peace negotiations between combatants, the president’s arbitration if necessary, relief aid for Cubans, and an end to reconcentration camps. Implicit in this ultimatum was that the United States would direct Cuba’s independ-

ence. In the meantime, the clamor for war in the United States had reached fever pitch.

Reduced to only two holdings in the Western Hemisphere, Spanish authorities believed that they could not retreat any further. They had thus closed the camps, implemented political reforms, and agreed to an armistice as long as rebels consented first, but they would not willingly relinquish control of the island. The Spanish-American War began in April 1898, with the first engagements occurring in Cuba. McKinley also declared Cuba independent without acknowledging the junta that had managed the revolution. The Teller Amendment forestalled any designs to annex the island, but U.S. interference in the Cubans’ cause was now inevitable.

As the brief conflict progressed, Cuban rebels served primarily as labor units. In four months, the Spanish defeat was complete but with little American respect for how the Cuban insurrection paved the way for the victory. By 1903, the Platt Amendment would ensure U.S. hegemony in Cuba for more than 30 years. The measure allowed U.S. officials to prepare much of the Cuban Constitution, control the island’s foreign policy, and intervene militarily under loosely defined conditions that served U.S. commercial interests. The Cuban revolutionary Fidel Castro, fancying himself a latter-day Martí, would remind his people of the failure of Cuba Libre in exhorting them to victory in 1959 over the U.S.-backed regime of Fulgencio Batista. Indeed, the slogan “Cuba Libre” was just that: a slogan that meant little once the United States had insinuated itself fully into Cuban affairs.

JEFFREY D. BASS

See also

Cuban Revolutionary Party; Cuban War of Independence; Gómez y Báez, Máximo; Maceo Grajales, Antonio; Martí y Pérez, José Julián; Platt Amendment; *Reconcentrado* System; Teller Amendment; Ten Years’ War; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano; Yellow Journalism

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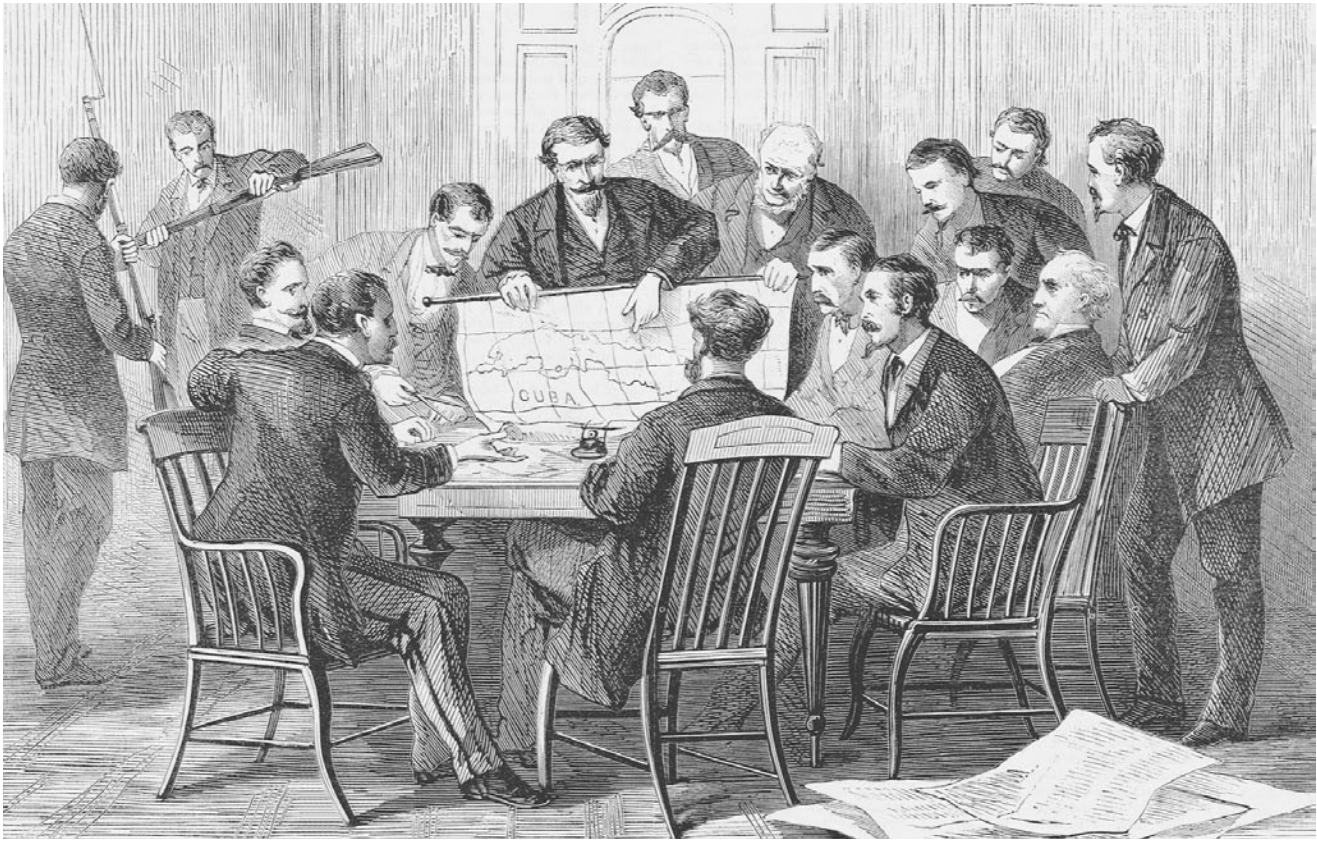
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Cuban Insurrection

See Cuban War of Independence

Cuban Junta

A legation of the revolutionary Cuban Republic and the main propaganda arm of the Cuban Revolutionary Party headquartered in New York City. The term “junta” in this context refers to a small council or governing body organized for illicit purposes, in this case



Depiction of a meeting of the leaders of the Cuban Junta in New York City. The junta was established in 1895 to work for Cuban independence from Spain. (Bettmann/Corbis)

the overthrow of the Spanish colonial government. “Junta” in Spanish means joined or joined together.

The Cuban Junta was formed in September 1895 shortly after the beginning of the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898). Its principal purpose was to seek U.S. support for the Cuban cause and to lobby politicians and others in positions of power to champion their effort and pressure the Spanish to abandon Cuba. The junta also attempted to establish diplomatic ties with foreign governments, an effort that was largely unsuccessful. It was successful, however, in raising American awareness of and support for the struggle in Cuba and often employed propagandistic means by which to accomplish this. The Cuban Junta, for example, worked closely with the yellow journalists of the day and became a favorite cause of newspaper publishers such as Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst.

Organized principally by Tomás Estrada Palma, one of the chief revolutionaries in Cuba and a founder of the Cuban Revolutionary Party, the Cuban Junta was staffed primarily by Cuban nationals residing in the United States. It had the blessing of the Cuban revolutionary military commander Máximo Gómez and was aided in its efforts by the Cuban League of the United States, established in 1892 by a wealthy New York businessman. The junta also received much support and sympathy from Charles Anderson Dana, one of the most prominent journalists of the day. Of course, another aim of the Cuban Junta was to solicit monetary support for the Cuban

rebels, who were in constant short supply of food, medical supplies, arms, and ammunition. In this endeavor, it was also somewhat successful insofar as the Cuban rebels maintained a constant low-level insurgency against the Spanish up to the eve of the Spanish-American War in 1898.

The Cuban Junta, using money donated by wealthy Americans sympathetic to its cause, sponsored several filibusters to Cuba in an attempt to supply the Cuban rebels with arms and ammunition. These were only moderately successful, however. The main line of support to the rebels was financial and moral support funneled through the Cuban Junta and its Cuban and American operatives. Despite the junta’s unsuccessful efforts to open diplomatic relations with overseas governments, it did have representatives in Italy, France, Mexico, and several Central and South American republics. While the U.S. government assiduously avoided recognition of or direct links with the junta, individuals in Congress and even within the executive branch demonstrated much support for the rebel cause.

Perhaps the Cuban Junta’s most far-reaching efforts came in the form of propaganda, eagerly reported by the newspapers of the day. While some of the accounts of Cuban troubles were clearly accurate, many were not. Some incidents and reports were purposely exaggerated, while others were fabricated altogether. These stories and reports coming from the junta invariably portrayed the Spanish as barbaric aggressors with no moral compass. The Cubans, on the other hand, were portrayed as heroic liberators insistent on the

establishment of a pure and independent Cuban democracy. The Cuban Junta also served as a way for Cuban émigrés in the United States to rally together for a common cause. Although the junta became moot by 1900 or so, it nonetheless typified the strong ties among Cubans in the United States. After the 1959 communist revolution in Cuba led by Fidel Castro, Cuban émigrés once more banded together and became a formidable lobbying group in the United States.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cuban League of the United States; Cuban Revolutionary Party; Cuban War of Independence; Estrada Palma, Tomás; Filibuster; Gómez y Báez, Máximo; Hearst, William Randolph; Newspapers; Pulitzer, Joseph; Yellow Journalism

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Cuban League of the United States

Organization founded by American businessman William O. McDowell in New York City in 1892, the mission of which was to aid Cubans in securing liberation from Spanish rule. During the period following the American Civil War, Americans observed with increasing interest Spain's administration of Cuba. For the most part, Spanish rule over the island was inefficient and in some instances was inhumane and even cruel. The Ten Years' War began in 1868, and Cuban revolutionaries, inspired by American democratic ideas and writings, began a sustained revolt against Spanish rule. Although Spain crushed the revolt in 1878, the Cuban revolutionaries had won the admiration of many influential Americans. From that point on, American interest in Cuba, partly fueled by newspaper reports in the sensationalist yellow press, grew stronger. After meeting exiled revolutionary leader of the Cuban independence movement José Martí y Pérez, who also happened to be residing in New York City, McDowell became convinced that only with a well-organized movement with ties to influential Americans and financial resources could the dream of a free and democratic Cuba be realized. To give impetus to this, he formed the Cuban League of the United States.

The membership of the Cuban League included many prominent Americans who provided money and resources in support of the Cuban Revolutionary Party and the Cuban Revolutionary Army as well as the Cuban War of Independence, which would begin in 1895. The league was administered by a board of directors and maintained its headquarters in New York City. Membership was open to all who supported Cuban independence. The league attracted a number of prominent American business and political leaders such as Senator

Henry Cabot Lodge, Theodore Roosevelt, Charles Dana, J. P. Morgan, Samuel Gompers, and John Jacob Astor IV. Using their influence in the halls of Congress and governmental agencies such as the State Department and the War Department, these men actively promoted the cause of Cuban independence and helped influence American political and popular attitudes toward Cuba.

The Cuban League held frequent patriotic rallies in the United States and often invited veterans from the Ten Years' War to give speeches to drum up enthusiasm and support for the organization's mission. Numerous chapters of the league formed around the United States but were chiefly concentrated in Eastern Seaboard cities such as New York City, Philadelphia, and Boston. Membership peaked in 1897 at more than 1,000 members.

One of the chief benefactors of the group was the Cuban Junta, the headquarters of which was also located in New York City. Support that the junta received from the Cuban League allowed the junta to finance several filibustering expeditions to the island, supplying sorely needed weapons, food, medicine, and other resources for the rebel army.

Although U.S. intervention was still six years away when the Cuban League was formed, its strong commitment to sending men, money, and matériel to Cuba allowed the revolutionary cause there to continue and grow, helping to set the stage for war between the United States and Spain.

RICHARD W. PEUSER

See also

Cuban Junta; Cuban Revolutionary Army; Cuban Revolutionary Party; Cuban War of Independence; Martí y Pérez, José Julián; Ten Years' War; Yellow Journalism

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Cuban Provisional Assembly

Interim government created by Cuban insurgents in order to achieve international recognition and aid during their bid for independence. During its brief existence from November 1898 to January 1899, the Cuban Provisional Assembly served as a link between the Cuban Junta and the Cuban Revolutionary Government. The Cubans also sought to employ the assembly to secure independence while peace negotiations were under way.

Leaders of the Cuban independence movement first attempted to set up an independent government in 1895. The governing body they formed never achieved international recognition. Thus, on October 24, 1898, a meeting was held at Santa Cruz del Sur, Cuba, to form a new government. This effort came to fruition when General Calixto

García y Iñiguez called the Provisional Assembly to order on November 7, and the assembly elected Domingo Mendez Capote as president. On November 10, the assembly accepted the resignations of President Bartolomé Masó and his associates from the provisional government. These men had constituted the leadership of the previous government, and the leaders of the new assembly hoped that their departure would bolster the legitimacy of the new ruling body.

As these events transpired in Santa Cruz del Sur, there was some discussion of sending García out into the Cuban countryside to enlist the disaffected and bring them to accept the U.S. presence. Some legislators believed that this would bolster the claim of the assembly to speak for the Cuban people as an independent government. García's untimely death in Washington, D.C., on December 11, 1898, while on a diplomatic mission there came as a severe blow to the government. The assembly likewise witnessed the transfer of Cuba from Spain to the United States on January 1, 1899.

It soon became clear to the United States that the Cuban Provisional Assembly was an institution in name only. Thus, American policy makers moved to disband the body and establish direct—if temporary—military rule. Among the chief reasons for the failure of the Cuban Provisional Assembly was the lack of broadly recognized leadership. Unfortunately for the Cuban independence movement, its best-known leader, José Martí y Pérez, had been killed in a firefight with Spanish forces in 1895 in the early weeks of the Cuban War of Independence.

JAMES R. MCINTYRE

See also

Cuban Junta; Cuban Revolutionary Government; Cuban War of Independence; García y Iñiguez, Calixto; Martí y Pérez, José Julián

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Cuban Revolution

See Cuban War of Independence

Cuban Revolutionary Army

Insurgent force organized in Cuba to fight for independence from Spain. The Cuban Revolutionary Army was first organized in 1868 during the Ten Years' War (1868–1878) and was active again during the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898), which ended with the Spanish-American War. Also known as the Liberation Army, the Cuban Revolutionary Army was disbanded by U.S. officials.

Cuba's first significant attempt at independence began on October 9, 1868, when 38 planters led a revolt against Spanish authorities. The Cuban Revolutionary Army, formed at this time, initially numbered 147 men. This first revolt sparked the Ten Years' War, eventually put down by the Spanish government. Exiled Cuban writer and revolutionary José Martí y Pérez was the spiritual and intellectual leader of the independence movement. Upon founding the Cuban Revolutionary Party (El Partido Revolucionario Cubano) in 1892, Martí was able to attain the support of Máximo Gómez and Antonio Maceo Grajales, heroes of the Ten Years' War.

Martí, who was in the United States, had planned to land in Cuba in February 1895, but his departure was delayed. The revolution began in earnest on February 24, 1895, in a number of Cuban towns, but the Spanish put down the insurrection. Martí did not arrive in Cuba until early April. Shortly after the call for independence, the Cuban Revolutionary Army numbered 4,500 men, but it was limited by a shortage of weapons. As had been the case during the Ten Years' War, black Cubans made up at least 70 percent of the Cuban Revolutionary Army. The army was completely integrated, however, and by December 1895 it numbered some 25,000 men. Martí and Gómez hoped that Cuba could be liberated by the Cubans themselves and greatly feared the possible replacement of Spanish rule by that of the United States. Indeed, while the insurgents made considerable progress in their war against the Spanish, the United States took over the war against Spain in April 1898.

Major General Gómez had overall command of the Cuban Revolutionary Army, the size of which has been variously estimated at 25,000 to 40,000 men. Major General Calixto García y Iñiguez commanded its forces in eastern Cuba. García's forces numbered about 15,000 men, of whom perhaps 6,500 were in the immediate area around Santiago and another 1,000 were stationed around Guantánamo. Elements of the Cuban Revolutionary Army assisted the U.S. Army advance on Santiago by tying down some Spanish units and providing intelligence information on Spanish positions and dispositions. U.S. commanders held them at arm's length, and they did not see action in the U.S. military's operations. U.S. authorities also barred any representation of the Cuban Revolutionary Army in talks regarding the Spanish surrender. Some members of the army were initially retained in security duties.

Following the U.S. victory, military governor of Havana Pinar del Río and Major General Fitzhugh Lee reached an agreement whereby many Cuban Revolutionary Army officers received civil posts, and the U.S. government agreed to pay 33,950 veterans 75 pesos apiece for each of their weapons, which was financed by a loan from private U.S. banks. The Cuban Revolutionary Army ceased to exist in 1899.

CHARLENE T. OVERTURF AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cuba, U.S. Occupation of; Cuban Revolutionary Party; Cuban War of Independence; García y Iñiguez, Calixto; Gómez y Báez, Máximo; Lee, Fitzhugh; Martí y Pérez, José Julián; Ten Years' War; Toral y Vázquez, José



Cuban insurgents in the field, circa 1898. (Ralph D. Paine, *Roads of Adventure*, 1922)

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Cuban Revolutionary Government

The Cuban Revolutionary Government was created by Cuban revolutionary leaders at Camagüey, Cuba, in September 1895 and provided the political leadership for the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898). Vestiges of the government would survive until 1902, when a new independent government of Cuba took form. Originally designed to last just two years, the government's chief purposes were to promote independence from Spain and to solicit recognition from nations abroad.

The formation of the government was preceded by a gathering of revolutionaries in the winter of 1895 hosted by José Martí y Pérez,

considered the father of the Cuban independence movement. At this meeting, Martí and Antonio Maceo Grajales, another prominent revolutionary, clashed over visions of a possible revolutionary government. Martí favored a civilian-style government as the best hope of attracting foreign support. Maceo, however, wanted rule by a military junta. As a man with military experience, he believed that a military government would best be able to foment and prosecute a revolution against the Spanish colonial government. Maceo also thought that the civilian revolutionary government in place during the Ten Years' War (1868–1878) had helped bring about the collapse of that effort. In the short term, Martí's vision prevailed, but when he died unexpectedly on May 19, 1895, in a battle with Spanish forces, the revolutionary movement was in disarray, and the precise makeup of a revolutionary government again became an open question.

Throughout the summer of 1895, the absence of a governmental structure hampered the revolutionaries' efforts to solicit support from the international community. Finally, Maceo agreed to convene a convention, the task of which would be to form a government. He also acceded to Martí's vision and reluctantly supported the creation of a civilian-style revolutionary government. At

Camagüey that September, the revolutionary delegates agreed immediately that the current struggle was tied inextricably to the Ten Years' War and that the duration of any new government should be for an initial two-year period. The government would be disbanded when a permanent government had been created. They also readily agreed that although the government would have civilian leadership, the government and its military commanders would be granted sweeping powers to overthrow Spanish rule on Cuba. They decreed that all native Cubans were obligated to take part in the struggle and offer any assistance possible to revolutionary troops. They also asserted that foreign nationals on Cuba were to pay property taxes to the revolutionary government to support independence unless their nations of origin supported the revolution and acknowledged the state of war that existed in Cuba. Although the government was able to enforce to some extent the first decree, it was hard-pressed to implement the second.

After these broad outlines had been agreed to, the delegates went about selecting the government's leaders. On September 16, 1895, Salvador Cisneros Betancourt became president, Bartolomé Masó became vice president, Tomás Estrada Palma became foreign minister, and Máximo Gómez y Báez became general-in-chief of the armed forces. Estrada would become the government's chief liaison in Washington. Maceo was appointed second-in-command, as a lieutenant general, under Gómez. The convention also selected four secretaries who were responsible for various portions of the government's operations. To avoid interference from the civilians, Gómez and the other military commanders received sole authority over all military matters. In reality, Betancourt and the civilian leadership had little power.

The Cuban Revolutionary Government certainly lent an air of legitimacy to the Cubans' cause, but its civilian component was unable to act with much real authority. This was in part because of a lack of steady revenue and resources but also because it was acting in a nation that was still being governed by Spanish colonial authorities. Nevertheless, the government maintained strong ties to the Cuban Revolutionary Party (El Partido Revolucionario Cubano) and the Cuban Junta, the latter based in New York City. Much to the chagrin of the government, the United States never formally recognized its legitimacy, although the United States did work closely with the Cuban Revolutionary Government during the Spanish-American War. The government continued beyond its initial two-year tenure, although it was rendered largely moot after the defeat of Spain by the United States in August 1898. Be that as it may, the Cuban Revolutionary Government existed into 1902, at which time American occupation forces withdrew from Cuba and a new independent government was fully established.

STEPHEN McCULLOUGH AND PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Betancourt, Salvador Cisneros; Cuban Junta; Cuban Revolutionary Party; Cuban War of Independence; Estrada Palma, Tomás; Gómez y Báez, Máximo; Maceo Grajales, Antonio; Martí y Pérez, José Julián; Ten Years' War

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Cuban Revolutionary Party

Political party created by Cuban nationalist José Martí y Pérez in 1892 with the principal aim of overthrowing Spanish rule in Cuba. The establishment of the Cuban Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Cubano) transformed a revolutionary movement into a revolutionary party and paved the way for the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898).

On November 28, 1891, Martí announced the formation of a new political party dedicated to the liberation of Cuba from Spanish colonial rule. His resolutions were the preamble to the formation of the Cuban Revolutionary Party. On January 5, 1892, following more than two years of coordination with Cuban nationalists both from inside and outside Cuba, he officially inaugurated the new party. It was no small achievement, as he had to unify many divergent interests into a single entity dedicated to Cuban independence.

On April 8, 1892, Cuban revolutionaries elected Martí the delegate of the Cuban Revolutionary Party. He refused to allow himself to be called the president of the party, preferring the more humble and ubiquitous term *delegado*. Martí made New York City the center of party operations, the main goal of which was to organize revolutionary action to achieve Cuban independence. He sought independence only and opposed continued Spanish colonialism as well as autonomy within the Spanish Empire and annexation to the United States.

The party advocated armed struggle and encouraged all Cubans to participate in the liberation movement; it was also dedicated to providing material and moral support for revolutionary activity. The party would act as the principal entity to unite veterans of the Ten Years' War, the petit bourgeoisie; whites, blacks, and mulattos; men and women; and people of all social classes. Unlike the patrician leadership of the Ten Years' War, the leaders of the Cuban Revolutionary Party came from modest social origins. Even blacks and mulattos had positions of authority.

On January 31, 1893, the Cuban Revolutionary Party officially rejected autonomy as a substitute for independence. The party was therefore diametrically opposed to the wishes of the Cuban planter class, which advocated reform and continued colonialism under Spain. Prior to 1894, the planter class and those who benefited from the sugar plantation economy posed a sizable obstacle to the Cuban Revolutionary Party's initiatives. A reciprocal trade treaty from

1891 between Spain and the United States allowed Cuban sugar to enter U.S. markets at reduced tariff rates. In 1894, the United States rescinded the treaty, and Spain imposed retaliatory tariffs that threatened Cuban sugar exports to the United States altogether, which caused the planters to protest Spanish policy. The undermining of the planters' economic power base lessened their political clout and allowed the revolutionaries to gain influence.

On December 25, 1894, the Cuban Revolutionary Party unveiled the Fernandina Plan. It called for an expeditionary force to depart from Fernandina, Florida, to launch a war of independence in Cuba. Unlike previous liberation attempts, this one was well planned. On January 29, 1895, the official order for the Cuban revolution was signed in New York City. A month later, on February 24, the Cuban Revolutionary Party announced the Grito de Baire, which officially began the Cuban War of Independence. On March 25, 1895, Martí and Máximo Gómez y Báez signed the Manifiesto of Montecristi in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, which outlined the Cuban Revolutionary Party's wartime strategy.

Attacks directed against the sugar plantations to weaken the planter class were initially successful, but these convinced the Spanish administration to inaugurate the draconian *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) policy, which gathered rural Cuban peasants and placed them on reservations or in concentration camps in an attempt to isolate the insurgents from the Cuban people. By 1898, after three years of economic dislocation, the Spaniards and Cuban revolutionaries had reached an impasse. Fitzhugh Lee, U.S. consul general in Havana, reached the conclusion that neither side was capable of restoring order.

In April 1898, U.S. intervention transformed the Cuban War of Independence into a U.S. war of conquest. After the U.S. victory in the Spanish-American War, the Cuban Revolutionary Party was dissolved in December 1898, and the Cuban Revolutionary Army was demobilized. U.S. intervention in the conflict and the subsequent U.S. military occupation of Cuba destroyed the Cuban Revolutionary Party's dream of a truly independent Cuba.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Cuba; Cuban Revolutionary Army; Gómez y Báez, Máximo; Lee, Fitzhugh; Martí y Pérez, José Julián; *Reconcentrado* System; Ten Years' War

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Value of Selected Imports to the United States, 1885–1910 (in Millions)

	Sugar	Coffee	Iron and Steel Manufactures	Cotton Manufactures	Crude Rubber
1885	\$73	\$47	\$34	\$27	\$9
1890	\$96	\$78	\$42	\$30	\$15
1895	\$75	\$95	\$23	\$33	\$18
1900	\$100	\$52	\$20	\$42	\$31
1905	\$97	\$85	\$24	\$50	\$50
1910	\$102	\$69	\$40	\$68	\$101

consumption. Sugarcane has long been a cash crop in the Caribbean, dating at least to the 17th century. It grows well only in warm, wet subtropical and tropical regions, ranging into Central and South America. In Cuba, this cash crop had become the premier export of the region. Following the Spanish-American War, production climbed significantly. Indeed, between 1898 and 1903, sugar production in Cuba jumped from 350,000 to 1.143 million short tons of product.

As the 19th century came to a close, the United States had replaced Spain as the principal consumer of Cuban sugar. Between 1897 and 1901, Cuban sugar exports accounted for 17 percent of all sugar imported into the United States. Yet these numbers paled in comparison to sugar produced from sugar beets, both domestic and international, that saw a period of market dominance between 1870 and World War I (1914–1918).

By the time hostilities commenced in Cuba in the late spring of 1898, the sugar industry itself had already undergone a series of changes. The older system of sugar production in Cuba had consisted of individual plantations that were powered by the labor of slaves, which in comparison to modern standards produced a limited yield. However, with the advancement of new technology and the abolition of slavery in 1886, the costs of production radically decreased. This led to a dramatic reduction in the cost of refined sugar on the market and ultimately in the increase of consumption, especially among the lower and working classes. In addition, the industry itself underwent the process of horizontal integration in that specific areas of sugar production were consolidated. For instance, plantations were purchased and brought under the control of one large interest, thus consolidating the harvesting aspect of sugar production. Yet the paramount change that the sugar industry experienced in Cuba was vertical integration. This is a situation in which one interest owns all aspects of production from the supply of raw materials to transport and finally the refining and distribution process.

Another contributing factor to the sea of change in the Cuban sugar industry was U.S. tariff policies. High tariffs on imported sugar, especially from Cuba, wrought havoc on the Cuban economy. In 1897, the Republican-controlled Congress, acting on the campaign pledges of President William McKinley, reversed the 1894 Wilson-Gorman Tariff Act that had lowered tariffs on most

Cuban Sugar

Sugar is a sweetener produced through the labor-intensive process of extracting juice from the sugarcane plant. The cane is ground, then boiled, and ultimately crystallized before being shipped for



Privately hired guards protecting sugarcane harvest and cattle against insurgent attack, Soledad, Cuba, circa 1896. (Library of Congress)

imported goods, a policy pursued chiefly by the Democratic Party. The Dingley Tariff raised tariffs to all-time highs, equal to a 46.5 percent value-added tax on all incoming goods to the United States. On some imports, tariffs rose as high as 57 percent. This naturally hobbled Cuban sugar producers, imperiled the economy, and fomented considerable unrest among Cuba's sugar laborers. That combined with anti-Spanish agitation played a major role in the events that ultimately led to the Spanish-American War.

The labor force for the sugar industry was composed of mostly wage earners by the time Cuba came under the hegemonic economic control of the United States. However, because of 40 years of perpetual conflict ranging from wars for independence to the war between the United States and Spain, the indigenous population suffered horrendous numbers of casualties, which had a direct impact on the potential workforce. The sugarcane fields were also casualties, as insurgents fighting against the Spanish set countless fields ablaze. The sugar crop suffered greatly as it plummeted from more than 1 million tons in 1894 to 212,000 tons by 1897.

Following the Spanish-American War, the Cuban sugar industry became a primary focus of U.S. capital investment. In actuality, the debate over Cuba becoming part of the United States had been discussed as far back as the early 19th century by numerous Americans. The April 1898 Teller Amendment had excluded outright annexation, but Cuba became so intertwined with American interests that it became a sort of economic colony until the 1959 revolution that brought Fidel Castro to power.

Congress refused to reinstate the sugar tariff relief after 1903 in spite of Wood's strong recommendation and Roosevelt's call for a special session to consider it. This was largely due not only to competing sugar interests in Hawaii and Louisiana but also because of the domestic sugar beet industry based primarily in Colorado. The debate over possible annexation was significant for the Cuban sugar industry primarily because of the levying of tariffs. One such example was the Wilson Tariff of 1894. While it eliminated bounties, the legislation also imposed a tariff on all foreign finished products. These duties were further increased in 1897 under the Dingley

Tariff. These policies affected the Cuban sugar industry in that refined sugar was subject to tariffs, whereas raw sugar was not. This led to more raw sugar being exported to the United States to be refined at U.S.-run refineries and sold, thus reinforcing vertical integration under American companies.

Ultimately, Cuba's position as an independent state under the economic hegemony of the United States, not to mention its role as a dominant supplier of sugar to the United States and the rest of the world as well, allowed for American military intervention on numerous occasions after the Spanish-American War. One such instance came in March 1917 following a revolt in Cuba in 1916. President Woodrow Wilson sent nearly 1,000 troops to Cuba, allegedly to protect the sugar harvest but in reality as a show of force that would aid the Cuban government in crushing the rebellion and thus protect American interests on the island.

ROB SHAFER

See also

Cuba; Cuba, Spanish Colonial Policies toward; Democratic Party; Dingley Tariff; McKinley, William; Republican Party

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Cuban War of Independence

Start Date: February 24, 1895

End Date: August 1898

Insurrection against Spanish colonial rule in Cuba that began on February 24, 1895, and lasted until the defeat of Spain by U.S. forces in August 1898 during the Spanish-American War. The Cuban War of Independence of 1895–1898 was the last of three separate revolts on the island in the last half of the 19th century. The other two were the Ten Years' War during 1868–1878 and the Little War, or *La Guerra Chiquita*, during 1879–1880.

Although Christopher Columbus landed on Cuba in 1492, the Spanish did not attempt to conquer the island until an expedition in 1510 led by conquistador Diego Velázquez. The conquest was completed by 1515. Cuba's fertile soil made the cultivation of tobacco and sugar possible, while the discovery of gold in the interior of the island led to the opening of a number of mines. In order to provide labor for the island's plantations and mines, the Spanish enslaved most of the island's population.

The exploitation of the natives and their susceptibility to European diseases resulted in their near extinction within a generation. To replace cheap native labor, the Spanish began to import African slaves. Until the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804), the Cuban economy remained diversified, with tobacco, livestock, and shipbuilding as the principal industries. Because sugar production in Haiti dropped precipitously, wealthy Cuban landowners saw an opportunity for the island to become the world's leading sugar producer, and they petitioned the Crown for concessions to accelerate the sugar industry on the island.

Cuba's economy soon became predominantly agricultural with the introduction of sugarcane as the primary cash crop, leading to the founding of vast sugar plantations throughout the island. The harsh conditions of sugar cultivation and the labor-intensive methods of sugar farming led to a large slave population on Cuba. Ultimately, sugar cultivation enriched a small planter class along with the few who catered to the sugar plantation owners. The plantation system quickly came to dominate the island economically and politically. Before long, the bulk of the Cuban population had become restive, and open rebellion erupted in 1868. The ensuing Ten Years' War ended in stalemate in 1878. Almost immediately thereafter, the Little War erupted in 1879, lasting until 1880.

In the 1890s, the Cuban Revolutionary Party, led by José Martí y Pérez, was the leading proponent of Cuban independence. Founded in 1892 by Martí, the main tenets of the party were independence from Spain, the removal of all legal distinctions based upon race, amity with those Spaniards who supported the party and the revolution, and economic and land reforms. Certain elements within Cuban society, primarily the planters and a large segment of the middle class, wished to remain a part of the Spanish Empire but with increased autonomy from Spanish rule.

The Cuban revolution began on February 24, 1895, near Santiago de Cuba, located in the poorer eastern part of the island. However, attempts to coordinate the uprising across the island faltered when Spanish officials arrested rebel leaders en masse in Havana and Matanzas. The armed struggle floundered for most of the year, with the rebellion confined to the eastern part of the island and military setbacks across the rest of the colony. The death of Martí on May 19, 1895, further hampered the rebellion. Spain's appointment of Arsenio Martínez de Campos, the victor in the Ten Years' War, as captain-general offered hope for a quick end to the conflict. Martínez was a conciliatory figure who had appeal to those in Cuba seeking autonomy and reform.

Any hope for a quick reconciliation ended, however, when rebel armies moved into the central and western parts of the island. Martínez's failure to contain the rebels in the east and to reach any agreement with the autonomists had a deleterious effect on Spain's efforts to end the uprising. Spanish conservatives now gave up any pretense of a negotiated end to the conflict and became determined to wipe out the rebellion on the field of battle. It now became clear that the rebels were actually making war upon two enemies at once: the planters and the colonial metropole. The planters were thrown



Members of the rebel forces fighting the Spanish Army in Cuba. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

into the arms of the colonial regime by virtue of their need to protect their holdings and status in Cuban society.

While Martí had been the intellectual and political leader of the rebellion, the rebel army was led by Máximo Gómez y Báez and Antonio Maceo Grajales. Gómez, a former Spanish general, formulated the Cuban strategy of hit-and-run tactics, avoiding pitched battles with the better-equipped and more numerous Spanish colonial troops. He also made war on the lifeblood of the Cuban elite and colonial regime by attacking and destroying Cuban sugar plantations. The rebels received significant support from the peasants and black plantation workers in the countryside. As the war dragged on into 1896, a Cuban exile group in the United States called the Cuban Junta was able to swing American popular opinion to the side of the rebels. It was also instrumental in funneling arms and money to the rebels. In 1896, the Cuban rebels were able to bring the conflict to the more prosperous western portion of the colony, which was also the heart of the sugar industry. In so doing, the rebels inflicted significant damage on both the Cuban and Spanish economies.

As the rebellion endured, the conflict turned increasingly vicious on both sides. The rebels' invasion of western Cuba led to the appointment of General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau as leader of the Spanish forces and Cuban governor in 1896, replacing Martínez. Weyler deduced that the best way to beat the rebels was to deprive them of support from the peasants in the countryside. He thus in-

troduced the policy of reconcentration, which involved the forced relocation of peasants from their homes and farms into fortified government-run cities and camps. More than 500,000 Cubans were relocated as a result of this *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) policy.

Weyler's policy led to economic, political, and military catastrophe. Not only were the peasants removed from their land, but their crops were burned and animals slaughtered. At the same time, thousands of relocated peasants died, as the relocation centers were ill-equipped to feed or shelter their inhabitants. Many others died from disease caused by the close quarters and abysmal sanitation. To be fair to Weyler, the destruction of property was not new to the conflict, but his forced and draconian removal of the peasants from their land added a new twist to it. Weyler's heavy-handed measures led to a swelling in the ranks of the rebel army. Also, world public opinion strongly opposed Weyler's policies. This was especially true in the United States, where opinion was strongly shaped by the yellow press. With international pressure mounting, Weyler was recalled to Spain in October 1897.

The war's destruction increased as the Spanish retreated into the cities and fortified villages and the rebel Cubans increasingly controlled the countryside. This led to a vicious war of attrition as the rebels inflicted more damage on the large planters and the Spanish made war upon the peasants. The war dragged on, with neither side able to defeat the other. At the beginning of 1897, the tide slowly turned against the Spanish as the rebels grew stronger and

bolder, while Spanish morale plummeted. It was now apparent to most that the Spanish cause was lost; the Spanish government was desperately looking for a way out of the Cuban morass.

A great shadow loomed large over the Cuban War of Independence, that of the United States. Indeed, segments of the American population had a long-standing interest in Cuba. Before the American Civil War (1861–1865), many Southerners expressed a desire to seize Cuba and make it a state or states to offset Northern power in Congress. While this did not occur, Cuba did attract significant American capital in plantations and sugar-processing plants. Following the Civil War, American investment in Cuba steadily grew, as did American involvement in Cuban internal affairs. There was also renewed interest in seizing Cuba from Spain and making it part of the United States. This time, the lead was taken by business leaders and proponents of an American empire. American investments by the time of Cuban insurrection had grown enormously, and tensions between the United States and Spain increased as the United States became frustrated with Spanish colonial rule and economic restrictions.

Cubans seeking independence from Spain had long had a presence in the United States, and they lobbied hard for American political and popular support for independence. The Cuban Junta succeeded in casting the Cuban revolt in terms of an oppressed American people attempting to gain their freedom from a European power. In order to gain support from the American public, Cuban publicists often compared their struggle to the American Revolutionary War. They portrayed the Spanish government as corrupt, brutal, and repressive.

All this propagandist agitation succeeded, for the U.S. government and the American people strongly supported the rebels. Particularly important in this regard was the sensationalist yellow press. Once the revolt began, American newspapers sent reporters to the island who reported in lurid detail the deprivations of the cruel Spanish colonial overlords. Many of the stories, filed from the safety of Havana, were full of fabrications and lacked any notion of balanced reporting. Once Weyler had taken command of the situation and instituted his *reconcentrado* system, the American press wrote story upon story detailing the horrid consequences of the policy. Tensions between the United States and Spain, spurred by the rantings of the yellow press, the U.S. desire to protect American commercial interests on the island, and the drumbeat of American imperialists, grew to dangerous proportions by 1898. The explosion and destruction of USS *Maine* in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, was an ideological breaking point that ultimately led to the Spanish-American War.

The U.S. conquest of the island and defeat of Spain in August 1898 enabled Cuba to gain its independence from Spain. Cuban independence was delayed, however, as the United States established an occupation government in an effort to secure a stable regime that would protect American economic interests. The issue was decided in 1901 via the Platt Amendment, as Cuba was granted its hard-won independence. In 1902, Cuba formally became an independent nation, albeit one under the thumb of its powerful neigh-

bor to the north. Most Cubans soon found out that the formalized Spanish policies that had resulted in inequity and repression were merely replaced by informal political-economic policies that were in large part controlled by Americans.

RICK DYSON

See also

Atrocities; Cuba; Cuba, Spanish Colonial Policies toward; Cuba Campaign; Cuba Libre; Cuban Junta; Cuban League of the United States; Maceo Grajales, Antonio; *Maine*, USS; Martí y Pérez, José Julián; Martínez de Campos, Arsenio; Platt Amendment; *Reconcentrado* System; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano; Yellow Journalism

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Curaçao

Dutch Caribbean island. Occupied by the Dutch in 1634 and only some 141 square miles in size, Curaçao is considered a transcontinental island, geographically part of South America but also part of the West Indies and one of the Leeward Antilles.

During the Spanish-American War, Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron arrived at Curaçao from Martinique on May 14, 1898. The Spanish government had informed Cervera that it would send a collier with 5,000 tons of coal there. In this Cervera was to be disappointed. Because of the Dutch government's declaration of neutrality, the governor allowed him to bring only two of his ships into the harbor and authorized them to take on only 600 tons of coal. The other ships spent the night outside the harbor. Cervera was also told that he could remain there for only 48 hours. The next day, the U.S. consul cabled Washington of Cervera's presence at Curaçao. After considering his options, Cervera departed with his squadron that same day, steaming north slowly to preserve coal, bound for Santiago, Cuba.

The discovery of oil on Curaçao in 1914 led Royal Dutch Shell to establish a large oil refinery on the island, completely transforming the economy. Curaçao became a strategically important location especially during World War II.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Spain, Navy

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Cuzco Well, Battle of

Event Date: June 14, 1898

Action during the Battle of Guantánamo fought on June 14, 1898. During the Battle of Guantánamo (June 9–17, 1898), U.S. forces mounted an operation against the Spanish position in the Cuzco Valley east of Guantánamo Bay in order to secure the 1st Marine Battalion's beachhead. The Spaniards' position included a well, the only source of fresh water for 12 miles.

The operation, commanded by U.S. Marine Corps captain George Frank Elliott, was formed to attack the position, destroy the well, and force the Spanish to withdraw. The assembled force consisted of 160 men of C and D companies of the 1st Marine Battalion, 50 Cuban rebel soldiers, and, to provide cover fire, the U.S. Navy gunboat *Dolphin*. Some 480 men defended the Spanish position, including six companies of Spanish infantry from the Principe and Siminca regiments and two companies of Cuban loyalists. Captain Elliott planned a two-pronged attack, sending a platoon of Company C and a small Cuban force to follow the ridge lines and cut off the Spanish pickets. The remainder of the force followed a seaside trail.

The Spanish were alerted to the expedition, but American forces successfully skirmished for control of the high ground forming the western edge of Cuzco Valley overlooking the Spanish position. The Spanish defenders retreated into an area obscured by heavy vegetation at the base of the ridge. At this point, the Americans were reinforced by the arrival of 50 men of 1st Marine Battalion's Company A. This company formed the left flank of the expedition's line. Com-

panies C and D formed the center flank, and the main Cuban force formed the right flank.

Flanking fire from Company A and shelling from the *Dolphin* caused the Spanish force to dissolve in short order. Trying to escape, the exposed Spanish soldiers became targets for marine sharpshooters. By midafternoon, the battle had ended. The Spanish forces withdrew to Guantánamo and Caimanera, and the Americans then destroyed the well. American casualties included 4 marines wounded and approximately a dozen men suffering from heat exhaustion. The Cubans suffered 2 men killed and 2 men wounded. The Spanish suffered 68 men killed and an unknown number wounded. Eighteen others were captured. The short battle had forced the Spanish forces to withdraw, protecting the marine beachhead from further attack and securing the lower bay for the Americans.

PATRICK MCSHERRY

See also

Elliott, George Frank; 1st Marine Battalion; Guantánamo, Battle of

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D

Daiquirí Beachhead, Cuba

Landing point for the first U.S. ground troops in Cuba. The village of Daiquirí was located on the southeast coast of Cuba, about 16 miles east of Santiago. The American landings at Daiquirí commenced on June 22, 1898. When the United States declared war on Spain, it was a foregone conclusion that Cuba, so close to Florida and the cause of American anger that brought on the war, would be the focus of U.S. military operations.

Initially, the capital at Havana was the primary target, but on May 19, 1898, Spanish rear admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete eluded American warships and moved his squadron into Santiago Harbor. American commanders then decided to shift the focus of the Cuban invasion to the capture of Santiago and the destruction of the Spanish warships there. By June, Rear Admiral William T. Sampson had established a naval blockade of the port. He did not, however, wish to enter the harbor for fear of Spanish mines and coastal batteries. Instead, he chose to await the arrival of U.S. land forces, which he hoped could capture Santiago and bring the Spanish ships under fire from the land, either destroying Cervera's squadron or forcing it to sea.

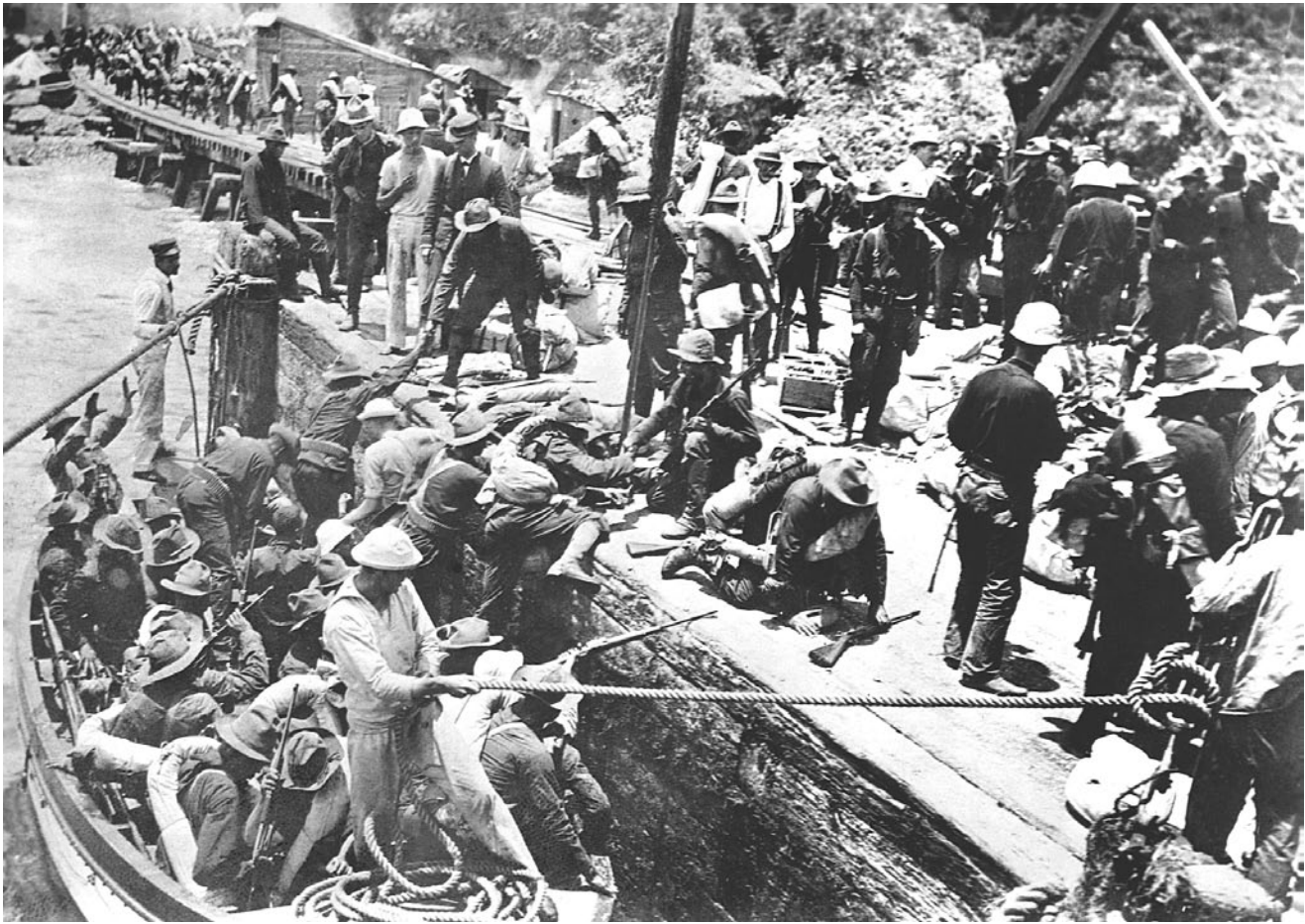
American units that would form V Corps for the invasion of Cuba assembled at the embarkation point of Tampa, Florida. Poor interservice communication meant a shortage of ships to transport the men to Cuba. Tampa also lacked sufficient facilities to house, train, and supply the invasion force. As the expeditionary force grew in size, U.S. commanders debated the landing point for the invasion, eventually settling upon Daiquirí.

Major General William R. Shafter, the commander of V Corps, hoped to come ashore at Daiquirí, move up the coastal road some seven miles to Siboney, and then turn northwest toward El Caney and Santiago itself. While Daiquirí was close to Santiago, a landing

there posed several problems. There was only one pier, and most of the troops would have to come ashore over the beaches, riding to shore in launches. A high bluff behind the beach offered excellent observation and firing positions for Spanish defenders, while blockhouses dotting the bluffs provided protection to infantry defending against the landings.

Some 12,000 troops were available to the Santiago region commander, Lieutenant General Arsenio Linares y Pombo. Curiously, he chose to allow Shafter's landings to go largely unopposed despite the destruction that even a small Spanish force might have inflicted. Although the original estimates were that the Spanish had 7,000 troops in the area, Shafter knew that Daiquirí was undefended. Linares had ordered the 300 defenders withdrawn in order to shorten the Spanish defensive line.

Beginning at 9:40 a.m. on June 22, five American naval warships under the overall command of Captain Caspar F. Goodrich opened a bombardment of the Spanish shore positions but provoked no response from the deserted blockhouses. Thirty minutes later, troops of Brigadier General Henry W. Lawton's division began to move ashore. By nightfall, 6,000 men had landed. Much vital equipment had been lost, however. Despite assurances that the beaches were undefended, many civilian transport captains refused to approach closer than a mile and a half off the beach until the lack of a Spanish presence could be verified. Even Shafter could not browbeat the skittish captains into a closer approach until launches laden with American troops reached the beach and reported it empty. Cavalry horses and draft animals were lowered into the water in belly slings and expected to swim ashore, but more than 50 proceeded in the wrong direction and drowned. Supplies were tossed haphazardly on the beach with little sense of order. Casualties in the landing were at least extraordinarily light.



Members of the U.S. Army V Corps come ashore at Daiquirí, Cuba, 1898. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Two U.S. soldiers drowned, while one Spanish soldier was killed and five others were wounded.

Upon unloading at Daiquirí, the invaders discovered that the Spanish had destroyed the railroad to Santiago and had sabotaged all of the rolling stock. This left only the small coastal road for the transportation of troops, equipment, and supplies. Nevertheless, Shafter ordered Lawton to move on the road and capture Siboney. By the time Lawton's division departed the beachhead, however, it was too late in the day to reach Siboney. That night the troops camped directly on the road, expecting a Spanish counterattack that never came.

The troops left behind at Daiquirí camped directly on the beach. The following morning, Lawton's division moved into Siboney, which proved to be as deserted as Daiquirí. Shafter immediately designated Siboney, which was seven miles closer to Santiago, as the primary headquarters for the assault on the city. Having served its purpose for the initial landings, Daiquirí was quickly relegated to a secondary role. Beginning on the night of June 23, V Corps began to come ashore at Siboney. V Corps was extraordinarily lucky. As Theodore Roosevelt remarked later, a force of only 500 Spanish troops could have prevented the landing.

PAUL J. SPRINGER AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Goodrich, Caspar Frederick; Lawton, Henry Ware; Linares y Pombo, Arsenio; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Shafter, William Rufus

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Davis, Cushman Kellogg

Birth Date: June 16, 1838

Death Date: November 27, 1900

U.S. attorney, politician, governor of Minnesota (1874–1875), and U.S. senator (1886–1900). Cushman Kellogg Davis was born in Henderson, New York, on June 16, 1838. When he was less than a year old, his family moved to the Wisconsin Territory, where he attended public primary and secondary schools. He attended Carroll College in Waukesha, Wisconsin, for a time before transferring to

the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, from which he graduated in 1857. For two years he studied law with the law office of Alexander W. Randall and was admitted to the bar in 1860. At the beginning of the American Civil War, he enlisted with the 28th Regiment, Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, at the rank of first lieutenant. In 1861–1862, he saw action in a number of campaigns in the West. From 1862 to 1864, he served as assistant adjutant general. Later in 1864, he served as an aide to Brigadier General Willis Arnold Gorman with whom he would later practice law. That same year, Davis was compelled to resign his commission because of ill health.

Upon leaving the army, Davis moved to St. Paul, Minnesota, where he set up a law partnership with Gorman, his old friend and mentor. In short order, Davis had made a name for himself in Minnesota law circles and had become active in the Republican Party. In 1867, he took a seat in the Minnesota House of Representatives but a year later was named a U.S. district attorney, a post he would hold until 1873. In 1874, he became governor of Minnesota, leaving office in 1875. In 1886, he was elected to the U.S. Senate on the Republican ticket. He would remain in the Senate until his death in 1900.

Davis had a quite successful career in the Senate and sat on several important committees, including the Committee on Territories and the powerful Committee on Foreign Relations. Among his colleagues—both Republican and Democratic—he enjoyed a reputation as a hard-working and honest broker with a considerable gift for oratory. In March 1897, he became chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations just as events in Cuba were coming to a head and U.S.-Spanish tensions were on the rise. Well versed in international law and a thoroughly diplomatic gentleman, he provided much useful information and guidance to President William McKinley's administration both during the Spanish-American War and in its aftermath. Because of Davis's expertise and solid reputation, he was one of the U.S. peace commissioners to the peace negotiations with Spain that commenced in September 1898 in Paris. Two months later, the Treaty of Paris had been negotiated and signed by both sides. Returning to the Senate, Davis's health declined, and he died in St. Paul, Minnesota, on November 27, 1900.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

McKinley, William; Paris, Treaty of; Peace Commission

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paper business at age 22 in 1888. As a correspondent for both the *New York Sun* and *Harper's Weekly*, at the beginning of the Spanish-American War Davis covered the Flying Squadron, commanded by Commodore Winfield Scott Schley. The *Sun* then sent Davis to the Philippines to cover VIII Corps. He managed to secure passage with the first contingent of troops and thus was an eyewitness to the U.S. capture of Guam. *McClure's Magazine* later published a rather accurate account that he wrote about the August 13, 1898, First Battle of Manila.

Davis traveled widely in the Orient. In 1900, he covered the international expedition sent to suppress the Boxer Rebellion, and in 1904, he worked as a correspondent attached to the Japanese Army in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War. He also covered the 1907 trial of Bill Haywood in Boise, Idaho, for the *New York Times* and found himself attacked by the labor and socialist newspapers for allegedly having been bought out by capitalist interests. In 1912, Davis directed publicity for Theodore Roosevelt's campaign for president on the Progressive ("Bull Moose") Party ticket. Davis wrote a number of books, including an autobiography and biographies of Presidents William McKinley and Roosevelt. Davis served as secretary of the National Foreign Trade Council from 1917 until this death in New York City on June 3, 1932.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

VIII Corps; Flying Squadron; Guam; Manila, First Battle of; Schley, Winfield Scott

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Davis, Richard Harding

Birth Date: April 18, 1864

Death Date: April 11, 1916

American novelist and journalist famous for his coverage of the Spanish-American War. Richard Harding Davis was born on April 18, 1864, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the son of journalist Lemuel Clarke Davis and novelist Rebecca Harding Davis. The younger Davis studied during 1882–1886 at Lehigh and Johns Hopkins universities, where he published his first short stories. His lackadaisical attitude toward formal studies prevented him from earning a degree from either school, however.

In 1886, Davis became a reporter for the *Philadelphia Record*. That December he joined the *Philadelphia Press*. In 1889, he moved to New York, where he wrote for the *New York Sun*. His coverage of

Davis, Oscar King

Birth Date: 1866

Death Date: June 3, 1932

U.S. journalist, war correspondent, and author. Oscar King Davis was born in Baldwinsville, New York, in 1866. He entered the news-



Richard Harding Davis became the managing editor of *Harper's Weekly* in 1890. He was a successful fiction writer and a war correspondent during the Spanish-American War and then World War I. (Chaiba Media)

the 1889 Johnstown, Pennsylvania, flood earned him many accolades. His literary success as a fiction writer earned him the managing editorship of the well-read and prestigious *Harper's Weekly* in 1890. He used his post to travel widely, and in doing so he published in a series of books his impressions of the American West, South America, and Europe.

In 1895, Davis joined the *New York Journal*, then an upstart newspaper owned by William Randolph Hearst, and reported from the battlefields of the Greco-Turkish War two years later. Soon afterward he was commissioned by Hearst to cover the Cuban rebellion against Spain, which had begun in 1895. Davis's widely read stories focused on the struggle of ordinary Cubans and aroused sympathy for their cause in the United States. However, when Hearst changed one of Davis's stories to make it more dramatic, Davis was outraged and promptly resigned his position. He continued to cover the war for Joseph Pulitzer's *New York Herald*, *Scribner's Magazine*, and the *London Times*.

As soon as hostilities between Spain and the United States commenced, Davis was ready to travel to the war zone and report from the front. While aboard the battleship *New York*, he witnessed the shelling of Mantanzas, giving him an exclusive coverage of that event in the war. As a result of his reports, the U.S. Navy excluded journalists from all ships for the duration of the Cuban conflict.

Davis solidified his already-sterling journalistic stature when he befriended Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt and the soldiers of the 1st U.S. Volunteer Cavalry (the Rough Riders) in Cuba. Davis joined them in action in the Battle of San Juan Hill (July 1, 1898), and his reports helped to create the legend surrounding Roosevelt and the Rough Riders. Roosevelt even offered him an officer's commission in the unit for his abilities in combat, but Davis declined and accepted honorary membership instead. His reports on other engagements, both in Cuba and Puerto Rico, represented some of his best journalistic writing.

At the Battle of Las Guásimas on June 24, 1898, Davis showcased his courage when he directed the fire of a dozen U.S. soldiers on a Spanish position. In the skirmish, he personally fired some 20 rounds from a rifle. Following the Battle of Coamo, the Puerto Rican village of that name actually surrendered to Davis and three of his fellow war correspondents.

Davis's vivid and meticulously documented reporting provided a lasting record of the Spanish-American War in the Caribbean. Indeed, his work continues to serve as primary documentation for historians to this very day. While some categorized Davis as a proponent of yellow journalism, his work clearly transcended such a pejorative assessment.

By the time of the Boer (South African) War (1899–1902), Davis enjoyed a reputation as one of the world's leading journalists and war correspondents. He covered that conflict from both the English and Boer perspectives and later published his first-hand accounts in a book titled *With Both Armies* (1902). Upon the outbreak of World War I in August 1914, Davis traveled to Europe to report from the front. Soon after his arrival in Belgium, however, he was captured by the German Army. As his passport had been issued in London, the Germans considered him a British spy and threatened him with execution. He was ultimately able to convince them that he was an American journalist and returned to the United States in 1915. His reports about the European battlefields no longer stressed the glory of war, however, as had many of his Spanish-American dispatches. Rather, they portrayed embittered and disillusioned soldiers trapped in endless warfare and dismal trenches.

Davis's early fiction achieved instantaneous success, especially his *Gallegher and Other Stories* (1899). He also wrote novels and plays, some of which were illustrated by Charles Dana Gibson. Davis is believed to be the model for the dashing young gentleman escorting the Gibson Girls. His most popular novel, *Soldiers of Fortune* (1897), was made into a play and later a movie. His other works include *Cuba in Wartime* (1897), *The Lion and the Unicorn* (1899), *Ranson's Folly* (1902), and *Notes of a War Correspondent* (1910). His first marriage, to Cecil Clark in 1899, ended in divorce in 1910. Two years later, he married the musical comedy star Elizabeth G. McEvoy (Bessie McCoy), with whom he fathered a daughter in 1915. Davis died of heart failure in New York City on April 11, 1916.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Coamo, Battle of; Hearst, William Randolph; Journalism; Las Guásimas, Battle of; Matanzas, Cuba; Newspapers; Pulitzer, Joseph; Roosevelt, Theodore; Rough Riders; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Yellow Journalism

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Dawes, Charles Gates

Birth Date: August 27, 1865

Death Date: April 23, 1951

Banker, financier, and politician. Born in Marietta, Ohio, on August 27, 1865, Charles Gates Dawes graduated from Marietta College in 1884 and two years later completed law school at the University of Cincinnati. He practiced law in Nebraska for eight years until the Panic of 1893, when he turned his attention to business matters. Within a year, he had amassed a large fortune by investing in gas, electric, lumber, and meatpacking companies. In 1895, Dawes moved to Evanston, Illinois, and bought control of two large plants producing gas near Chicago and Lacrosse, Wisconsin. In 1894, he published his first book, *The Banking System of the United States and Its Relation to the Money and Business of the Country*, which set forth a fiscal philosophy to which he adhered for the remainder of his life.

Dawes, an ardent Republican, was also interested in politics and became involved in the Illinois Republican Party. Fiercely proud of his Ohio roots, he attached himself to Ohioan William McKinley, whom he met for the first time in 1894. After moving to Evanston, Dawes immersed himself in Chicago politics. There he earned an excellent reputation for his organizational and fund-raising skills. In 1896, he had charge of McKinley's successful Illinois campaign for president and was rewarded with the position of comptroller of the currency at the Treasury Department in 1897.

Dawes was by nature a fiscal conservative. His prior work in banking in Nebraska in the early 1890s suited him well for the position of comptroller. He believed firmly in following the Republican platform that extolled the gold standard, a position in sharp contrast to that of McKinley's opponent in the election of 1896, William Jennings Bryan, a proponent of free silver and also a close friend of Dawes.

Dawes managed the office of comptroller competently. During his tenure, he instituted strong banking regulations to prevent panics such as the one that precipitated the 1893–1897 economic depression. In addition, he was able to recover \$25 million from banks that had failed in the Panic of 1893.



Charles Gates Dawes, an influential financier, was comptroller of the currency in the Treasury Department during the Spanish-American War and helped stabilize the currencies of Cuba and the Philippines after the conflict. He went on to become vice president of the United States and a Nobel Peace Prize recipient. (Library of Congress)

At the beginning of the Philippine-American War, Dawes was confronted with the instability of Philippine banks and a currency based on the Mexican peso and exchange rate for silver as well as businesses and merchants who would not accept U.S. currency. Since the Spanish-American War and subsequent American occupation, a large amount of U.S. gold had been introduced into the Philippines, mainly by the War Department to pay soldiers and conduct army business and operations. Instead of converting everything to the gold standard, however, Dawes compromised and instituted a flexible policy whereby both Mexican pesos and U.S. dollars would be accepted at reasonable exchange rates (approximately two pesos to the dollar). This proved crucial for stabilizing the economy of the islands.

Dawes resigned his post as comptroller in October 1901 in the hopes of winning a U.S. Senate seat from Illinois. Lack of support from President Theodore Roosevelt forced Dawes to withdraw his candidacy. During World War I, he served on American Expeditionary Forces general John J. Pershing's staff, assisting in supply and logistical matters. After the war, Dawes supported the League of Nations, a very unpopular stance for most Republicans. From 1921 to 1924, he served as the first director of the Bureau of the Budget. In 1924, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his

Dawes Plan, a sensible and magnanimous program for stabilizing Germany's eviscerated postwar economy.

In 1924, Dawes was elected vice president of the United States on the ticket with President Calvin Coolidge. Dawes's tenure in office was not a happy one, as he and Coolidge did not get along. Dawes left the office when his term expired in 1929. That same year, he was named ambassador to Great Britain and held that post until 1932. For the remainder of his life, he dabbled in politics and oversaw his vast financial and commercial holdings. Dawes died in Evanston, Illinois, on April 23, 1951.

RICHARD W. PEUSER

See also

Bryan, William Jennings; Economic Depression; McKinley, William; Republican Party; Silver Standard

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Day, William Rufus

Birth Date: April 17, 1849

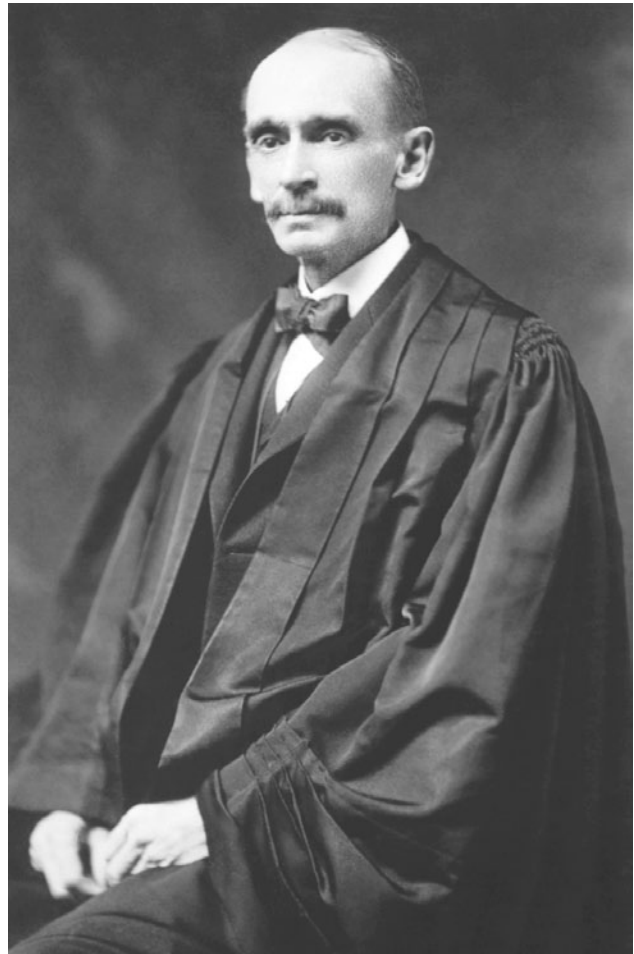
Death Date: July 9, 1923

U.S. attorney, jurist, and diplomat. William Rufus Day was born on April 17, 1849, in Ravenna, Ohio. His father was a justice of the Ohio Supreme Court. After graduating from the University of Michigan in 1870, the younger Day attended classes at its law school from 1871 to 1872. Upon passing the bar exam on July 5, 1872, he began a law practice in Canton, Ohio, in partnership with William A. Lynch.

Day continued to practice criminal and corporate law in Canton until 1897. He also became active in Republican Party politics. As a close friend of William McKinley, Day served as the president's legal and political adviser during McKinley's political career. From 1886 to 1890, Day was a judge on the Court of Common Pleas. In 1889, he was appointed judge for the Northern District of Ohio, but because of poor health he had to decline the office.

When McKinley became president in March 1897, Day became his assistant secretary of state, working under Secretary of State John Sherman, another Ohioan. Day acted as the de facto secretary of state, however, overseeing most of the State Department's day-to-day operations. Sherman's appointment had been based purely on politics, and the aging former U.S. senator was clearly not up to the task at hand.

A year later, in April 1898, Day became secretary of state when Sherman resigned in opposition to the Spanish-American War. Day immediately secured European neutrality during the war. In September 1898, he resigned his post in order to head the U.S. Peace Commission to negotiate in Paris the formal treaty ending the war with Spain. John Hay succeeded him.



William Rufus Day was secretary of state during the Spanish-American War, when he worked to secure European neutrality. He then resigned to head the U.S. commission to the Paris Peace Conference that ended the war. (Library of Congress)

Day argued against the annexation of Spanish colonies and did not believe that the United States should acquire all of the Philippine archipelago. In this McKinley overruled him. Day then insisted on purchasing the Philippines rather than claiming the islands by right of conquest. As such, he made sure that the Treaty of Paris included a payment of \$20 million to Spain in compensation for the loss of the Philippines.

In February 1899, McKinley rewarded Day for his service by securing his appointment to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit, where he succeeded William Howard Taft. In January 1903, President Theodore Roosevelt nominated Day to the U.S. Supreme Court, where he served until November 1922. Day held a centrist position on the court and supported federal antitrust prosecutions and the preservation of states' rights. After his resignation from the Supreme Court, he served for a few months as an arbitrator in the Mixed Claim Commission of the United States and Germany during 1922–1923. Day died at his summer home on Mackinac Island, Michigan, on July 9, 1923.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Hay, John Milton; McKinley, William; Paris, Treaty of; Peace Commission; Philippine Islands; Sherman, John

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Debs, Eugene Victor

Birth Date: November 5, 1855

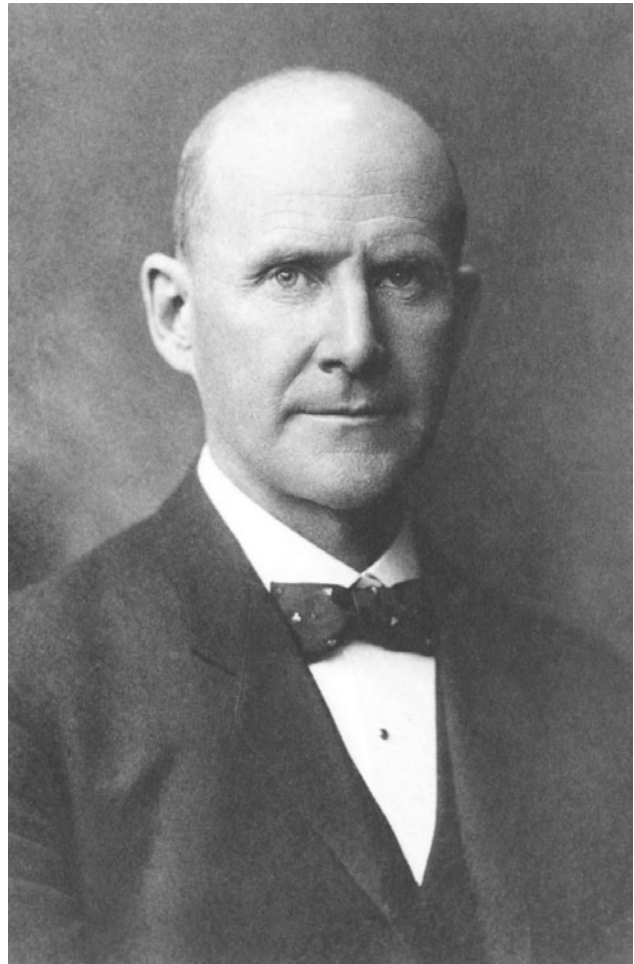
Death Date: October 20, 1926

Prominent U.S. socialist and activist. Eugene Victor Debs was born on November 5, 1855, in Terre Haute, Indiana, where his parents were grocers. Dropping out of school at age 15, he worked as a locomotive fireman. In 1875, he joined the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen (BLF), a fraternal organization, and was elected recording secretary of the Terre Haute chapter. Refusing to take a position on the Great Railroad Strike of 1877 and its violent suppression, he believed that the differences between labor and capital could be resolved in a harmonious fashion. He continued to rise within the ranks of the BLF, attaining the position of grand secretary treasurer by 1880 and editing the brotherhood's *Locomotive Fireman's Magazine*. He also moved into electoral politics, running as a Democrat for city clerk in 1879 and forming a victorious coalition of both workers and small businessmen. He was reelected to the post in 1881 and gained a seat in the Indiana Assembly in 1884.

Although successful in his fraternal and political activities, Debs grew increasingly pessimistic about the possibility of cooperation between labor and capital as economic and political power became concentrated in the hands of big business. Believing that narrow craft unions only exacerbated divisions within the working class, he looked to industrial unionism as the means through which to forge working-class solidarity. Accordingly, in 1893 he played an essential role in the formation of the American Railway Union (ARU), which called for the enlistment of all railroad workers under its banner.

The class cohesion of the ARU was tested in 1894 when the union refused to work on trains carrying Pullman cars in support of the strikers at George Pullman's railroad car shop outside of Chicago. Railroad operators demanded that President Grover Cleveland intervene to halt the strike. Citing interference with the delivery of the mail, Cleveland dispatched troops to end the strike. Debs and other union leaders were jailed for failing to obey an injunction to halt the ARU boycott of Pullman.

While serving a six-month prison term, Debs expanded his intellectual investigation of socialism by reading the works of Karl Marx and Eduard Bernstein. Although Debs's conversion to socialism was



Eugene Debs was a labor activist, an anti-imperialist, and a Socialist Party candidate for president in five elections. He later strongly opposed U.S. entry into World War I. (Library of Congress)

well under way before he was incarcerated, he emerged from prison a firm believer in Bernstein's revisionist view that socialism could be achieved through an evolutionary process of political reform. In 1897, Debs publicly declared himself a socialist, and in 1900, he accepted the Socialist Party of America (SPA) nomination for president, garnering approximately 100,000 votes in the election of that year. Four years later, his candidacy compiled almost a half million votes, and socialist candidates won election to local offices around the country. The 1908 presidential race provided little momentum for Debs and the SPA, but in the spirited election of 1912, which featured a four-way contest for president among Debs, Republican incumbent William Howard Taft, former president Theodore Roosevelt, and Democrat Woodrow Wilson, Debs attained almost 1 million votes. Suffering from exhaustion and ill health, he was unable to accept the 1916 SPA presidential nomination.

Debs opposed U.S. entrance into World War I. His perception that this had been undertaken to serve the interests of bankers and munitions makers convinced him in June 1918 to reenter the fray and denounce U.S. participation in the conflict. After delivering an

antiwar speech in Canton, Ohio, Debs was arrested for violating the Espionage Act of 1917 and sentenced to 10 years in prison. While serving his term in the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, he once again ran as the presidential candidate of the SPA. Although campaigning from his jail cell, he still secured nearly 1 million votes. The budding socialist movement in the United States, however, was crushed during the war and the Red Scare that followed it.

On December 25, 1921, President Warren G. Harding ordered Debs released from prison. Suffering from poor health, Debs returned to his native Terre Haute. Despairing of the class unity and progressive social reform that he once envisioned, he died at the Lindlahr Sanitarium near Chicago on October 20, 1926.

RON BRILEY

See also

Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Pullman Strike; Taft, William Howard

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Delcassé, Théophile

Birth Date: March 1, 1852

Death Date: February 22, 1923

French politician, ambassador, minister of the navy, and foreign minister. Born on March 1, 1852, at Pamiers (Ariège), Théophile Delcassé went to Paris to become a schoolteacher but turned to journalism and politics, specializing in colonial matters and foreign affairs and writing for the journal *La République Française* and the newspapers *Le Matin* and the *Le Jour*.

Identified with the radical Left, Delcassé was first elected to the Chamber of Deputies from the Ariège in 1889. He remained a deputy for 30 years. From 1893, he was almost constantly a minister: first parliamentary undersecretary of state and then minister of colonies (1893–1895) and minister of foreign affairs (1898–1905).

Delcassé played a major role in French foreign affairs in the period. As minister of colonies, he set in motion the events that led to the 1898 Fashoda Crisis in the Sudan with Britain, which as foreign minister he was then obliged to undo. Working through capable French ambassador to London Paul Cambon, Delcassé bowed to British demands and resolved the crisis by withdrawing the French expeditionary force from Fashoda without compensation. France and Britain did agree on a boundary between their territories in



As French foreign minister during the Spanish-American War, Théophile Delcassé adopted a neutral position on the war, although he did allow the French ambassador in Washington to transmit communications between the Spanish government and the William McKinley administration. (Library of Congress)

East Africa. Resolution of this crisis made possible the Entente Cordiale of April 1904 between France and Britain by which France recognized paramount British interests in Egypt and Britain recognized France's predominant role in Morocco. All major points of disagreement between Britain and France were resolved, including the Newfoundland fisheries and Siam.

Delcassé adopted a hands-off policy regarding the Spanish-American War, although he allowed French ambassador to Washington Jules-Martin Cambon to act on behalf of Spanish interests in securing an end to the war. Delcassé advised the Madrid government to accept the U.S. demands in the Protocol of Peace (signed on August 12, 1898) in the hopes that this would allow Spain to retain the Philippines. Later Delcassé hosted the peace negotiations that ended the war with the December 1898 Treaty of Paris. During the negotiations, he urged the Spanish to accept the U.S. acquisition of the Philippines rather than prolong the war.

Delcassé strengthened the existing alliance between France and Russia, traveling to St. Petersburg in 1899 to engage in talks with the Russian government. An additional accord committed the two states to collaborate in maintaining not only peace but also the balance of power in Europe. The new terms implied that France would

back Russia if the Balkan status quo were upset and that Russia would help France recover Alsace-Lorraine if the Central Powers sought to upset the European balance.

Delcassé also arranged understandings with both Italy and Spain regarding the expansion of French interests in Morocco, and in July 1902, he secured a secret understanding with Italy whereby Rome agreed, despite its membership in the Triple Alliance, to remain neutral in the event that Germany attacked France but also in case France was forced in “defense of its honor or security” to declare war on Germany. This agreement marked the nadir of the Triple Alliance.

Believing that he had cleared the way for such a move, Delcassé then proceeded to advance the French takeover of Morocco. The German government strenuously objected, however, provoking the First Moroccan Crisis (1905). Berlin threatened war and informed French premier Maurice Rouvier in no uncertain terms that his foreign minister must go. Delcassé refused to budge, but France was not ready for war, and he was forced from office in a cabinet reshuffling. France ultimately agreed to an international conference at Algeiras in 1906, which ironically strengthened its position.

Delcassé returned to the cabinet in 1911 as navy minister, a post he held until 1913. In this capacity he worked to reorganize and strengthen the navy and negotiated a key naval agreement with the British Admiralty whereby France would concentrate its strength in the Mediterranean and Britain would keep its forces in the North Sea, with Britain promising to defend the northern French coast from German naval attack. In 1913, Delcassé went to St. Petersburg as French ambassador to strengthen the Franco-Russian alliance and held that post until August 1914, when he returned as minister of foreign affairs. He negotiated the September 4, 1914, Declaration of London whereby France, Russia, and Britain pledged not to conclude a separate peace, and he prepared the way for the entry of Italy into the war on the Entente side. Hostile to the creation of a Balkan front, he resigned in October 1915 with the sending of Entente forces to Salonika and retired from public life altogether in 1919. Delcassé died at Nice on February 22, 1923.

PHILIPPE HAUDRÈRE AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cambon, Jules-Martin; Paris, Treaty of; Peace, Protocol of

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Democratic Party

One of the two principal political parties in the United States during the Spanish-American War. The oldest political party in the



A caricature of William Jennings Bryan in the September 14, 1896, edition of *Judge* magazine attacks Bryan’s “Cross of Gold” speech delivered at the Democratic National Convention on July 8, 1896. In the speech, Bryan advocated the unlimited coinage of silver by the U.S. government, a policy that he believed would bring relief to debtors in the economic depression then gripping the nation. (Library of Congress)

United States, the Democratic Party traces its origins to the anti-Federalists of the 1790s. In the early 1790s, the Democratic-Republican Party (the forerunner of the Democratic Party) came into being as a reaction to the Federalists, led by Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton and the Federalists believed in a strong central government, a national bank, and federal government support of business and industry. The anti-Federalists, best exemplified by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, helped form what would ultimately become the Democratic Party in opposition to the Federalist agenda.

The Democratic-Republicans wanted to keep the federal government small and unobtrusive. They believed that democracy was best served by a system in which the states and individual citizens held the majority of the economic and political power of the nation. They eschewed the buildup of industry in the United States and deplored governmental attempts to support it. For them, the model American citizens were the small yeoman farmers and the local tradesmen and shopkeepers. This idealized concept, which never actually existed in any large sense, came to be known as

Jeffersonian Democracy and would be the hallmark of Democratic Party ideology into the 20th century.

The Democrats ultimately became known as the party of states' rights by the early 1800s, which explains its great influence among Southern planters who wanted as little interference as possible with their "peculiar institution" of slavery. The Democratic Party was powerful not just in the South but also in parts of the western Great Plains and the far West. It was weakest in the populous and industrialized Northeast. The Democrats first captured national office in 1800, with Jefferson winning the presidency and Democratic-Republicans winning control of the House, the Senate, and the majority of state legislatures. After the War of 1812, the Federalists lost ground to the momentary gain of the Democratic-Republicans. Before long, however, infighting and factionalism tore through the party, and it broke apart by the end of the 1820s.

War hero Andrew Jackson, elected to the presidency in 1828, picked up the mantle of the old Democratic-Republican Party and helped forge the modern Democratic Party. This inaugurated the era of Jacksonian Democracy, with Jackson's belief in the sovereignty of the people above all else, a strong aversion to centralized banks and industrialists, and a healthy fear of the moneyed elite in the Northeast. Until the late 1840s, most Democrats were slave owners, farmers, tradesmen, some small businessmen, and, increasingly, immigrants and laborers whom the Democrats claimed to champion. Democratic Party priorities reflected its constituency, as witnessed by the opening of new lands in the West for farming and the expulsion of Native Americans from their ancestral lands. Democratic president James K. Polk's foreign and domestic policies, which included the Mexican-American War (1846–1848), huge territorial acquisitions in the West, reduced tariffs, and a subtreasury system, alienated many Democrats and led to a schism in the party in 1848.

Alarmed by Polk's policies and disenchanted over the possible expansion of slavery, a group of Democrats bolted the party in 1848 to form the Free-Soil Party. Meanwhile, the Whig Party began to unravel, which resulted in split votes in national elections in 1852 and 1856. The result was two Democratic presidents in the years leading up to the American Civil War. The Free-Soilers joined ranks with the Republican Party by the mid-1850s.

By 1860, the Democratic Party had become so splintered that it nominated two presidential nominees, Illinois senator Stephen Douglas representing the North and John C. Breckenridge representing the South. This ultimately paved the way for Abraham Lincoln's election and the Civil War. Four years of war and Radical Republican Reconstruction efforts thereafter kept the Democratic Party relatively weak. By 1870, the idea took hold of the Solid South, or a monolithic Democratic Party that predominated in the southern tier of states. This alignment would last for nearly a century. Not until 1874 did the Democratic Party regain its momentum at the national level when it took control of the House of Representatives.

During the 1880s, power in Washington was quite evenly split between the Republicans and Democrats. The election of Democratic

president Grover Cleveland in 1884 signaled a change of strength for the party. By then, the Democratic Party had not only locked up the southern states but also ran strong among farmers in parts of the lower Midwest and had made great inroads with newly arrived immigrants in cities, mill towns, and mining communities. Cleveland represented the so-called Bourbon Democrats, who held fairly conservative views. They tended to champion industrial interests, abhorred bimetallism, and were adamantly opposed to expansionism or imperialist foreign policy. A sharp economic downturn that began in 1893 and turned into an economic depression led to the repudiation of the Democrats in the 1894 congressional elections, handing the Republicans a significant majority in both the House and Senate. Cleveland, who was serving a second (nonconsecutive) term as president, became a virtual lame duck after 1895.

In the pivotal 1896 elections, the rural Democrats overcame the dominance of the Bourbon Democrats. Represented by Democratic presidential nominee William Jennings Bryan, the agrarian Democrats championed free silver (or bimetallism) and railed against the East Coast establishment, including banks, railroads, and big business. Conservative Democrats who opposed free silver formed the short-lived National Democratic Party, which championed the continuation of the gold standard. Due in large part to this split, Bryan lost the 1896 election to Republican candidate William McKinley. This opened the door to almost three decades of Republican dominance in Washington.

Not all Democrats were anti-imperialists, but a sizable majority of them disdained overseas expansion because it expanded the size and scope of the federal government. Still cleaving to states' rights, many Democrats believed that individual freedoms and interests would be sublimated to national objectives, particularly if the United States became an overseas empire. Fortunately for the Republicans, the split in the Democratic vote in 1896 and the disastrous decision to fuse the Populist Party platform with the Bryan platform virtually ensured a Republican victory. It also opened the door to overseas expansion, which Grover Cleveland had staunchly resisted until leaving office in March 1897.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Bryan, William Jennings; Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Expansionism; Imperialism; McKinley, William; Populist Party; Republican Party; Silver Standard

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Depression, Economic

See Economic Depression

Dewey, George

Birth Date: December 26, 1837

Death Date: January 16, 1917

U.S. admiral. Born in Montpelier, Vermont, on December 26, 1837, George Dewey was the son of a prominent physician. Dewey wanted to go to the United States Military Academy, West Point, but ended up attending the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, instead. He graduated from the academy in 1858. Promoted to lieutenant in January 1861, during the American Civil War Dewey served aboard the steam frigate *Mississippi* and soon became its executive officer. He took part in the passage of Flag Officer David Farragut's squadron up the Mississippi River to New Orleans on April 24–25, 1862, and in operations against Port Hudson (March 14, 1863). Dewey then served in the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron and, as the executive officer aboard the steam frigate *Colorado*, took part in operations against Fort Fisher (December 1864–January 1865). He ended the war as a lieutenant commander aboard the steam sloop *Kearsarge* in European waters.

During the next two decades, Dewey held a number of assignments. He was promoted to commander in 1872 and moved in 1875 to Washington, D.C., where he served for seven years on the Light-house Board. In 1882, he returned to sea as captain of the steam sloop *Juniata*. While in the Mediterranean, he became ill and spent a year in a British hospital on Malta. He did not fully recover and return to duty with the navy until 1884. Promoted to captain in September 1884, he received command of the gunboat *Dolphin*, one of the navy's first steel ships, that was still under construction. Frustrated over the delays in its commissioning, he secured command of the steam sloop *Pensacola*, flagship of the European squadron (1885–1889).

Dewey returned to Washington as chief of the Bureau of Equipment (1889–1893) and then as president of the Bureau of Inspection and Survey (1895–1897). On his promotion to commodore in February 1896, he was entitled to command a squadron. Both Dewey and Commodore John A. Howell sought the post of commander of the U.S. Asiatic Squadron. Relations with Spain were deteriorating over Cuba, and if war came, the Philippines would figure prominently in it. With the support of his friend Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt, Dewey received the coveted position. He officially took up his command at Nagasaki, Japan, in January 1898 aboard the cruiser *Olympia*.

When the battleship *Maine* exploded and sank in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, Dewey's squadron was on its way to Hong Kong. He had already begun preparations for a possible attack on the Spanish squadron in the Philippines. On April 25, the United States declared war on Spain, and three days later under telegraph orders from the Navy Department, Dewey's squadron steamed for the Philippines.

As the squadron neared the Philippines, Dewey detached both the *Boston* and the *Concord* to scout Subic Bay. Informed by signal that the Spanish squadron was not there, Dewey exclaimed, "Now



Commodore George Dewey commanded the U.S. Asiatic Squadron that routed the Spanish in the Battle of Manila Bay during the Spanish-American War and established the United States as a Pacific power. (Library of Congress)

we have them!" He decided to enter Manila Bay with his squadron on the night of April 30, a risky decision because of the threat posed by mines but one intended to avoid fire from Spanish guns protecting the entrance to the bay and to catch the Spanish off guard. Dewey rejected the suggestion that a supply ship go first and insisted on taking the lead himself in the *Olympia*.

Early the next morning, May 1, Dewey and his men could see Rear Admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón's squadron anchored off Cavite and commenced operations against it and the shore batteries. In one of the memorable quotes in U.S. Navy history, Dewey told his flag captain Charles V. Gridley of the *Olympia*, "You may fire when ready, Gridley." In a matter of six hours, Dewey's squadron of four cruisers, two gunboats, and a revenue cutter had reduced the seven smaller Spanish warships to scrap at a cost of only seven men wounded for the Americans. News of the victory in the Battle of Manila Bay made Dewey a hero in the United States and led to his promotion to rear admiral that same month.

Dewey's role in the war largely ended with the naval battle at Manila. Although he could take Manila at any time, he warned Washington that he would be unable to hold it because of the lack of U.S. ground troops, and he thus awaited their arrival. In June,

Washington informed Dewey that Spanish rear admiral Manuel de Cámara and a Spanish squadron—superior, on paper at least, to that of Dewey's own—had departed Spain for the Philippines. It was ordered to return to Spain following the Battle of Santiago de Cuba, however. More troublesome to Dewey was the presence off Manila of the German East Asian Squadron under Vice Admiral Otto von Diederichs, which flouted international regulations pertaining to blockades. The German squadron was definitely superior to his own.

In June and July, some 6,000 U.S. troops arrived, and Dewey's squadron supported the army's capture of Manila on August 13 and subsequent operations in the Philippines. In March 1899, Congress advanced Dewey to admiral of the navy.

An exhausted Dewey sailed from the Philippines on May 20, 1899. He returned to the United States on September 26, 1899, and four days later led a victory parade through New York City. In the spring of 1900 he made a brief bid for the presidency but dropped out to become president of the newly formed Navy General Board. Exempted from retirement due to age, he served in this post for 16 years and played an important role in U.S. Navy expansion. He also supported President Roosevelt's plan for a circumnavigation of the globe by the Great White Fleet during 1907–1909. Dewey published his autobiography in 1913.

In 1903, Secretary of War Elihu Root and Secretary of the Navy William Moody established the Joint Army-Navy Board. Dewey became its chair, serving on this board and the Navy General Board until his death in Washington, D.C., on January 16, 1917. Intelligent, thorough in his preparations, and a bold commander, Dewey was a natural leader who was greatly respected by those he commanded.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Diederichs, Ernst Otto von; East Asian Squadron; Gridley, Charles Vernon; Howell, John Adams; Manila Bay, Battle of; Montojo y Pasarón, Patricio; Roosevelt, Theodore; Root, Elihu; United States Navy

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Diederichs, Ernst Otto von

Birth Date: September 7, 1843

Death Date: March 8, 1918

German admiral. Born on September 7, 1843, in Minden, Westphalia, Ernst Otto von Diederichs was expected to follow his family's tradition of service to the Prussian state. However, ill health prevented him from attaining the necessary academic credentials for university admission. He therefore joined the Prussian Fusiliers in 1862 in pursuit of a military career, but again poor health forced him to give up his commission. When a military surgeon proposed that he take a sea cruise to recover, Diederichs signed up with the merchant marine to fulfill his military obligations. In 1865, following three years of service in Southeast Asia, he applied for admission to the naval officer corps of the Prussian Navy. Two years later, he was promoted to lieutenant junior grade (*Unterleutnant zur See*). During the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871), he participated in the coastal defense of the German North Sea harbors and commanded the gunboat *Natter*.

Diederichs was one of only 12 officers admitted to the new Naval Academy in Kiel in 1872, established to prepare its graduates for staff positions. Promoted to lieutenant commander in 1873, he graduated a year later. Based on his expertise in gunnery, in October 1874 he was assigned to the Torpedo Research and Development Commission in Berlin, where he remained until 1878. Following a two-year tour as first officer aboard the cruiser corvette *Luise* in East Asia, he returned to Germany in 1880. In 1883, Lieutenant-General Leo von Caprivi appointed Diederichs chief of operations at the Admiralty, where he was responsible for operational planning. In 1890, he was appointed director of the Imperial Shipyard at Kiel. Part of his responsibility was to develop Kiel as a commercial and military port, an experience that served him well at Jiaozhou (then known as Kiao-Chau, Kiaochow, Kiauchau, or Ki-autschou), China, in 1897.

When Kaiser Wilhelm II promoted Diederichs to rear admiral in 1892, he visited navy shipyards in the United States to discuss recent technological developments. In 1895, he was assigned as chief of staff to the commanding admiral of the navy, Admiral Eduard von Knorr, at the Naval High Command in Berlin. Ever since his 1882 strategic memorandum had pioneered plans for a two-front war against France and Russia, Diederichs had voiced opposition to naval and imperial policies that alienated Great Britain. At his new post, however, he was asked to begin the development of war plans against Britain. He concluded that Germany should never enter such a war alone and that an alliance with another naval power, rather than a large fleet, would deter potential British aggression. He became a leading critic of Rear Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz's plans for a stronger German Navy.

When Tirpitz was recalled from East Asia to become state secretary in 1897, Diederichs became his successor as chief of the Cruiser Division. Because German commanders complained regularly that the lack of a permanent base impaired naval operations in

Dick Act of 1903

See Militia Act of 1903

East Asia, Diederichs was ordered to identify potential sites for such a base. He subsequently toured all viable sites and concluded that Jiaozhou on the Shandong (Shantung) Peninsula was the only suitable site. He realized, however, that Germany could not move against it without a legitimate reason.

When several German officers were assaulted in Wuchang in October 1897, Diederichs sought to use the incident as the justification for the seizure of Jiaozhou. He cabled Berlin for permission, but his request was denied. However, when two German Catholic priests were murdered in Shandong Province in November 1897, Kaiser Wilhelm cabled Diederichs to proceed immediately to Jiaozhou and seize the area as compensation. On November 14, 1897, he mounted an operation that took the Chinese forces in Jiaozhou by surprise. The Chinese evacuated their fortified positions and withdrew to the north. Diederichs's rapid action resulted in a bloodless German seizure of Jiaozhou. Kaiser Wilhelm acknowledged Diederichs's accomplishment by promoting him to vice admiral and also immediately dispatched reinforcements to China. Diederichs then began to develop Jiaozhou as a naval base. Germany and China later signed an agreement that granted Germany a 90-year lease around Jiaozhou Bay.

On the outbreak of war between the United States and Spain in April 1898, Diederichs believed that the conflict could provide Germany with another opportunity to secure a base in East Asia. He expected that the war would result in a partition of the Philippines, and he wanted Germany to participate in any potential territorial gains. Among the most favorable sites for a German base in the Philippines were Manila Bay and Mariveles Bay. When two German engineers were reported missing in Luzon, the German consul Friedrich von Krüger called on Diederichs to protect German nationals. Kaiser Wilhelm then ordered Diederichs to proceed to the Philippines and survey the situation. As some of his ships were under repair, Diederichs decided to dispatch the cruiser corvette *Irene* to Manila immediately and to follow in the cruiser corvette *Kaiserin Augusta*. His other ships were to proceed as soon as possible.

The arrival of so many German warships in the Philippines altered the local balance of power. American commodore George Dewey was concerned that Germany might interfere with his operations before Spain surrendered, thereby ensuring itself a role in the peace negotiations. In the weeks following the Battle of Manila Bay, relations between Dewey and Diederichs grew quite strained. Dewey claimed that German ships were interfering with the U.S. naval blockade of Manila, a charge that Diederichs denied. Tensions reached a climax in a face-to-face confrontation with Diederichs's envoy Captain-Lieutenant Paul Hintze on July 10, 1898, when Dewey declared that if Germany wanted war, it could have it.

Diederichs reported on July 14 that he believed that Dewey's outburst was prompted by an explosive mixture of rumors, American newspaper reports depicting Germany as an aggressor, and a certain unease resulting from the size of the German squadron. Although Diederichs had lost hope by late June that Germany might

still gain a foothold in the Philippines, he nonetheless dispatched ships throughout the archipelago to examine potential sites for a German base, which again raised tensions between the United States and Germany. Realizing, however, that there was no particular sympathy for the Germans among Philippine revolutionaries, Diederichs yielded. He pointed out in a report that his presence had accomplished nothing and had probably done more harm than good, damaging the German image abroad and alienating other powers. He then commenced a long-postponed visit to Batavia in the Dutch East Indies.

Upon Diederichs's return to Germany in 1899, Kaiser Wilhelm assigned him as chief of staff of the Admiralty. There Diederichs reviewed existing plans for a possible war with Britain and began to develop war plans against the United States. In January 1902, he was promoted to admiral, but he retired from the navy in August 1902 because of his strong opposition to Tirpitz's naval policy, which had the emperor's support. Diederichs died in Baden-Baden on March 8, 1918.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Dewey, George; East Asian Squadron; Germany; Manila Bay, Battle of

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Dingley Tariff

Tariff levied by the U.S. Congress in 1897 on foreign goods imported to the United States. Also called the Dingley Act, the new tariff schedule was named after its principal sponsor, U.S. representative Nelson R. Dingley Jr., a Republican and chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. The Dingley Act became law on July 24, 1897, when Republican president William McKinley held a signing ceremony to inaugurate the new tariff duties.

High protective tariffs were nothing new for the Republican Party. Indeed, since its founding in the 1850s, the party generally favored high taxes on imported, finished products to protect U.S. industry and to spur its growth. In 1896, McKinley had campaigned on a platform that included a pledge to initiate higher tariffs. In 1897, the Republicans found it necessary to increase tariffs as a way to undue the 1894 Wilson-Gorman Tariff Act, which had been initiated by the Democrats in Congress and had marginally reduced import duties from the highs reached under the McKinley Tariff Act of 1890.

Sample Duties Enacted by the Dingley Tariff

Item	Duty
Beef	2¢ per pound
Cotton (thread)	6¢ per dozen spools
Horses	\$30 per animal
Iron ore	40¢ per ton
Molasses	6¢ per gallon
Rum	\$1.50 per gallon
Steel (highest grade)	4 ⁷ / ₁₀ ¢ per pound
Sugar (refined)	1 ⁹⁵ / ₁₀₀ ¢ per pound
Tobacco (with stems)	\$2.50 per pound
Wheat	25¢ per bushel

Under the schedule of new tariffs, the value-added tax on most imported products averaged about 45.6 percent, meaning that a tax equal to 45.6 percent of a product's value had to be paid before it was allowed into the country. On certain items, particularly those that competed with U.S. industrial products in need of even more protection, the tariff jumped to as high as 57 percent. Notably, the Dingley Act allowed the president to exercise trade reciprocity, a novel feature for the time. This provided McKinley the opportunity to lower tariffs on certain goods if the exporting country did the same for incoming U.S. products. The Dingley Tariff represented the highest tariffs up to that time in U.S. history. It would be superseded by the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act, passed in 1909.

Besides the Republicans' penchant for high tariffs, there were other imperatives behind the Dingley Tariff. Chief among them was the devastating economic depression that had gripped the nation since 1893. The downturn began with a frantic run on the country's gold supply that spilled over to Wall Street, where it precipitated a full-blown panic and a stock crash, and finally trickled down to almost every business in America. After four years of economic deprivation, labor unrest, and businesses failing by the thousands, the unemployment rate peaked at 12.4 percent in 1897. With a clear Republican mandate in both the Congress and the Oval Office, McKinley and congressional leadership believed that higher tariffs would help the nation out of the economic doldrums. Republicans also hoped to reduce the domestic tax burden by shifting the revenue stream from internal to external sources.

The Dingley Tariff played a peripheral, but certainly notable, role in the onset of the Spanish-American War. Indeed, the new tariff schedule hit the Cuban economy, particularly the sugar industry, very hard. Increased unemployment among Cubans led to a general increase in their frustration with Spanish colonial policies. This exacerbated the unrest that had begun in 1895, which in turn provoked more American indignation at Spanish rule in Cuba. While pressuring the Spanish was not a motivating factor for the passage of the Dingley Tariff, the Republicans had to have known the likely effect it would have on Cuba's economy.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cuba; Cuban Sugar; Democratic Party; McKinley, William; Republican Party

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Dodge, Grenville Mellen

Birth Date: April 12, 1831

Death Date: January 3, 1916

U.S. general, congressman, railroad builder, and land developer. Born in Danvers, Massachusetts, on April 12, 1831, Grenville Mellen Dodge was educated at Dunham Academy in New Hampshire and then Norwich University in Vermont, from which he graduated with a degree in civil engineering in 1851. He moved to Iowa that same year and was an engineer and surveyor for railroads, including the Union Pacific. He also became a partner in the Baldwin & Dodge Banking Firm.

Dodge organized the Council Bluffs Guards and was commissioned a colonel in the 4th Iowa Infantry Regiment in July 1861 after the start of the American Civil War. Shortly thereafter he received command of the 1st Brigade, 4th Division, in the Army of Southwest Missouri. He fought in the Battle of Pea Ridge (Elkhorn Tavern), Arkansas, on March 7–8, 1862, when he had three horses shot from under him and was wounded in the side. Promoted to brigadier general of volunteers for his role in that battle, he took command of the District of the Mississippi, earning the attention of Major General Ulysses S. Grant for his espionage networks and rebuilding the Mobile & Ohio and other western railroads.

Promoted to major general of volunteers in June 1864, Dodge commanded XVI Corps during Major General William T. Sherman's Atlanta Campaign. Dodge led his corps in the Battle of Ezra Church (July 28, 1864). Wounded in the head by a Confederate sharpshooter on August 19, 1864, during the Siege of Atlanta, Dodge returned to active duty that December as commander of the Department of the Missouri, a post he held until the end of the war. The department was subsequently expanded to include the departments of Kansas, Nebraska, and Utah. His camp in Kansas was known as Fort Dodge. Later it became Dodge City.

Dodge's soldiers were kept busy against the Native Americans, for in the summer of 1865 the Cheyenne, Arapahos, and Sioux raided the Bozeman Trail and other overland mail routes. Dodge then ordered a punitive operation against the hostiles that became known as the Powder River Expedition or the Connor Expedition for its commander Brigadier General Patrick E. Connor. The only major engagement of the campaign, the Battle of the Tongue River, resulted in an army victory against the Arapahos. Fighting in the Powder River area, however, eventually led to Red Cloud's War.

Resigning his army commission in May 1866, Dodge returned to the railroad business as chief engineer of the Union Pacific Railroad. In this position, he became a key figure in the construction of the Transcontinental Railroad. He also won election to the U.S.



A Union general during the American Civil War, Grenville Mellen Dodge became a highly successful businessman. He opposed the war with Spain but then reluctantly agreed to chair a commission created by President William McKinley to investigate the notorious Embalmed Beef Scandal and the practices of the U.S. War Department during the war. (Library of Congress)

House of Representatives as a Republican from Iowa and served in the House during 1867–1869. He spent much of his time away from the capital, however, engaged in railroad construction, but while in Washington he lobbied forcefully for the railroads and internal improvements in the West. Employed by financier Jay Gould in 1873, Dodge supervised the laying of some 9,000 miles of railroad track. Later he also supervised the laying of railroad track in Cuba. Involved in a number of different businesses, he became immensely wealthy, with a fortune estimated at some \$25 million.

A staunch Republican and personal friend and confidante of President William McKinley and Secretary of War Russell A. Alger, Dodge believed that war with Spain would bring economic instability. He therefore encouraged McKinley to secure a peaceful solution to the growing tension with Spain over Cuba. On the declaration of war, Dodge was offered command of I Corps, but he declined in order to continue his business pursuits. Throughout the war, however, he remained in close touch with McKinley and Alger.

Following the war, Dodge reluctantly agreed to chair a commission created by McKinley to investigate the notorious Embalmed Beef Scandal and the practices of the War Department during the war. The commission, officially called the Commission to Investigate the War Department, came to be known simply as the Dodge Commission.

Dodge retired to Council Bluffs, Iowa. He wrote several books of recollections of the Civil War and construction of the Transcontinental Railroad. He died at Council Bluffs, Iowa, on January 3, 1916.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; Dodge Commission; Embalmed Beef Scandal; McKinley, William; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Railroads

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Dodge Commission

Presidential investigative committee, also known as the War Department Investigating Commission, appointed by President William McKinley to study the workings of the War Department and the U.S. Army during the Spanish-American War. The commission was named for its chairman, former U.S. Army major general and former Republican congressman from Iowa Grenville Mellen Dodge. First convened on September 26, 1898, the Dodge Commission ended its assignment on February 9, 1899. Its findings were published in an eight-volume report.

At the conclusion of hostilities with Spain, McKinley called upon Dodge to head a commission to investigate charges of mismanagement and incompetence leveled against the U.S. Army and Secretary of War Russell A. Alger. Dodge, a loyal and influential Republican and successful railroad entrepreneur, then organized a committee composed of 12 members. All 12 were Civil War veterans, including one ex-Confederate, Captain Evan P. Howell of Georgia.

Among the more influential members of this investigative body were former Vermont governor Urban A. Woodbury, who had lost his right arm and became a prisoner of war at the First Battle of Bull Run; James A. Beaver, attorney, judge, and governor of Pennsylvania who had commanded the 48th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers and lost a leg in the Second Battle of Bull Run; Brigadier General John M. Wilson, Medal of Honor recipient for



Members of the Dodge Commission. Appointed by President William McKinley and named for its chairman, Grenville Mellen Dodge (*right*), it was charged with investigating the performance of the War Department and the U.S. Army during the Spanish-American War. (Corbis)

his heroism in the Battle of Malvern Hill, Virginia, in 1862 and superintendent of the United States Military Academy at West Point from 1889 to 1893; and Colonel James A. Sexton, postmaster of Chicago, who served as the provost marshal for the Union Army's XVI Corps.

During its inquiry, the Dodge Commission requested comprehensive reports from the U.S. Army's adjutant general, quartermaster general, commissary general, surgeon general, chief of engineers, and chief of ordnance. It investigated 10 specific areas. Among these were the amount and kind of camp and garrison equipment on hand at the start of the war; the arming and equipping of the volunteer regiments in the various camps; the quantity, quality, and kind of food furnished; the number of tents, beds, linens, medicines, and other necessities for hospitals; the efficiency of the medical staff; and the conditions and operations of both the Engineer Department and the Ordnance Department.

The Dodge Commission's most important investigative focus was directed at hygiene and public health in the army camps. Of the 274,000 officers and men who served in the war, 5,462 had died in theaters of operation and camps in the United States. Yet, only

379 of those deaths were battle-related. The commission heard testimony from 495 witnesses and visited most of the encampments. It also conducted interviews with soldiers and officers in several locales around the country. Based on a report submitted by Majors Walter Reed, Edward Shakespeare, and Victor C. Vaughan, who examined the incidence of typhoid fever in army encampments, the commission found that the Army Medical Department was understaffed and not properly organized to meet the demands of a modern war. It also pointed out that the Medical Department had failed to investigate the sanitation conditions in the camps, had too few nurses available and discounted their valuable service, and had to rely on an ineffective Quartermaster Corps for the distribution of medical supplies and equipment.

The Dodge Commission's findings produced numerous recommendations that included an increase in the number of medical officers, the establishment of a nursing reserve component, and the securing of a sufficient amount of medical supplies equivalent to an army four times its present strength. The commission also recommended that the Medical Department take charge of the delivery of supplies.

Despite some criticism that the commission was a rubber stamp and partisan coverup for the shortcomings of the McKinley administration, it examined every aspect of the U.S. Army's and War Department's actions. No formal charges were brought against either, although McKinley did request Alger's resignation in 1899. Many of the Dodge Commission's recommendations regarding military hygiene and medical treatment were implemented within a few years. Military officer training manuals were also rewritten to ensure that line officers developed a sense of responsibility for the overall health of their command. Also, curriculum in hygiene and public health was implemented at the United States Military Academy at West Point and other military training schools. Thus, the Dodge Commission is credited with establishing new policies governing hygiene and medicine within the U.S. military.

By far the most controversial topic with which the committee dealt was the Embalmed Beef Scandal. During his testimony to the Dodge Commission, Major General Nelson A. Miles, commanding general of the army, pointedly accused Brigadier General Charles Patrick Egan, who was the commissary general during the war, of providing U.S. troops with substandard canned beef that most soldiers despised because of its poor taste. Miles also accused the commissary general and U.S. meatpacking companies of experimenting with unknown chemical preservatives that had resulted in sickness among many who had consumed the beef. Egan denied the allegations and lashed out at Miles publicly, an action that brought a court-martial, conviction, and reduction in rank. In the end, the Dodge Commission concluded that while much of the meat fed to U.S. soldiers may indeed have tasted terrible, it was not defective and had not caused the widespread sickness claimed by Miles and others.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; Dodge, Grenville Mellen; Egan, Charles Patrick; Embalmed Beef Scandal; Miles, Nelson Appleton; War Department, U.S.

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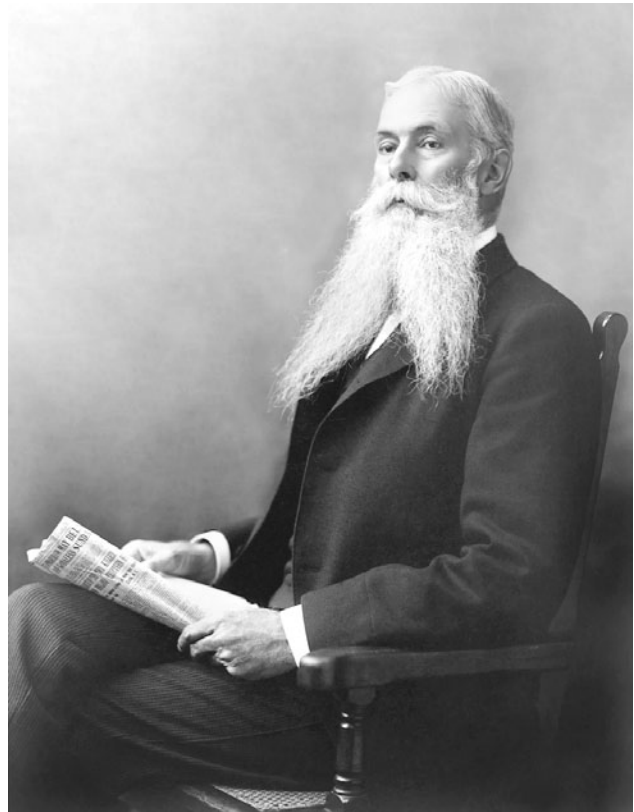
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Dole, Sanford Ballard

Birth Date: April 23, 1844

Death Date: June 9, 1926

Hawaiian politician, president of Hawaii's provisional government and the Republic of Hawaii (1894–1900) following the 1893 revolt



Sanford B. Dole, pineapple baron and president of the Republic of Hawaii (1894–1900). (Bettmann/Corbis)

that unseated Queen Liliuokalani, and governor of Hawaii (1900–1903). Sanford Ballard Dole, the son of white U.S.-born Protestant missionaries, was born in Honolulu, Hawaii, on April 23, 1844. Educated in the United States, he became a lawyer and joined the small group of white elites in Hawaii who wielded great influence in Hawaiian affairs and who pushed the Hawaiian monarchy to embrace Western-style democracy and values. From 1884 to 1887, Dole served in Hawaii's legislative body and became fast friends with King David Kalakaua and Queen Liliuokalani. Dole served as an informal adviser to both during their reigns.

In 1887, after white businessmen, planters, and other influential Hawaiians forced King Kalakaua to accept a new constitution that essentially gave more power to Americans and Europeans and less to native Hawaiians, the king appointed Dole as a justice on Hawaii's supreme court. He served in the position until 1893. Meanwhile, he continued to counsel the monarchy, which had been significantly diluted in its powers by the 1887 constitution.

In 1893, Queen Liliuokalani was overthrown in a bloodless revolt engineered by American-born planters and other white businessmen. Dole was reluctant to support the overthrow and believed that the monarchy could—and should—be retained. His position among the white elite, however, was decidedly in the minority. Nevertheless, when he was approached by the revolutionaries to lead the new government, he accepted the position of president of the provisional government, which became the Republic of Hawaii

in 1894. Dole thus became the first (and only) president of the Republic of Hawaii. One of the republic's first orders of business was to secure annexation to the United States as an American territory, an effort that Dole supported and for which he lobbied diligently with Washington.

The queen refused to abdicate until 1896, and Dole's government had to fend off several attempts—at least one under arms—to topple the new regime. Dole also had to contend with a major influx of immigrants to the islands—chiefly from Japan—that threatened to swamp the local economy and alter the racial and ethnic makeup of Hawaii.

Initially, Dole's efforts to secure U.S. annexation for the Hawaiian Islands were unsuccessful. Indeed, President Grover Cleveland, no fan of expansionism, was suspicious enough about the 1893 revolt that he sent an investigatory committee to Hawaii headed by James H. Blount to look into the matter. The subsequent Blount Report, issued in the summer of 1893, concluded that the revolution had been inappropriately instigated by Americans and lacked the support of the general populace. Armed with this, Cleveland refused to allow annexation to go forward and demanded that Liliuokalani be restored to her throne. Dole sent a personal reply to Washington after Cleveland's demand had been made known. In it, Dole eloquently and passionately defended the revolution (for which he had little enthusiasm just a year prior) and informed Cleveland that he had no right or authority to insert himself into Hawaiian affairs.

In 1898, under the expansionist-minded William McKinley administration, the Hawaiian Islands were formally annexed by the United States. Not until 1900, however, with the passage of the Organic Act, was there legislation in place to formally govern Hawaii as a territory. Upon the act's passage, McKinley appointed Dole as the first American governor of Hawaii. (Hawaii would not become a state until 1959.) Dole stayed in the post until 1903, at which time he accepted an appointment as a U.S. district court judge based in Hawaii. He remained a judge until 1915, at which time he retired. In failing health in his later years, Dole died on June 9, 1926, in Honolulu.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Hawaiian Islands; Liliuokalani, Queen of Hawaii; McKinley, William

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Haddox Dorst was born in 1852 and graduated from the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1873. From 1873 to 1883, he served in a variety of frontier posts. He was also involved in numerous skirmishes with Native Americans. During 1883–1884, he served as aide-de-camp to Brigadier General Ranald Mackenzie. From 1887 to 1890, Dorst was assigned to the United States Military Academy, where he taught in the Tactical Department. His next major assignment came in 1894 as U.S. military attaché to Austria, a post in which he served until 1897.

Early in 1898, Dorst was dispatched to Greece, where he was an official observer with the Greek Army, which was at the time engaged in the Greco-Turkish War. When the Spanish-American War began, he was called home. Now a captain, he received a temporary appointment as lieutenant colonel of U.S. Volunteers. He served during the Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign and in the early stages of the Philippine-American War. He remained attached to the 4th U.S. Cavalry Regiment.

It was Dorst's activities prior to the landing of V Corps in Cuba that gave him notoriety. In early May 1898, he was charged with undertaking a clandestine mission that involved landing supplies, armaments, and a small contingent of troops on Cuba to bolster the efforts of the revolutionary forces there. Departing from Tampa, Florida, Dorst and his men steamed toward Cuba on the *Gussie*, an old side-wheel steamer. On May 12, Dorst and his men landed at Arbolitos Point with the U.S. Navy ships *Wasp* and *Manning* as armed escorts. When the expedition came ashore, it was obvious that its cover had been blown by U.S. journalists and that there were no Cuban revolutionaries to greet them. Confronted by a Spanish cavalry unit, Dorst and his men returned to the *Gussie* and steamed back to Tampa. Despite this, the operation has ever since been noted as the first landing of American troops in Cuba during the Spanish-American War.

Not to be deterred, Dorst was given another clandestine mission, to supply the Cuban rebels. This time, he and his men sailed from Key West aboard the steamer *Florida* and landed in eastern Cuba not far from the site of the first expedition. At the time, the landing site was under the control of the Cuban rebels. On May 26, Dorst and his crew successfully landed some 400 armed Cuba rebels along the coast as well as 7,500 Springfield rifles, more than 1 million rounds of ammunition, 20,000 food rations, some 100 mules and horses, and clothing and military equipment. Following this mission, Dorst and his men returned to Key West.

Following his service in Cuba and then in the Philippines, Dorst served in a variety of posts. He retired from the army in 1911 as a colonel. Dorst died in Virginia on January 11, 1916.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

Dorst, Joseph Haddox

Birth Date: 1852

Death Date: January 11, 1916

U.S. Army officer and leader of the first U.S. expedition to land in Cuba following the declaration of war on April 25, 1898. Joseph

See also

Cuban Revolutionary Army; Cuban War of Independence; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign

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Duffield, Henry Martyn

Birth Date: May 15, 1842

Death Date: July 13, 1912

U.S. brigadier general of volunteers who commanded a brigade composed of several of the Michigan volunteer units in V Corps during the Spanish-American War. Henry Martyn Duffield was born on May 15, 1842, in Detroit, Michigan. He attended the University of Michigan for one year and went on to study at Williams College, from which he graduated in 1861. He enlisted as a volunteer in the Union Army in 1861 and was commissioned that same year, participating in a number of battles during the American Civil War. He mustered out of the service in 1864.

Duffield practiced law for many years in Michigan and ran for Congress from Michigan as a Republican in 1876. He again volunteered for service in the Spanish-American War and was appointed a brigadier general of volunteers on May 27, 1898. His brigade left Camp Alger in mid-June and deployed from Tampa, Florida, to Cuba on the *Yale*, disembarking at Siboney, Cuba, on June 27 after the arrival of V Corps. Major General William R. Shafter was in overall command. V Corps landed unopposed at both Siboney and Daiquirí, Cuba. Duffield's 2,200-man brigade included the 33rd and the 34th Michigan Infantry Regiments. A lack of adequate sealift precluded the 9th Massachusetts Infantry, also assigned to the brigade, from joining the brigade until the beginning of July.

Upon landing, Duffield's brigade remained in the Siboney area until it was assigned to stage a diversionary attack on July 1 at Aguadores, Cuba, while the remainder of V Corps struck the Spanish positions at El Caney and San Juan Heights. The goal of this demonstration was to prevent Spanish general Arsenio Linares y Pombo from reinforcing at El Caney and San Juan Heights by leading the Spanish to believe that the U.S. attack would be concentrated on the heights at the harbor entrance. Several U.S. Navy ships participated in the action, notably the battleship *New York*, gunboat *Gloucester*, and armed yacht *Suwanee*, although the attack was delayed by three hours because of the cautious approach of Duffield's forces to their objective.

Duffield's men were never able to obtain a satisfactory position from which they could direct a significant volume of fire against opposing Spanish forces situated across a deep gorge. The Spanish, numbering fewer than 300 men, returned fire, and Duffield withdrew his forces after about four hours of desultory fire. It is unlikely that the diversion had a significant impact on Spanish actions or their ability to reinforce at El Caney or San Juan Heights.

The next day, July 2, Duffield's volunteer brigade was reinforced by the 9th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry Regiment and joined with Brigadier General John C. Bates's independent brigade. Duffield was soon stricken with yellow fever and was ill for several months. He returned to the United States in August. His brigade was officially disbanded with the remainder of V Corps on October 3, 1898, and Duffield resigned his commission on November 30.

Duffield then resumed his law practice. In 1903, he served as an arbitrator in the German-Venezuelan dispute and as a presidential elector for Michigan in 1904. Duffield died on July 13, 1912, in Detroit, Michigan.

ANDREW BYERS

See also

Bates, John Coalter; El Caney, Battle of; V Corps; Linares y Pombo, Arsenio; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Shafter, William Rufus

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Dunne, Finley Peter

Birth Date: July 20, 1867

Death Date: April 24, 1936

Influential satirist, humorist, and journalist. Finley Peter Dunne was born on July 20, 1867, in Chicago, Illinois, to Irish immigrant parents. He graduated from Chicago's West Division High School in 1884 and thereafter began a career in journalism. He worked for six different Chicago daily newspapers before accepting a position as an editor at the influential Chicago *Evening Post*.

At the *Evening Post*, Dunne created the fictional Irish immigrant character Mr. Martin Dooley in 1893, modeling the character after people he had known in Chicago's South Side Irish working-class neighborhood of Bridgeport and using it as a device on which to expound on sensitive political, social, and military viewpoints. The 750-word Dooley monologues were delivered in dialect to either the fictional politician John McKenna or the fictional mill worker Malachi Hennessy and appeared weekly in the Sunday papers. Approximately 300 of the Dooley pieces were published in the *Evening Post* between 1893 and 1900. Finley's Mr. Dooley provided a window into 19th-century Irish immigrant identity by focusing on such issues as economic deprivation in Ireland, working conditions in factories, labor unions, assimilation, ward politics, and family life. Some critics maintain that Dunne's Bridgeport community represents one of the finest

renditions of ethnic life in America to be found in 19th-century journalism or literature.

In 1898, the Dooley columns drew national attention by criticizing what Dunne perceived as the hypocrisy of U.S. policy in the Spanish-American War. Dunne's satire certainly cast doubts on Secretary of State John Hay's notion of a so-called splendid little war. War heroes Admiral George Dewey and Colonel Theodore Roosevelt were also lampooned in the Dooley monologues. Using Roosevelt as an example, Dooley commented that the overly large U.S. military force was composed of "clubmen" who were in Cuba to have their "pitchers" taken. A Spanish donkey shot by the American forces was described by Mr. Dooley as an "intrepid ass." The biting satirical Dooley monologues were quite critical of American jingoism and imperialism and earned Dunne a national reputation.

Dunne, a close friend of Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens), also joined other anti-imperialists in critiquing the rationale for the American military presence in the Philippines and Cuba. According to the journalist, the United States had betrayed its founding principles by becoming a colonial power. Dunne also decried Washington's obsession of following the dictates of big business. Mr. Dooley described American imperialist motives as "Hands acrost th' sea an' into somewan else's pocket." Dunne's Irish wit also poked fun at the paternalistic attitude of imperialists, who claimed to be undertaking a civilizing mission, remarking, "An' we'll give ye clothes, if ye pay f'r them; an' if ye don't, ye can go without." Dunne equated the American suppression of the Filipino uprising with British actions taken against the Boers in South Africa.

While Dunne's critiques did not halt the advance of imperialism, his pieces questioning the war resonated with many readers on the national stage, and the Mr. Dooley column was soon syndicated throughout the country. In 1900, Dunne moved to New York City. Writing for such publications as the *New York Times* and *Harper's Weekly*, he commented on a variety of topics ranging from health fads to race relations. National figures such as Andrew Carnegie and William Jennings Bryan were often the recipients of Dooley barbs, as was President Theodore Roosevelt with whom Dunne eventually formed a friendship.

In 1906, Dunne joined the muckraking Progressive-era journalists Ida Tarbell and Lincoln Steffens in editing the *American Mercury*. More of a fatalist than his coeditors, Dunne lacked a profound faith in progressive reform. The devastation of World War I also disillusioned him and seemed to silence his satire. He published the last of eight Dooley collections in 1919. He also edited *Collier's Weekly* from 1917 to 1919.

Among many humorous and pithy sayings that Dunne conjured up over the years (many in an Irish Brogue) are "Comfort the Afflicted, Afflict the Comfortable"; "Minds are Like Parachutes; They Only Function When Open"; and "The Best Husbands Stay Bachelors; They're Too Considerate to Get Married." Some present-day observers liken Dunne's wit and satire to Garry Trudeau's *Doonesbury* comic strip. During the 1920s, Dunne retired to private life



Influential American newspaper editor Finley Peter Dunne was a staunch critic of the Spanish-American War and American imperialist policies. (Library of Congress)

with his family. He died in New York City on April 24, 1936, from throat cancer.

RON BRILEY

See also

Anti-Imperialist League; Bryan, William Jennings; Carnegie, Andrew; Dewey, George; Imperialism; Journalism; Newspapers; Philippine-American War, U.S. Reaction to; Progressivism; Roosevelt, Theodore; Spanish-American War, U.S. Public Reaction to; Splendid Little War; Twain, Mark

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Dupuy de Lôme, Enrique

Birth Date: August 23, 1851

Death Date: June 30, 1904

Spanish ambassador to the United States on the eve of the Spanish-American War. Born on August 23, 1851, in Valencia, Spain, into an

upper middle-class family, Enrique Dupuy de Lôme was formally educated in Paris. In admiration of his French uncle, Stanislas Charles Dupuy de Lôme, the noted French warship designer, Dupuy de Lôme, whose family had only used the “Dupuy” surname since the 16th century, reestablished the full French surname. In 1868, Dupuy de Lôme returned to Spain to study law in Madrid. Simultaneously, he served as an orderly in the Foreign Ministry, the first step in what would be a long diplomatic career. After completing his legal studies at the University of Madrid in 1872, Dupuy de Lôme received his first overseas diplomatic assignment in April 1873 when he was posted as third secretary in the Spanish embassy in Japan. He served in Japan for two years. On his return to Spain, he spent several months traveling in the United States. In 1875, he and his new bride embarked on a two-year tour of Europe. In 1877, he returned to Madrid, where he was promoted to second secretary at the Foreign Ministry.

In 1878, Dupuy de Lôme was posted to the Spanish embassy in Uruguay followed by two years in the Spanish embassy in Argentina. In 1881, he was posted to the Spanish embassy in France. In March 1883, he was promoted to first secretary and appointed to the Spanish embassy in the United States. There he worked under Spanish ambassador Juan Valera, one of Spain’s leading diplomats of the 19th century as well as a prominent novelist.

In 1884, Dupuy de Lôme was posted to Spain’s embassy in Germany. In 1885, during the Caroline Islands Crisis in which the Germans attempted to claim those islands, Dupuy de Lôme restored amicable German-Spanish relations after papal arbitration decided in favor of Spain. In 1888, he was promoted to ministerial rank and posted as Spain’s ambassador to Uruguay.

In 1892, Dupuy de Lôme was appointed Spanish ambassador to the United States. His posting lasted only a few months, however, as he submitted his resignation after the Liberals took control of the Spanish government later in 1892. In 1895, following the outbreak of the Cuban War of Independence, Dupuy de Lôme, now considered the best choice to ease tensions between the United States and Spain over Cuba, was reappointed ambassador to the United States. He immediately attempted to ameliorate the unfavorable public opinion of Spain in the U.S. press, especially after the yellow journalists had unveiled the horrors of the *reconcentrados* (Cuban detention centers) implemented by General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau.

President Grover Cleveland attempted to maintain neutrality in the Cuban War of Independence. However, once President William McKinley, who supported an expansionary foreign policy, took office in March 1897, Dupuy de Lôme’s task of maintaining cordial U.S.-Spanish relations became considerably more difficult. Besides his ambassadorial duties, he was also responsible for maintaining Spain’s espionage network in the Americas.

As late as December 1897, Dupuy de Lôme believed that a conciliatory policy toward the Cuban insurgents could eliminate the possibility of war between the United States and Spain. But things began to unravel quickly in 1898 and would soon overwhelm his diplomatic offensive. He Lôme wrote a personal letter to an acquaintance, José

Canalejas, who was in Cuba covering events for a Spanish newspaper. The letter, which became infamous, sharply criticized President McKinley, characterizing him as “weak” and a “low” politician who was pandering to the “rabble.” Cuban revolutionaries intercepted the dispatch and turned it over to representatives of the Hearst publishing empire. Published in the *New York Journal* on February 9, 1898, the letter played a large role in expanding public support in the United States for war against Spain. The inability of the Spanish government to quell disorder in Cuba, Dupuy de Lôme’s incendiary letter to Canalejas, and the sinking of the U.S. battleship *Maine* on February 15, 1898, all brought a rapid deterioration of U.S.-Spanish relations. While the Dupuy de Lôme–Canalejas letter did not in and of itself bring about the war with Spain, it certainly provided much grist for those clamoring for war in early 1898. Following the revelation of this letter, Dupuy de Lôme promptly resigned his post. He continued to work for the foreign minister but never again held such a high-profile position. He died in Paris on June 30, 1904.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Dupuy de Lôme–Canalejas Letter; Hearst, William Randolph; Journalism; *Maine*, USS; McKinley, William; *Reconcentrado* System; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano; Yellow Journalism

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Dupuy de Lôme–Canalejas Letter

Personal correspondence between Enrique Dupuy de Lôme and José Canalejas y Méndez disparaging U.S. president William McKinley that was made public. The Dupuy de Lôme–Canalejas Letter, more commonly referred to as simply the de Lôme Letter, was intercepted by Cuban revolutionaries in the Havana post office in early 1898 and turned over to representatives of the William Randolph Hearst publishing empire, which published it in the *New York Journal* on February 9, 1898. At the time, the newspaper was one of the leading publications of the yellow press.

In 1895, following the outbreak of the Cuban War of Independence, the Spanish government, attempting to ameliorate the unfavorable public opinion of Spain in the U.S. press, which was reporting the horrors of the *reconcentrados* (Cuban detention centers), appointed Dupuy de Lôme ambassador to the United States. Although President Grover Cleveland attempted to maintain neutrality in the Cuban War of Independence, once President William McKinley, who supported an expansionary foreign policy, took office in March 1897, Dupuy de Lôme’s task of maintaining cordial

U.S.-Spanish relations became considerably more difficult. Nevertheless, as late as December 1897, he believed that it might be possible to end the threat of war between the United States and Spain.

Unfortunately for Dupuy de Lôme, his efforts were undone by the publication of a private letter expressing his personal views on Spanish-American relations to his friend, José Canalejas y Méndez, who was in Cuba covering events for a Spanish newspaper. Although undated, the handwritten letter was most likely written in mid-December 1897. Sending the letter through the postal system and committing his personal views to paper, Dupuy de Lôme committed a diplomatic faux pas.

The letter contained derogatory comments about President McKinley and his policies concerning Cuba. Dupuy de Lôme wrote: "McKinley is weak and catering to the rabble and, besides, a low politician who desires to leave a door open to me and to stand well with the jingoes of his party." Regarding the possibility of lessening tension with the United States, Dupuy de Lôme contended that "without a military success nothing will be accomplished there [Cuba], and without military and political success, there is here always danger that the insurgents will be encouraged, if not by the government, at least in part by public opinion." In addition, Dupuy de Lôme urged Canalejas to agitate commercial relations even if "only for effect" and to send a man to Washington "to make propaganda among the Senators."

The letter was not official Spanish policy and was merely personal correspondence between two friends, but this subtlety was lost on American readers. Publication of the letter in the press greatly inflamed American public passions and helped to fuel an aggressive warlike policy in the United States that culminated in the Spanish-American War.

Once Dupuy de Lôme saw that the letter had been published, he immediately cabled his resignation to Madrid and, when questioned by the U.S. State Department, acknowledged the authenticity of the letter and left the country. The inability of the Spanish government to quell disorder in Cuba, Dupuy de Lôme's incendiary letter to Canalejas, and the sinking of the U.S. battleship *Maine* on February 15, 1898, in Havana Harbor brought about a rapid deterioration of U.S.-Spanish relations. While the Dupuy de Lôme-Canalejas Letter did not in and of itself bring about the war with Spain, it certainly provided grist for the mill of those clamoring for war in early 1898.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Dupuy de Lôme, Enrique; Hearst, William Randolph; Journalism; *Reconcentrado* System; Yellow Journalism

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Dynamite Gun

A U.S. naval ordnance experiment, the so-called dynamite gun utilized compressed air. In 1882, D. M. Mefford in the United States patented a compressed-air gun with which to discharge projectiles filled with dynamite or other detonating powders. He hoped to provide a less jarring initial shock for the shell to enable it to have a high-explosive dynamite filler. In 1884, Mefford demonstrated a 2-inch-caliber gun made from brass tubing. It fired a 5-pound solid shot for half a mile, where it penetrated 26 inches into a concrete target. He believed that some redesign of the gun was necessary, but before he could carry this out, G. H. Reynolds patented a design taken from Mefford's work but sufficiently different to avoid patent infringement. U.S. Army lieutenant E. L. Zalinski, present at the Mefford test trial, now resigned from the service and teamed up with Reynolds to form the Pneumatic Dynamite Gun Company.

Eventually the company produced a 15-inch-caliber smooth-bore gun that fired a variety of dynamite-filled projectiles, from 12-inch, 966 pounds to 8-inch, 298 pounds. The projectiles had fins to aid in stability in flight, and the smaller ones had wooden sleeves to bring them up to the desired gun caliber.

In 1890, the U.S. government purchased a number of these guns for coast defense purposes, and the navy fitted three aboard the dynamite cruiser *Vesuvius*. Positioned at fixed angle on the fore deck, the guns were aimed by turning the ship. Adjustments in range were effected by regulating the amount of air pressure on the shell. Unfortunately, all the necessary compressing equipment left little room aboard ship for anything else.

The dynamite gun's chief failing was its relatively short range of 1,750 yards for the largest shell. Advances in slower-burning gunpowder that produced longer pressure on the projectile quickly brought its eclipse. The only use of this weapon in battle came during the Spanish-American War when on June 14, 1898, the *Vesuvius* shelled Morro Castle, Cuba, on the eastern side of the entrance to the harbor of Santiago de Cuba without significant effect.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Vesuvius, USS

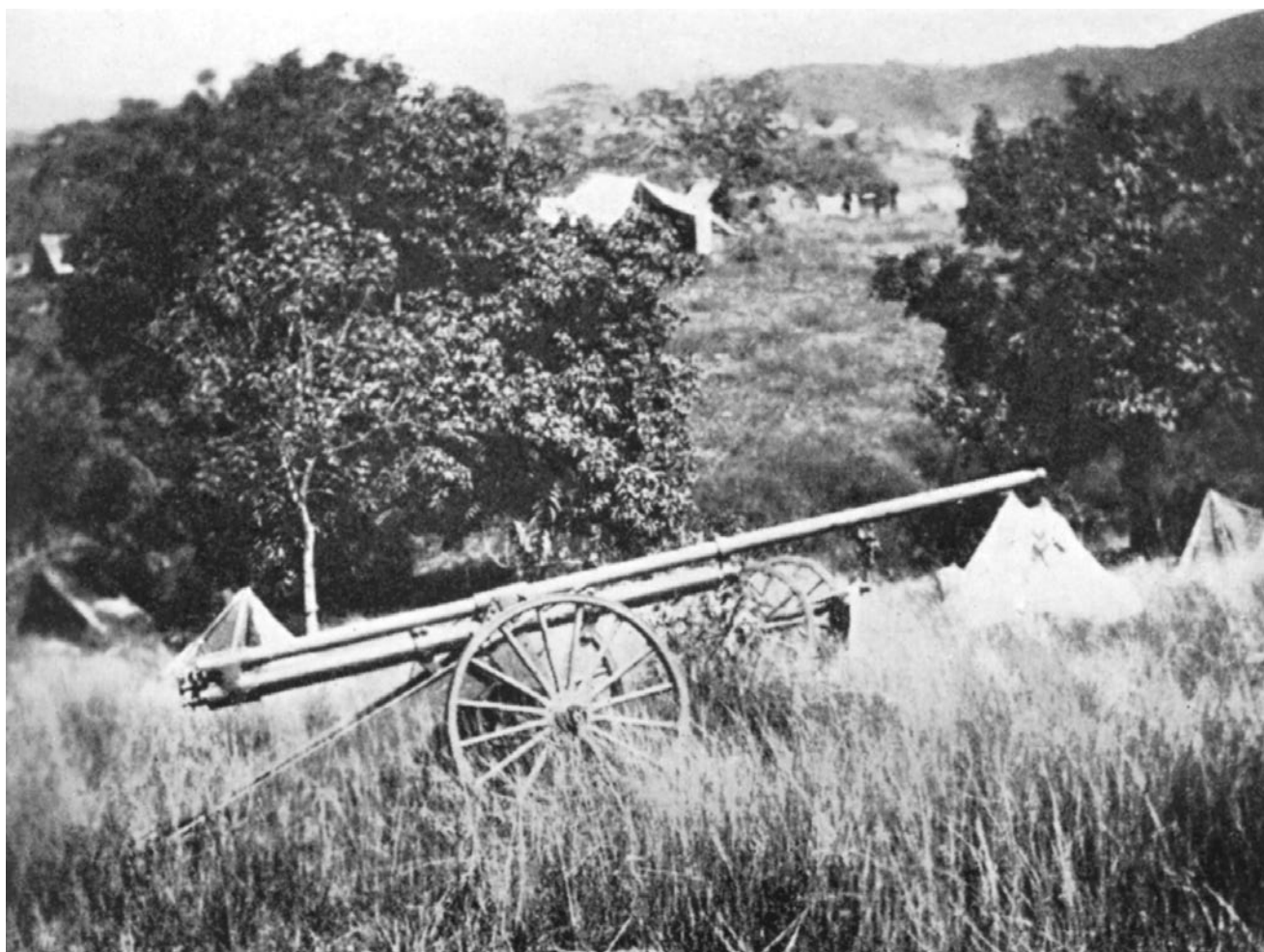
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Dysentery

Waterborne infectious disease caused by a variety of organisms, including *Entamoeba histolytica*, *Shigella* species, and various coliform bacteria. The disease is characterized by frequent bloody diarrhea, abdominal cramps, fever, and dehydration. It is generally transmitted from human to human and usually by contamination of food or water by infected feces. Humans are the most common



A dynamite gun. It used compressed air to project shells charged with dynamite. The gun is in the 1st Volunteer Cavalry Regiment (Rough Riders) camp in the San Juan Valley, Cuba. (Ralph D. Paine, *Roads of Adventure*, 1922)

vector, and the disease is most common when people are crowded into small spaces such as army camps and ships.

Entamoeba usually causes a mild disease that causes self-limited diarrhea and abdominal pain, although it can present as the more severe amoebic dysentery and, rarely, can infect the liver. Shigellosis (named for Japanese bacteriologist Kiyoshi Shigu, who first isolated the organism in 1898) is a more severe disease that causes severe cramping and bloody stools and has an approximate 5 percent mortality rate. In the late 19th century, both were easily confused with typhoid or even cholera.

The earliest descriptions of dysentery are in the Egyptian Ebers Papyrus from approximately 1550 BCE, and the disease was well described in the Hippocratic writings from the fourth and fifth centuries BCE. Dysentery was a major cause of death among Christian forces during the Crusades, and both Edward I and Henry V of England died of the disease. It was so common in wartime that it acquired the nickname “campaign fever” during that century. More than 80,000 Union troops died of dysentery during the American Civil War.

By 1898, it had only recently become evident that febrile diseases including dysentery were caused by microorganisms and not, as had been commonly believed, by exposure to contaminated air. The causative organisms of typhoid, cholera, and amoebic dysentery had all been identified, but most laymen and many doctors still did not understand the importance of protecting food and water from fecal contamination. The soldiers tended to blame their intestinal difficulties on chemicals from the canned (“embalmed”) beef they were being fed.

In Cuba, the U.S. Army lost 345 men in combat and 2,565 from disease, mostly diarrheal. This greater than seven to one proportion compared poorly to even the Civil War in which there were only 50 percent more deaths from disease than from combat. Immediately after hostilities ended in eastern Cuba, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt informed his superiors (and newsmen and Washington politicians) that fewer than half of his Rough Riders were fit for duty, mostly because of fevers and dysentery. By the end of July 1898, 75 percent of the civilian packers and teamsters attached to

American forces were sick, and Major General William R. Shafter pronounced V Corps unable to fight.

Brigadier General Leonard Wood (the original commander of the Rough Riders and later commander of the 2nd Cavalry Brigade) was a signal exception. Taking advantage of his Harvard medical training, he forbade his men to drink from local standing water after landing at Daiquirí, and his men, alone among the invaders, were free of diarrhea. When he assumed command of the city of Santiago and later the surrounding province, he spent more money on sanitation than on any other governmental function and ultimately turned Cuba into a healthier environment for American soldiers than any other in which they were stationed.

JACK MCCALLUM

See also

Embalmed Beef Scandal; Roosevelt, Theodore; Rough Riders; Shafter, William Rufus; Wood, Leonard

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E

Eagan, Charles Patrick

Birth Date: January 16, 1841

Death Date: February 2, 1919

U.S. Army officer and commissary general for the U.S. Army during the Spanish-American War. Born in Ireland on January 16, 1841, Charles Patrick Eagan immigrated to the United States at a young age. He attended school in San Francisco, California. He married in November 1863 and subsequently joined the Washington Territorial Infantry. Deciding on a career in the military, he rose steadily through the ranks. He became a first lieutenant with the 9th Infantry Regiment in 1866 and was promoted to captain with the Commissary and Subsistence Department in 1874. From then on, most of his army career was in commissary and supply. He also saw action in several engagements with Native Americans in the West during which he was wounded, and he was cited for gallantry for this service.

In January 1897, Eagan was appointed assistant commissary general at the rank of lieutenant colonel. Promoted to full colonel on March 11, 1898, he became commissary general at the rank of brigadier general on May 3, 1898. His long years of service as a commissary officer seemed to make him a natural for the position during wartime. Indeed, he had a reputation as a solid administrator, although he was hardly innovative in his approach to problem solving.

Eagan immediately sought to increase both the quantity and quality of food shipments to U.S. troops, but in the final analysis, most rations remained unchanged. His most controversial move as commissary general was his decision to substitute for fresh meat preboiled beef that had been canned. Although the product had been in limited use for almost two decades, its widespread use in the field provoked much consternation on the part of the troops. It

also precipitated the Embalmed Beef Scandal. Believing that the canned beef would be viewed as wholesome and economical (providing freshly slaughtered beef to troops in distant locations was quite difficult), Eagan procured hundreds of thousands of tins of beef. Almost immediately, reports came in claiming that the beef was tainted, inedible, or impossible to serve without cooking. Some soldiers claimed illness from the beef, although it was quite difficult to determine if the beef alone had made them ill. Nevertheless, many saw the canned meat as unappetizing at best and inedible at worst. Soon soldiers began referring to it as embalmed beef because of its pallid color, rancid smell, and poor taste.

The canned beef was not, however, the only issue of contention. Commanding general of the army Major General Nelson A. Miles later claimed that some 337 tons of refrigerated beef was also tainted. Indeed, Miles made the Embalmed Beef Scandal a national sensation during his testimony before the Dodge Commission hearings in December 1898. Miles blasted the Commissary Department with allegations that it had supplied American troops with chemically tainted meat that had sickened and even killed men. He also asserted that the Commissary Department along with civilian contractors had tried to cut costs by procuring inferior meat and then had sought to disguise this with chemicals and other cosmetic means.

Miles, who did not get on well with President William McKinley, was later censured by the Dodge Commission for his allegations, which were never substantiated. Indeed, retired army general Grenville Dodge, who chaired the Dodge Commission, concluded that Miles's accusations were politically driven. Dodge also concluded that there existed no tangible evidence of tainted meat.

Meanwhile, Eagan, renowned for his hot temper, lashed out publicly at Miles, denying that any meat sent to U.S. troops was

tainted and accusing Miles of lying and grandstanding. Worse yet, he asserted that Miles was aiding the cause of the nation's enemies by his lurid and seemingly baseless allegations. By taking on a public figure in such a public way, Eagan essentially ended his military career. When the Dodge Commission disbanded in early 1900, the army pursued court-martial proceedings against Eagan. The former commissary general was ultimately found guilty of insubordination and conduct prejudicial to military discipline. President McKinley suspended Eagan from active duty but kept him at full pay until 1906, at which time he retired from the army. Eagan moved to New York City upon retirement and died there on February 2, 1919.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Dodge, Grenville Mellen; Dodge Commission; Embalmed Beef Scandal; Miles, Nelson Appleton

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East Asian Squadron

Germany was a latecomer to the colonial sphere, for Chancellor Otto von Bismarck (1871–1890) had for the most part opposed acquisition of overseas territories. That was not true with German kaiser Wilhelm II (1888–1918) who had forced Bismarck's resignation in 1890, however. Wilhelm relentlessly pursued *Weltpolitik* (world policy) to secure Germany's "place in the sun" and a strong navy to protect German overseas trade and one day challenge Britain (possibly even Britain allied with the United States) for world mastery. From the mid-1890s, Germany embarked on a major naval building program that by 1914 resulted in its navy becoming the second most powerful in the world. Wilhelm hoped that among other benefits the navy would enable Germany to acquire colonies and overseas bases. Most of the world had already been divided up by other imperial powers, chiefly the British and the French, but Germany hoped at least to secure suitable bases (*Stützpunkte*) in Africa, in the Caribbean, and in Asia.

In Asia, Rear Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, then commander of the German East Asian Squadron, scouted for possible locations for a German settlement in China. The murder of two German missionaries in November 1897 proved fortuitous. On learning of the event and without consulting with either the German Foreign Office or even the navy, Wilhelm immediately ordered Tirpitz's successor as commander of the East Asian Squadron, Vice Admiral Otto

von Diederichs, to seize the Kiaochow (now Jiaoxian) region. That same month, a landing party went ashore from the ships of the East Asian Squadron. Reinforcements were sent out, and in March 1898 Germany secured a 99-year lease from China on the Shantung (Shandong) Peninsula and began constructing a major naval base at Tsingtao (Qingdao).

The next year, 1898, seemed to promise even brighter prospects for German colonial acquisitions in the Far East. Aware that Spanish imperial power was crumbling, Wilhelm had already announced his intention to purchase or simply take the Philippine Islands from Spain. Tirpitz, now state secretary of the Reichsmarineamt (RMA, Imperial Naval Office), in effect naval minister, lamented that the Spanish-American War came too early in his naval-building program for Germany to play a decisive role. Nonetheless, he suggested that German warships be stationed off Manila to await developments.

Wilhelm concurred and on May 18, 1898, ordered Diederichs to steam from Kiaochow to Manila. At Manila between June 12 and 18, Diederichs actually concentrated a force superior to that of Rear Admiral George Dewey's U.S. blockading squadron. Diederichs's ships consisted of the cruisers *Cormoran*, *Irene*, *Kaiser*, *Kaisrin*, *Augusta*, and *Prinzess Wilhelm*. Wilhelm and the navy hoped to secure the acquisition of Mindanao in the Philippines as well as the Sulu Archipelago and Palawan. The Foreign Office concurred with the policy of using the East Asian Squadron to secure naval bases in East Asia.

Diederichs's cables to Berlin were full of complaints of Anglo-American collusion. He hoped that he might be able to secure Mindanao but also the Carolines and Marianas and Palau Island. The powerful German naval presence, however, backfired, leading to several incidents and hard feelings with Dewey. Indeed, this was the single most destructive event in German-U.S. relations before World War I, as the two squadrons almost came to blows in Manila Bay.

Minor incidents ballooned out of proportion, especially over the right under international law of blockading ships to inspect other vessels (the so-called *droit de visite*), which Diederichs flatly rejected. There were numerous incidents. One German warship failed to display its colors until an American warship fired a shot across its bow, while another German warship approaching Dewey's flagship, *Olympia*, at night did not stop until it was similarly threatened. Dewey was especially angry over German ship movements at night that forced him to turn on searchlights, revealing the position of his own warships to the Spaniards ashore. The Germans also established communication with Filipino nationalists on shore.

On July 10, Diederichs sent his flag lieutenant, Paul von Hintze, to the *Olympia* to protest the boarding of the German cruiser *Irene* by an officer of the U.S. revenue cutter *McCulloch*. During the meeting, Dewey lost his temper and threatened to open fire on any ship that refused to stop and states that this would bring war. Dewey said that he had no problem with the British squadron, which always communicated with him. He told Hintze, "If Germany wants war, all right, we are ready."

Although Diederichs vented his spleen in communications to Berlin, he later conceded that the bullying had been a major diplomatic gaffe. Wilhelm, however, chose to attribute Germany's failure to secure any colonial advantage from the war to its insufficient naval resources, and this became one more excuse for further naval expansion.

Germany did purchase both the Mariana and Caroline Islands from Spain in 1899, and the East Asian Squadron remained a notable concentration of German naval strength that kept open communications between Tsingtao, New Guinea, and the Carolines and Marianas. At the beginning of World War I the squadron, now commanded by Vice Admiral Maximilian von Spee, steamed from the Carolines, hoping to reach European waters. In the Battle of Coronel off the coast of Chile on November 1, 1914, Spee administered a decisive defeat on a weaker British cruiser squadron under Rear Admiral Sir Christopher Craddock. The British then concentrated a more powerful force under Vice Admiral Sir Doveton Sturdee that defeated the Germans and sank most of Spee's ships at the subsequent Battle of the Falklands on December 8, 1914.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Diederichs, Ernst Otto von; Germany

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Eastern Squadron

U.S. Navy force created on June 18, 1898, by order of Secretary of the Navy John D. Long. On July 7, Commodore John C. Watson was appointed to command the Eastern Squadron, the ships for which were to be detached from Rear Admiral William T. Sampson's North Atlantic Squadron. Initially, Long ordered the battleships *Iowa* and *Oregon* and several auxiliary ships designated for the squadron. Several weeks later, he augmented the Eastern Squadron with the armored cruiser *Brooklyn* and three additional cruisers, the *Dixie*, *Yankee*, and *Yosemite*. These ships were made ready for possible service in European waters and a mission that might include an attack against the Spanish coast. Sampson, whose blockade of the Cuban coast was already tenuous at best, protested Long's orders, arguing that he could ill afford to lose even a single ship.

Meanwhile, Spanish admiral Manuel de la Cámara y Libermore led his 13-vessel squadron, carrying supplies and reinforcements, from Cádiz, Spain, through the Strait of Gibraltar to fortify Spain's Philippine forces against attacks by local insurgents and an impending landing of American forces. Cámara's squadron included

Spain's only battleship, the *Pelayo*; the armored cruiser *Carols V*; the armed merchant ships *Patriota* and *Rapido*; two transport ships carrying 4,000 soldiers (*Buenos Aires* and *Panay*); and four colliers with the destroyers *Audaz*, *Prosperina*, and *Osado* serving as escorts.

The U.S. Naval War Board regarded Cámara's squadron as a potentially difficult challenge to Rear Admiral George Dewey's squadron at Manila and recommended that Long dispatch a squadron to Spanish waters to cause the Spanish government to recall Cámara's ships. U.S. naval attaché William S. Sims, based in Paris, was also ordered to leak news of the Eastern Squadron's mission to ensure Cámara's recall and alert European powers that the United States would not hesitate to send naval forces to European waters if necessary. This message was at least partly intended for German leaders, who had sharply increased their own naval presence in Philippine waters.

Sampson sought to delay execution of the order creating the Eastern Squadron for as long as possible. By mid-June, Sampson was strengthening the blockade of Cuba and expanding it to Puerto Rico, sustaining naval watches of ports not under blockade and supporting activities of V Corps and preparing for its imminent landing at Daiquirí on June 22. At the same time, Sampson's squadron was patrolling the waters of southeastern Cuba and keeping Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete and his squadron bottled up at Santiago de Cuba. On June 21, the reorganization of U.S. naval forces in the Caribbean strengthened Sampson's command and provided more ships for his squadron, which then was designated the North Atlantic Fleet.

As Cámara headed east in the Mediterranean, Spain augmented its naval forces by purchasing a Chilean armored cruiser. Tension within the U.S. Navy leadership was growing over the difficult choice of leaving the North Atlantic Fleet in the Caribbean to ensure destruction of Cervera's squadron and control of Caribbean operations or dividing the fleet and sending the new Eastern Squadron to attack the Spanish coast in the hopes of forcing Cámara's recall.

As Secretary Long continued to pressure Sampson over the Eastern Squadron and Sampson argued for delay, the battlefield situation in Cuba forced Cervera to sortie from Santiago de Cuba's harbor on July 3. Within a few hours, the Spanish squadron had been destroyed. Three days later, on July 6, Spain recalled Cámara, who had just passed through the Suez Canal.

As the Navy Department confirmed news of Cámara's recall in the ensuing days, interest in sending the Eastern Squadron to Spain grew. On July 10, Sampson reported to Long that the Eastern squadron, now comprising the battleships *Oregon* and *Massachusetts* and the cruisers *Newark*, *Dixie*, *Yosemite*, and *Yankee* as well as supply ships and several colliers, could leave in two days. Unsatisfied with the strength of the squadron, however, Long notified Sampson that all armored vessels except monitors would join Watson's Eastern Squadron bound for Spain. Soon thereafter, plans were developed to deploy two squadrons under Sampson's command, one to steam to the Philippines via the Suez Canal to reinforce Dewey



The U.S. battleship *Iowa*. (Library of Congress)

and another to attack Cámara's squadron. Sampson again objected, citing the need to prepare ships for such a mission.

In the days that followed, the navy changed its plans again. By July 26, Washington received word from Spain via France of an initiative for peace. As the two sides moved toward peace, the Navy Department continued to prepare to deploy the Eastern Squadron on an eastward expedition that would keep the pressure on Spain for peace. On August 12, Spain and the United States signed the Protocol of Peace, and the Eastern Squadron was never deployed.

MARK C. MOLLAN

See also

Cámara y Libermore, Manuel de la; Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Cuba, U.S. Naval Blockade of; Dewey, George; V Corps; Long, John Davis; Naval Strategy, Spanish; Naval Strategy, U.S.; Naval War Board; North Atlantic Squadron; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Shafter, William Rufus; Sims, William Sowden; Spain, Navy; United States Navy; Watson, John Crittenden

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Eberle, Edward Walter

Birth Date: August 17, 1864

Death Date: July 6, 1929

U.S. naval officer. Edward Walter Eberle was born on August 17, 1864, in Denton, Texas, but was reared near Fort Smith, Arkansas, after his family relocated there in 1865. Entering the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis in 1881 as a cadet midshipman, he graduated in 1885 and spent two years at sea aboard the screw sloops *Mohican* and *Shenandoah* and the steamer *Ranger*. He was commissioned an ensign on August 8, 1887, and was assigned to the *Albatross* on which he would serve for three years.

In January 1891, Eberle reported to the Washington Naval Yard, where he studied naval ordnance. It was here that he developed an abiding interest in naval gunnery, which became the centerpiece of his distinguished naval career. In March 1891, he departed on a

long tour of duty in Asia, not returning to the United States until 1894. From 1894 to 1896, he was assigned to the United States Naval Academy.

Promoted to lieutenant, junior grade, on June 12, 1896, Eberle was ordered to report to San Francisco, where the battleship *Oregon* was about to enter service. He served aboard that battleship for almost three years. The *Oregon* was commissioned on July 15, 1896, and Eberle received command of its forward turret.

Following the sinking of the battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, the Navy Department ordered the *Oregon* from Bremerton, Washington, to Callao, Peru, and on the outbreak of war it was ordered to Key West, Florida. Taking on coal, provisions, and ammunition at San Francisco, the *Oregon* covered the 14,500 miles in 66 days. The *Oregon* joined Rear Admiral William T. Sampson's North Atlantic Squadron off Santiago de Cuba on June 1.

The *Oregon* took part in the July 3, 1898, Battle of Santiago de Cuba when Sampson's squadron destroyed the Spanish squadron of Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topote as it exited the harbor. After the battle, Eberle received high praise for the accurate gunfire from his turret. He was also singled out for praise after the bombardment of Spanish shore positions at Caimanera.

On March 3, 1899, Eberle was promoted to lieutenant and was assigned in June to the navy cruiser *Baltimore*. He served as a flag lieutenant in the Asiatic Squadron for a few months before returning to the United States to become an aide to the superintendent of the Naval Academy. While at Annapolis, he also continued to study the latest developments in naval gunnery and ordnance. During 1901–1902, he served on the battleship *Indiana* and then was assigned to the New York Navy Yard. He also wrote a series of manuals on wireless communications and the art of employing guns and torpedoes.

In 1905, Eberle was advanced to lieutenant commander and during 1905–1906 served as an instructor at the Naval War College at Newport, Rhode Island. He then held a series of senior command posts on land and sea. On July 1, 1912, he was promoted to captain. Between 1912 and 1915, he pioneered the use of smoke-screens to protect ships from attack and presciently proposed the use of aircraft to spot and destroy enemy submarines. In addition, he attended an accelerated course of study at the Naval War College in 1913 and held several commands until 1915, at which time he was appointed superintendent of the Naval Academy. He held that post through World War I until 1919, when he was advanced to rear admiral.

Eberle then commanded divisions of both the Atlantic and Pacific Fleets and in 1923 became the chief of Naval Operations. In this post his administrative prowess, diplomatic skills, tact, and communications skills served him well. In 1927, he was appointed chairman of the Executive Committee of the Navy General Board. He retired in 1928, having served in the navy for 47 years. Retiring to northern Virginia, Eberle died in Washington, D.C., on July 6, 1929.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; *Oregon*, USS; *Oregon*, USS, Voyage of; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of

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Economic Depression

Start Date: 1893

End Date: 1897

Most serious economic depression in American history prior to the Great Depression of the 1930s. The economic depression of 1893–1897, also referred to as the Panic of 1893, not only affected the political discourse but also bolstered the fortunes of American expansionists who used the crisis to assert that the United States had to seek new markets abroad to absorb excess inventory at home.

While the arguments of imperialists and expansionists had some merit, most of the markets that they eyed so covetously would not in fact have aided the U.S. economy, nor would they have miraculously pulled the economy out of the doldrums. The long-fabled China Market is a prime case in point. Even though on the surface it appeared ripe for American taking, in reality the vast majority of Chinese had neither the interest in nor the money to become major purchasers of U.S. products. Nevertheless, to study the economic crisis of the 1890s is to understand how the expansionist-minded Republicans came to power beginning in 1894 and how the United States became involved in the Spanish-American War.

The economic depression that began in 1893 was triggered by several trends and events. Unchecked economic growth and corporate mergers, wild speculation and profit taking, financial irregularities, a chaotic banking system, an unbalanced monetary policy,

Unemployment in the United States, 1890–1900

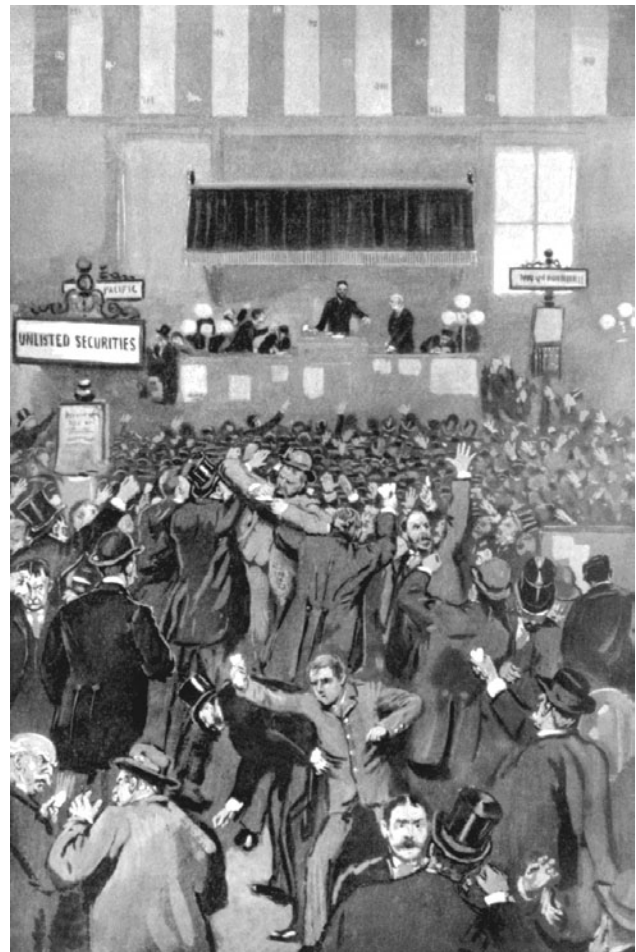
Year	Individuals Unemployed	Percentage of Workforce Unemployed
1890	904,000	4.0%
1891	1,285,000	5.4%
1892	728,000	3.0%
1893	2,860,000	11.7%
1894	4,612,000	18.4%
1895	3,510,000	13.7%
1896	3,782,000	14.4%
1897	3,890,000	14.5%
1898	3,351,000	14.4%
1899	1,819,000	6.5%
1900	1,420,000	5.0%

and a string of high-profile bankruptcies all played a part. In the spring of 1893, two major corporations—the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad and the National Cordage Company—declared bankruptcy almost simultaneously and with no warning. This precipitated a panic and crash on Wall Street. Before long, the stock market crash had eroded confidence in the U.S. economy, and the economic crisis spread like a pandemic from one coast to the other. To make matters worse, the government's gold reserve was being rapidly depleted as a result of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890, which had required that notes be payable in gold or silver. Government revenues were also falling fast, which added to the economic misery.

By 1894, with the economy teetering on collapse, the U.S. Treasury Department reported that the gold reserve had fallen below \$100 million, which was the absolute minimum required by law. It was temporarily replenished when the Democratic Grover Cleveland administration raised \$50 million by way of a bond. However, by January 1895, the gold reserve had plunged to \$68 million, and just a week later it fell again to just \$45 million. The government was now virtually paralyzed, with many calling for Cleveland's impeachment. A number of financial tycoons, including John Pierpont Morgan, came to the rescue, however, and offered to provide the government with gold in return for government bonds. Suspicious of the financiers' motives (they all profited handsomely from the deal), Cleveland nevertheless agreed to the arrangement, which arrested the economic hemorrhaging. By June 1895, the gold reserve had increased to \$107.5 million, and there were incipient signs of an economic recovery.

Nevertheless, the economic downturn was like no other before it. In 1860, there were four farmers for every one industrial worker in the United States. By 1890, that ratio had shifted radically, however. There were now just two farmers for every one factory worker. This meant that many more Americans (one in three) were entirely dependent on a daily or weekly wage earned in a factory or similar place. Unlike farmers, industrial workers could not live off the land because they lived in the vast cities of the Northeast and Midwest. And almost none owned any land or even the place in which they lived. Because of the large concentration of industrial workers, sharp economic depressions spread far wider and faster than they had in the past. In 1892, the unemployment rate was about 3 percent; by early 1895, it had skyrocketed to 18.4 percent. The hardship caused by such massive unemployment was unprecedented, and at the time there were no government relief agencies to provide assistance to the unemployed. By 1895, private charitable organizations had been simply overwhelmed. Some cities set up soup kitchens to prevent unrest, but they too were insufficient to fulfill the needs of all.

Organized labor came under great pressure to alleviate the economic suffering, and strikes such as the 1894 Pullman Strike, which sparked a nationwide railway stoppage, became common. Scores were killed and wounded during that strike in the summer of 1894, while thousands more were arrested. The situation became so per-



A drawing from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* depicts panic on the floor of the New York Stock Exchange on May 5, 1893. A drop in U.S. gold reserves caused a financial panic on the stock market and in the business community, with more than 14,000 businesses declaring bankruptcy by the end of 1893. (Library of Congress)

ilous that President Cleveland was ultimately forced to dispatch troops to break up the work stoppage by violent means.

The economic depression of 1893–1897 also catapulted Eugene Debs into the forefront of labor agitation. Debs, who would ultimately cleave to socialism as a prescription for America's ills, helped create the American Railway Union in the midst of the chaotic summer of 1893. A year later, he led the effort to turn the Pullman Strike in Chicago into a nationwide railway strike.

Mass protests in cities across the country became commonplace by 1894. By January 1894, approximately 15,000 companies had gone bankrupt, and almost 500 banks closed their doors, taking millions of depositors' life savings with them. By mid-1894, the gross national product (GNP), the measure of a nation's economic activity, had contracted by 12 percent from the prior year. Ultimately, before a modest recovery began in the autumn of 1895, more than 16,000 businesses had failed along with 642 banks. The economy would not enjoy a sustained recovery until early 1897.

Not surprisingly, the economic catastrophe had a major impact on American politics. Although President Cleveland was powerless to stop or reverse the downturn, he was nevertheless pilloried for his handling of the crisis, and that criticism came from those in his own Democratic Party as well as from the Republicans. The Populist Party also repudiated the president's performance. In the off-year 1894 congressional elections, the Republicans swept both houses of Congress in what was then the biggest political shift in U.S. history. Two years later, Republican candidate William McKinley handily defeated Democratic Populist candidate William Jennings Bryan for the presidency. McKinley had run on the promise of prosperity, the gold standard, and vague notions of American overseas expansion, while Bryan championed free silver. Indeed, the elections of 1894 and 1896 established a Republican political ascendancy that was to last until the next economic depression in 1930.

With the ascendancy of the expansionist-minded Republicans in Washington and the notion that the economic turmoil of the 1890s necessitated the search for more and better markets overseas, the stage was set for an era of American economic and territorial imperialism. The crisis in Cuba that began in 1895 handed the expansionists the perfect pretext by which to fulfill their agenda. While it is impossible to say that the United States would not have gone to war with Spain in 1898 had the Democrats been in the majority, it is certainly conceivable that they may not have pushed for the annexation of the Philippines or Guam at war's end. There can be little doubt, however, that the economic depression of the 1890s—and the social and political turmoil it engendered—worked greatly to the expansionists' advantage.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Bryan, William Jennings; China Market; Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Debs, Eugene Victor; Democratic Party; Expansionism; Imperialism; Labor Union Movement; McKinley, William; Morgan, John Pierpont, Sr.; Populist Party; Pullman Strike; Republican Party; Silver Standard

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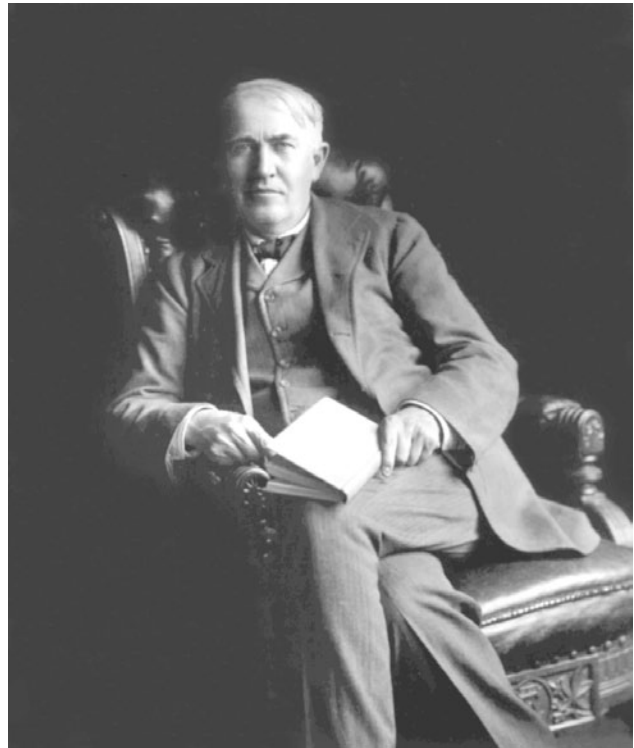
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Edison, Thomas Alva

Birth Date: February 11, 1847

Death Date: October 18, 1931

One of the nation's most prolific pioneers in the development of electronic inventions, including the incandescent light bulb and the



Despite deafness from an early age and limited formal education, Thomas Edison became one of the most prolific pioneers in the development of electronic inventions, including the incandescent light bulb, the phonograph, and electrical generation and distribution. (Library of Congress)

phonograph, and the unsuccessful proponent of direct current for electrical generation and distribution. Thomas Edison was born on February 11, 1847, in Milan, Ohio, the youngest of seven children. Because he did poorly in school, his mother taught him at home. Mathematics was his weakest subject, but he found chemistry to his liking. When in his teens, he set up a chemical laboratory in a train's baggage car. Selling newspapers and candy on trains and getting to know telegraph operators in the stations on his route, he became a telegrapher himself at age 16. In his late teens, he began to suffer from deafness, possibly because of an accident.

In 1868, Edison went to work as an operator for the Western Union Telegraph Company in Boston, meanwhile continuing to tinker with experiments. In New York City, after showing off his technical skills, he was hired as general manager by Laws' Gold Indicator Company. Soon afterward, with two other electrical engineers, he formed a company specializing in electrical work of all kinds. In 1870, when the firm was sold, Edison received \$40,000 for his share and started his own electrical business, for which he hired trained technicians, able to work on inventions under his supervision, as well as scientific theorists.

Edison concentrated during the early 1870s on making advances in the telegraph, often improving on the work of earlier inventors. For example, he took the duplex system of telegraphing, by which

two messages could be sent simultaneously, and made it quadruplex, allowing for four messages. The advances that he pursued in telegraphs would make the medium indispensable in times of war, as the Spanish-American War clearly witnessed.

In 1876, Edison set up an invention plant at Menlo Park, New Jersey, where he and his staff pursued research on and development of projects that were seen to be profitable. In 1877, Edison invented the phonograph, at first a crude device that he slowly improved. Two years later, he made the incandescent electric bulb a commercial possibility. His chief (and essential) contribution was to perfect the means for cheap production of the bulbs and for bringing power to them from a central source. In lower New York City, he established the first electrical plant to generate power.

By 1887, the Menlo Park plant had outgrown itself, and Edison moved his headquarters to West Orange, New Jersey, where work continued on a larger scale. He organized companies to make and sell his various inventions. These companies were eventually merged into what is now the General Electric Company. In experimenting with the motion picture during the 1890s, Edison and his colleagues took an existing device, improved it, patented it as the Edison Vitascope, and encouraged the formation of what became the movie industry.

Edison's other successes, often worked out from existing inventions, include the storage battery, the mimeograph, the microphone, the electric locomotive, railway signaling devices, and lighting systems for railway cars and mines. During World War I (1914–1918), he chaired the Naval Consulting Board, where he applied his research on torpedoes, periscopes, and flame throwers.

Edison made only one discovery in pure science, the Edison Effect, that he noted and patented in 1883 and that led other workers to discover the vacuum tube, in turn important for radio. Edison registered some 1,000 patents, although many of these were the result of cooperative work in his laboratories. Even during his lifetime, the phenomenal character of his inventions gave him an almost heroic stature in the public view, and a virtual mythology grew up about the events of his life and career. Edison died in West Orange, New Jersey, on October 18, 1931.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Telephone and Telegraph

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Soldiers of the U.S. Army VIII Corps ford a river during the Philippine-American War, 1899. (Library of Congress)

Philippine-American War (1899–1902). The forces of VIII Corps were originally to seize Manila following Commodore George Dewey's victory in the Battle of Manila Bay (May 1, 1898). The corps mission grew, however, to include occupying and pacifying the Philippine Islands following their acquisition by the United States in the December 1898 Treaty of Paris.

VIII Corps was officially constituted at San Francisco on June 21, 1898, with Major General Wesley Merritt as its commander. The corps originated in President William McKinley's order of May 2, 1898, to send an expeditionary force to the Philippines. Regular army and volunteer units began their assembly at San Francisco on May 6, and units began to deploy to Manila from San Francisco on May 25. While the force numbered some 20,000 men, only 25 percent of these were regulars; the remainder were U.S. Volunteers. Because of a lack of shipping, the men traveled to the Philippines in seven different contingents. The first group to depart arrived in the Philippines on June 30, capturing the island of Guam en route.

Because not all units had arrived in the Philippines by the end of July, Merritt designated those on hand as the 1st Division of 641 officers and 15,058 men and placed it under the command of Brigadier General Thomas M. Anderson. It consisted of two brigades under the command of Brigadier Generals Arthur MacArthur and Frank V. Greene. Its artillery component included 16 light field guns and 6 mountain guns as well as Gatling guns and machine guns.

The men of VIII Corps established Camp Dewey, south of Manila. On August 13, VIII Corps troops captured Manila following prearranged token Spanish resistance in what became known as the First Battle of Manila. However, a standoff ensued between VIII

VIII Corps

U.S. expeditionary force assembled for service in the Philippines during the Spanish-American War (1898) and the subsequent

Corps and Filipino rebels led by Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy who surrounded the capital city while the United States decided whether to annex the Philippines. Major General Elwell S. Otis arrived in Manila on August 20 with reinforcements from San Francisco and assumed command of VIII Corps on August 30, when Merritt departed for Paris to assist in peace negotiations with Spain.

On assuming command, Otis reorganized VIII Corps into two divisions commanded by Anderson and MacArthur, now both major generals. Upon learning that the United States had claimed sovereignty over the Philippine Islands with the signing of the Treaty of Paris, tensions between VIII Corps and the rebels escalated. Fighting began on February 4, 1899, in what became the Second Battle of Manila and the Philippine-American War.

U.S. troops drove the insurgents from the capital area. Believing that resistance was centered on the Tagalog ethnic group, Otis planned to drive his forces northward from Manila along the Manila-Dagupan Railroad, the only logistical supply route that could support his troops far from the port facilities in Manila. The plan was to encircle the rebels to prevent them from disbanding into small guerrilla groups while at the same time demonstrating the advantages of American rule in the occupied areas. Otis believed that resistance would then collapse throughout the islands.

VIII Corps' combat effectiveness was consistently hampered by the need for more troops. It was also under constant pressure to discharge its state volunteers, who had volunteered to fight only the Spanish and not the Filipinos. Regular army units were sent to replace them, but the need to garrison an ever-increasing occupation zone meant that VIII Corps was only able to muster 11,000 operational troops at any one time. To meet VIII Corps' manpower needs, on March 2, 1899, Congress authorized raising regular army strength to 65,000 men and the recruitment of 35,000 volunteers from the nation at large. As reinforcements were shipped overseas, VIII Corps grew from 28,000 men at the end of August 1899 to more than 50,000 men by the end of December 1899.

On March 17, 1899, VIII Corps was reorganized into a defensive element to protect Manila and an offensive element to fight in the interior of Luzon. VIII Corps conducted most of its campaigning during the spring of 1899 with two sustained drives northward in the form of infantry columns that would try to seize the ever-shifting rebel headquarters and trap the bulk of the insurgent army. These drives were accompanied by offensives to the south and east of Manila. The northern operations were successful in seizing ground but were too slow to encircle the rebels because of the difficult conditions encountered.

Following a summer respite, VIII Corps launched a three-pronged offensive to finish off resistance in the north. Once again, rugged terrain and heat took their toll, allowing the rebels to escape into the mountains. By the end of November 1899, VIII Corps had succeeded in dispersing large concentrations of rebels. This forced the survivors to flee into the mountains. Defeated in the open, rebels began to wage a guerrilla campaign. VIII Corps then turned its attention to the south and east. With garrisons already in the major

ports of the western Visaya and Moro Islands, combined army-navy teams captured the major port cities of southeastern Luzon, the eastern Visaya Islands, and Mindanao.

With the conclusion of large-scale operations, the need for a corps-level field command came to an end as VIII Corps transitioned into a counterinsurgency force. VIII Corps continued to battle the insurgents, although the corps was officially dissolved on March 20, 1900, and reorganized as a territorial command, known as the Division of the Philippines, with four geographical departments: Northern Luzon, Southern Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao-Jolo. Each of the four was also subdivided into districts and subdistricts.

JAMES E. SHIRCLIFFE JR.

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Anderson, Thomas McArthur; Camp Dewey; Dewey, George; Greene, Francis Vinton; Luzon; Luzon Campaigns; MacArthur, Arthur; Manila, First Battle of; Manila, Second Battle of; Manila Bay, Battle of; McKinley, William; Merritt, Wesley; Otis, Elwell Stephen; Paris, Treaty of; Philippine-American War; Tagalogs; Visayan Campaigns

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El Caney, Battle of

Event Date: July 1, 1898

Battle fought at El Caney, Cuba, between U.S. and Spanish forces on July 1, 1898. The Battle of El Caney and the simultaneous Battle of San Juan Hill were the first major engagements of the Spanish-American War in Cuba. These two American victories were instrumental in the encirclement and siege of Santiago, the major Spanish port city on the southern coast of Cuba.

On June 22, 1898, Major General William R. Shafter's V Corps made an unopposed landing on Cuba at Daiquirí, 15 miles east of Santiago. Shafter planned a two-pronged attack on the approaches to Santiago, the left at San Juan Heights and the right at El Caney. At El Caney, the Spanish had erected six earth and wood blockhouses to the north and west of the village. Southeast of the town and situated on a hill, the old stone Spanish fort of El Viso commanded the entire area. Brigadier General Joaquín Vara del Rey y Rubio commanded 520 troops manning the El Caney defenses.

Brigadier General Henry W. Lawton's 6,653-man 2nd Division received the assignment of taking El Viso and the El Caney defenses. The American timetable called for the Spanish positions to fall within two hours of the commencement of the assault, whereupon Lawton was to join the main American attack on San Juan Heights



A U.S. Army artillery battery in action during the Battle of El Caney, July 1, 1898. (Army Historical Foundation)

six miles to the southwest. Lawton's division moved into position before dawn on July 1.

The battle opened at 6:35 a.m. with artillery fire from Captain Allyn Capron's battery of four 3.2-inch rifled guns situated about a mile and a half from the Spanish positions. The bombardment had almost no impact on the defenders, however. Rather than concentrate artillery fire on any single point, Lawton continually shifted targets, which had minimal effect. Meanwhile, Lawton's three brigades deployed for the attack with Brigadier General William Ludlow's brigade on the left of the American line, Brigadier General Adna R. Chaffee's brigade in the center, and Colonel Evan Miles's brigade on the right. Confusion reigned, and none of the brigades were prepared to advance at the planned time of the assault.

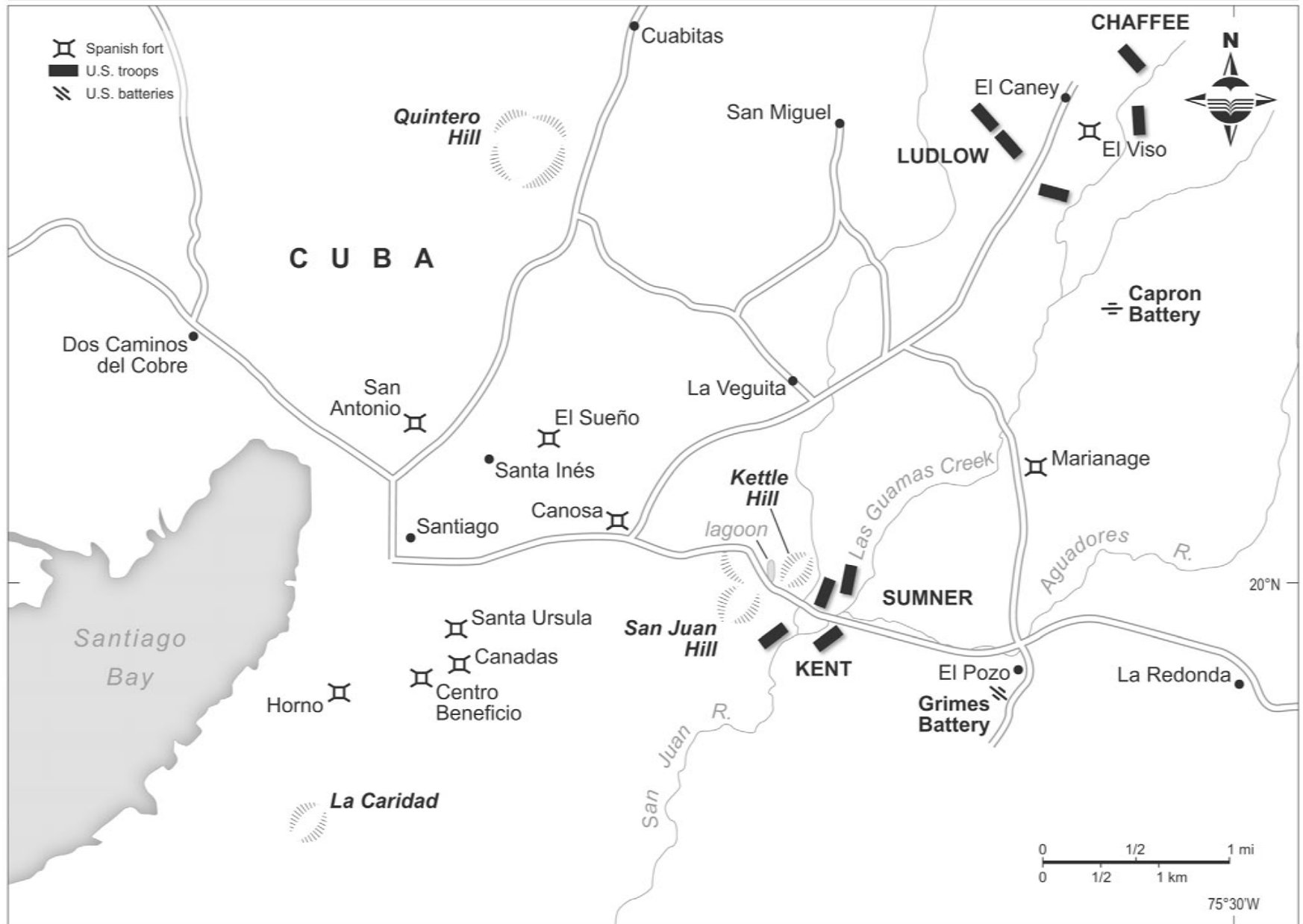
When artillery fire failed to subdue any of the Spanish strong points, the American infantry brigades moved forward. The attacks were poorly coordinated and, taking the form of a gradually closing semicircle, stalled half a mile away from the Spanish lines. American numerical superiority was offset by the Spanish defensive works, and the ensuing small-arms fire saw mounting U.S. casualties with little visible effect on the Spanish defenders. Both sides used volley fire, but the Spanish Mauser repeating rifle was a better weapon than the Krag-Jorgensen employed by the U.S. regulars. The U.S. volunteers, such as the 2nd Massachusetts Regiment, were at particular disadvantage; they were armed with the single-shot .45-caliber Springfield rifle firing black powder cartridges that gave away their firing positions to the Spanish. The Spanish were also able to fire from protected positions inside their blockhouses and trenches.

By noon the fighting had almost stopped. Commanders on each side paused to rest their troops and replenish supplies, particularly ammunition. Vara del Rey reported that he had repulsed a major American attack at a cost of 20 Spanish casualties. Shafter ordered Lawton to break off the attack and move at once to join the other battle, but Lawton insisted on capturing El Caney, and Shafter permitted him to continue. Lawton ordered up reinforcement in the form of Brigadier General John C. Bates's Independent Brigade and resumed the assault.

Although Vara del Rey had been killed shortly after noon, the Spanish continued to offer stiff resistance even though they were down to approximately 520 men. Rather than another poorly coordinated infantry assault on multiple positions, Lawton ordered Capron to concentrate fire on El Viso, the key point in the El Caney defenses. At 2:00 p.m. Capron's guns, which had been moved to within 1,000 yards of El Viso, began to breach its walls. The 24th U.S. Infantry Regiment (an African American unit) and the 12th Infantry Regiment then engaged in a bloody firefight with the Spanish defenders and captured El Viso by 3:00 p.m. Lawton ignored Shafter's order to bypass the small blockhouses for an advance on Santiago and continued his assault on the blockhouses. Once El Viso surrendered, American artillery was able to methodically destroy each blockhouse in turn. Fighting ceased about 5:00 p.m. The surviving Spanish defenders, now out of ammunition, attempted to withdraw into Santiago, but only about 80 reached the city.

The attack at El Caney, though eventually successful, proved strategically worthless to the American cause. The capture of El Caney cost V Corps 81 dead and 360 wounded. Spanish casualties

BATTLES OF EL CANEY AND SAN JUAN HEIGHTS, JULY 1, 1898



numbered 235 killed or wounded and 125 taken prisoner. General Vara del Rey and his two sons were among the Spanish dead. At about 8:00 p.m., Lawton's division began the movement to Santiago. The Americans now controlled both the water supply and the roads into Santiago. Starving out the city would be only a matter of time.

PAUL J. SPRINGER AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

African American Soldiers; Capron, Allyn Kissam, Jr.; Chaffee, Adna Romanza, Sr.; Lawton, Henry Ware; Ludlow, William; Miles, Evan; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Shafter, William Rufus; Vara del Rey y Rubio, Joaquín

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El Pozo, Cuba

A high hill located about 2,500 yards in front of San Juan Heights and about 1.5 miles from Santiago, Cuba. Prior to the Battle of San Juan Hill on July 1, 1898, U.S. forces of Major General Joseph Wheeler's Dismounted Cavalry Division and Brigadier General Joseph F. Kent's 1st Division were both camped near El Pozo (El Poso), and it was from this point that they assaulted San Juan Heights. Battery A of the 2nd Field Artillery with four light 3.2-inch guns was also positioned near the hill during the same battle. One of only a few artillery outfits to witness action during the fighting in Cuba owing to the war's short duration, Battery A was also known as Grimes's Battery for its commander Captain G. S. Grimes.

At about 8:00 a.m. on July 1 with the Battle of San Juan Hill about to commence, the guns of Grimes's Battery opened fire on the heights at a range of some 2,600 yards from the Spanish blockhouse on San Juan Hill. Unfortunately for the Americans, thick smoke from the black powder charges used by the American guns soon revealed their position, and the Spanish commenced counterbattery fire from behind the heights. The guns were ordered to stop firing to protect the men around them. This forced the American infantry attack to go forward without artillery support. Several men in the battery were killed or wounded. Renowned artist Frederic Remington made Battery A famous by depicting some of its men in the heat of battle.

A conference was held near El Pozo the next day, July 2, when V Corps commander Major General William R. Shafter was persuaded against withdrawing from the Santiago area.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Artillery; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign

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Election of 1900

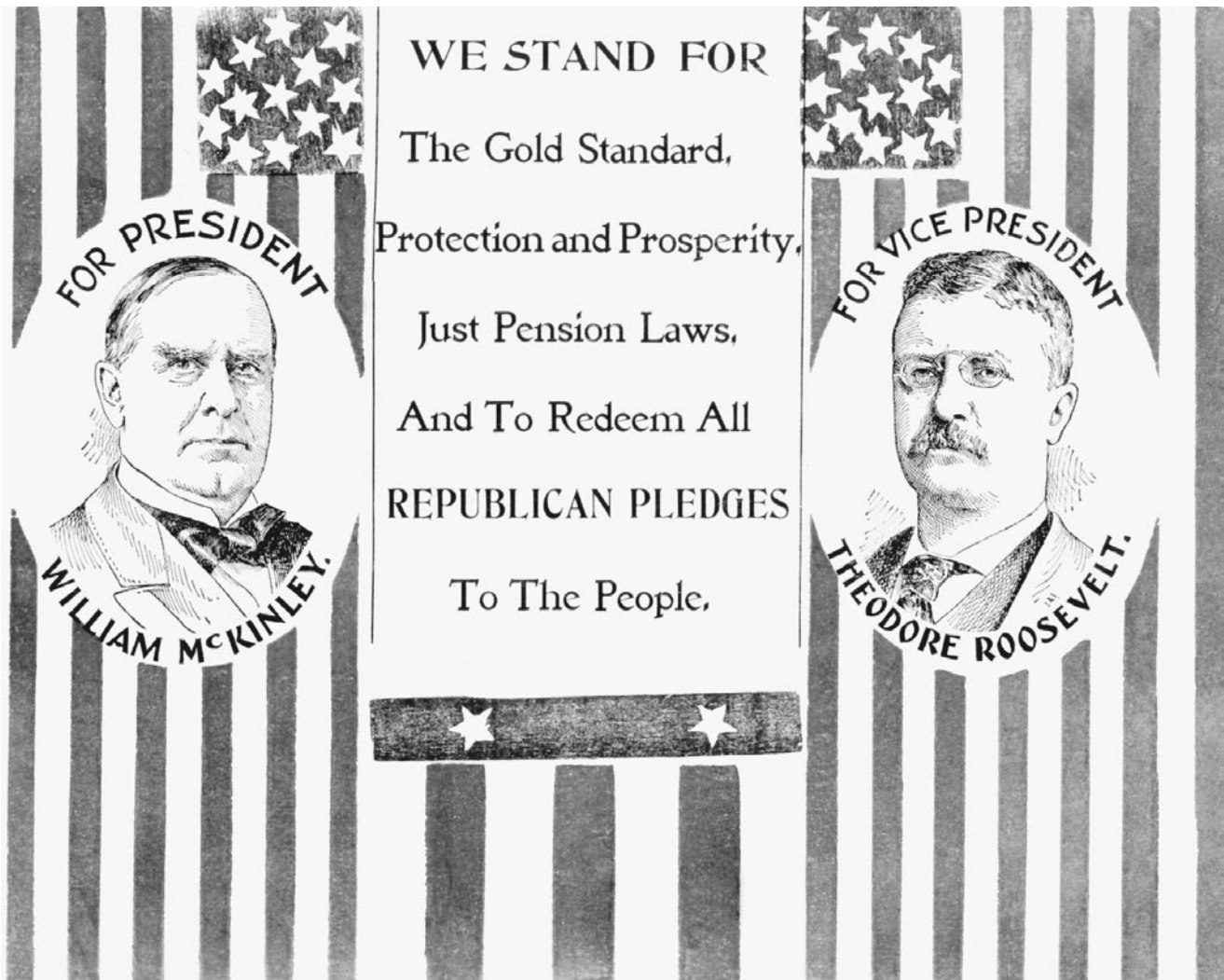
General election in the United States pitting incumbent Republican president William McKinley and his running mate Theodore Roosevelt against Democratic nominee William Jennings Bryan and running mate Adlai E. Stevenson. The election, which occurred on November 6, 1900, was most noteworthy because the issue of imperialism still guided the political debate, as did the ongoing Philippine-American War. General Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, leader of the Filipino insurgency, mapped out a specific plan that he hoped would influence the U.S. elections.

The election of 1900 was largely a rematch of the 1896 election inasmuch as both presidential contenders were the same and many of the same campaign issues were in play. There were, however, important differences that gave McKinley a decided advantage. First, the American economy was booming, unlike four years earlier when it was struggling to recover from a devastating depression. Second, McKinley could rightly point out that the stunning success of the Spanish-American War had made the Western Hemisphere more stable and that it had brought with it a much-enlarged United States. Finally, in most circumstances, incumbents usually enjoy an automatic advantage in a general election.

Bryan's campaign continued to play on a number of Populist Party themes including free silver, which no longer resonated because the economy was prospering and world gold reserves were on the increase after gold mines in South Africa and Alaska had begun producing. Bryan also pledged that he would more actively pursue antitrust prosecutions and sever the ties between Washington and big business. This pledge was also not particularly well received, as the Republicans had just as many plans, if not more, to curb the abuses of trusts and business monopolies.

Perhaps Bryan's singular weapon in the 1900 election was his use of the Philippine-American War and its ties to American imperial expansion. Arguing that the war was fatally executed and that the United States should accommodate the Filipino insurgency by pledging to support Philippine independence with all due haste, Bryan made it clear—without saying so specifically—that he would bring an immediate end to the war in the Philippines. He also sought to end what he termed American “imperial expansion” but without saying how he intended to accomplish this.

McKinley, who presided over a well-oiled campaign machine, ran largely on his track record since taking office in 1897. Since then, the economy had not only improved but was actually booming. The United States had fought a quick, relatively painless war



A Republican Party campaign poster for William McKinley and his running mate Theodore Roosevelt. The gold standard, referred to on the poster, was an issue of the time. (Library of Congress)

with Spain and won it in less than three months. It also had added Hawaii, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippine Islands to its territory and had stabilized Cuba. Realizing, however, that the Philippine-American War was a potential liability, the McKinley administration boasted of troop withdrawals ahead of the elections, and other Republicans promised that the war would be over within 60 days of McKinley's reelection. The fact was that the war was not close to an end, as reports from field commanders—including Brigadier General Arthur MacArthur—made abundantly clear.

Aguinaldo, who was a shrewd politician as well as an effective military leader, saw the 1900 election as a way to end the Philippine-American War more or less on his terms. As early as the summer of 1899, he made plans for a series of broad and punishing assaults against American forces all across the Philippine Islands. His strategy was simple: cause as much damage to American forces as possible, undermine Americans' faith in the war effort, and tip the election in the Democrats' favor.

In the end, neither Bryan nor Aguinaldo could tilt the scale enough to upset the incumbent McKinley. McKinley won the election with broad-based support, including from the majority of soldiers serving in the Philippines. In addition, McKinley's running mate, New York governor Theodore Roosevelt, hero of the Battle of San Juan Hill, proved to be an effective campaigner. When the votes were counted, McKinley had carried 28 states to Bryan's 17 and had garnered 292 electoral votes to Bryan's 155. In the straight popular vote count, McKinley carried 51.7 percent of the vote as compared to Bryan's 45.5 percent. McKinley swept practically all the northern tier of states from Maine to Washington as well as California. Bryan ran strong only in the South and carried no industrially significant states. Socialist Eugene Debs, who ran for the presidency for the first time in 1900, captured 87,945 votes. The once-promising Populist Party, which ran as its candidate Wharton Barkley, took just 50,989 votes.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Bryan, William Jennings; Democratic Party; Economic Depression; Imperialism; MacArthur, Arthur; McKinley, William; Populist Party; Republican Party; Roosevelt, Theodore; Silver Standard; Trusts

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Elliott, George Frank

Birth Date: November 30, 1846

Death Date: November 4, 1931

U.S. Marine Corps officer. Born on November 30, 1846, in Utah, Alabama, George Frank Elliot spent several years in Alabama before his family moved to New Hampshire. Firmly committed to a career in the military, he enrolled at the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1868 but left after two years to accept a commission as a second lieutenant in the Marine Corps.

During the course of the next seven years, Elliott served in a variety of postings ashore, most notably at the Washington Naval Shipyard in the District of Columbia and the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard at Kittery, Maine. After serving briefly with the Marine Guards on the *Vermont*, *Frolic*, and *Monongahela*, he was transferred to the Norfolk Navy Shipyard in Portsmouth, Virginia. His return to Virginia in 1877 coincided with the Great Railroad Strike of 1877, when Baltimore and Ohio Railroad employees staged a general strike that spread along the railroad line from Maryland to West Virginia. Elliott and a detachment of marines were dispatched by President Rutherford B. Hayes to Baltimore to help prevent destruction and protect the city and the railroad from further damage.

In 1878, Elliott was promoted to first lieutenant. During the next few years, he continued with a series of assignments, serving on the *Alliance* before being stationed at the Marine Barracks, Charlestown Naval Yard, in Boston, Massachusetts. In 1885, he participated in a naval expedition to Panama. He was promoted to captain in 1892 and led a marine unit at the U.S. legation in Seoul, Korea, in 1894.

With the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898, Elliott was called to action with the 1st Marine Battalion, which was to be dispatched to Cuba. On June 10, 1898, commanding a company of marines, Captain Elliott landed at Guantánamo Bay. He was then ordered to take Cuzco Well, the main water supply for the Spanish who were defending the bay. On June 14, Elliott led an attack on the Spanish. He commanded some 160 men, consisting of C and D companies of the battalion and a number of Cuban insurgents. Enjoying gunfire support from the gunboat *Dolphin* offshore, Elliott's men defeated nearly 500 Spanish defenders while sustaining only minimal casualties.

Comparatively speaking, the events at Guantánamo and Cuzco Well were minor skirmishes. However, the marines' occupation of the strategic area and the establishment of the coaling station at Guantánamo enabled the U.S. Navy to maintain constant pressure on the Spanish squadron at Santiago.

Promoted to major in March 1899, Elliott saw action in the Philippines during the Philippine-American War beginning in September 1899, when he landed with a battalion at Cavite to support marines already operating in the field. Soon thereafter, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel. Elliott and his men worked closely with army units to storm and capture the insurgent-held town of Novalleta on October 8, 1899.

In 1900, Elliott returned to Portsmouth, Virginia, where he remained until 1903. In March 1903, he was transferred to Washington, D.C., and promoted to colonel. Seven months later, he was elevated to the rank of brigadier general and named commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps. Now in charge of some 7,800 marines, Elliott returned to action in Panama in early 1904, where his two battalions supported the U.S. military effort after the Panamanian revolt against Colombia. Elliott remained in Panama until the new Panamanian government assumed control.

In his capacity as marine commandant, Elliott played an enthusiastic and direct role in advocating more recognition for the corps. His efforts were rewarded when Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft issued executive orders clarifying the role of the U.S. Marine Corps. Promoted to major general in 1908, Elliott continued to serve as Marine Corps commandant until his retirement from active duty in November 1910. He died on November 4, 1931, in Washington, D.C.

JEFFERY B. COOK

See also

Cuzco Well, Battle of; 1st Marine Battalion; Guantánamo, Battle of; Philippine-American War

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Embalmed Beef Scandal

Event Date: December 21, 1898

U.S. Army procurement scandal arising from the Spanish-American War of 1898 in which hundreds of tons of meat sent to feed U.S. troops were thought to have been tainted. Major General Nelson A. Miles touched off the Embalmed Beef Scandal during his testimony to the presidential-appointed Dodge Commission on December 21, 1898. While defending his military decisions in Puerto Rico, Miles attacked the Commissary Department and, indirectly, the William McKinley administration with accusations that chem-

ically tainted meat had been deliberately issued to the troops and that this had resulted in many illnesses and deaths. Numerous army officers, including Theodore Roosevelt, supported this claim, but a subsequent court of inquiry could not prove that the beef had been tainted and censured Miles.

Miles's accusations centered on 337 tons of refrigerated beef and 198,508 pounds of canned beef sent to Cuba and Puerto Rico during the war. He contended that the refrigerated rations were so unpalatable that the men refused to eat them. He also claimed that the canned beef was not much better. To meet the low prices of competitive bidding, contractors often used waste and offal from other packing processes for the army rations. Miles claimed that when this meat was consumed, often disguised in stews, the results were diarrhea, dysentery, and even death. Many believed that the Commissary Department and its civilian contractors were experimenting with chemical preservatives, including boric acid, salicylic acid, and nitrate potash, which gave the refrigerated meat an embalmed smell and appearance. In support of Miles were reports provided by officers from the 4th, 6th, 9th, 12th, and 17th Infantry; the 1st, 3rd, and 9th Cavalry; and the 1st, 2nd, and 5th Artillery.

Many important military and political leaders responded to these charges, which quickly became a national sensation. Major General Wesley Merritt, who commanded the Philippines expedition, denied any incidence of bad beef under his authority. Not surprisingly, the meatpacking industry also denied any wrongdoing. Retired army major general Grenville Dodge, head of the presidential commission, found no concrete evidence of chemical tainting and concluded that Miles was attacking McKinley in an effort to become the next Democratic Party presidential nominee.

Commissary General Charles P. Eagan attacked Miles with considerable vehemence, accusing him of lying, deceit, and political chicanery. So harsh were Eagan's condemnations, in fact, that a military court later found him guilty of conduct unbecoming an officer. Secretary of War Russell A. Alger, himself the object of scrutiny during the scandal, attempted to bring charges against Miles for issuing unauthorized press releases. Almost all the participants in this scandal suffered significant damage to their reputations and careers.

In the end, neither the Dodge Commission nor the Miles Court of Inquiry could prove that the refrigerated beef was tainted, but they did conclude that the canned beef was of inferior quality. Congress released the two-volume *Record of Court of Inquiry* on March 30, 1900. But the political infighting and issues of dishonesty haunted the scandal's primary participants for much longer. Elihu Root ultimately replaced Alger as secretary of war, and Miles entered into a lengthy battle about military reform with the new secretary. The dissension over military reform eventually damaged both the army organization and Miles, who retired in disgrace.

For its part, the meatpacking industry suffered even more scrutiny, and writer-journalist Upton Sinclair mentioned the Embalmed Beef Scandal in his muckraking exposé *The Jungle*, published in 1906. Sinclair's book revived the charges of unhealthy and



Meat inspectors at the Swift & Company packinghouse in Chicago, circa 1906. Both hygiene and labor conditions within the meatpacking industry came under close scrutiny by so-called muckraking journalists at the turn of the century. Soldiers claimed to have been given tainted meat while fighting in the Spanish-American War. Exposés by writers such as Upton Sinclair helped bring about the passage of the 1906 Federal Meat Inspection Act. (Library of Congress)

unsanitary conditions in America's meatpacking industry (which was centered principally in Chicago) and prodded the Roosevelt administration into action. Indeed, Roosevelt, who had read Sinclair's book and was still convinced that the meat rations during the war had been tainted, pushed Congress into passing legislation to regulate more closely meatpacking and other food industries. The result was the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 and the Meat Inspection Act of 1906, two of the first significant pieces of legislation of the incipient Progressive era. Their passage is often attributed, at least in part, to the president's experiences with Spanish-American War meat rations.

DAWN OTTEVAERE

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; Dodge, Grenville Mellen; Dodge Commission; Eagan, Charles Patrick; McKinley, William; Merritt, Wesley; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Roosevelt, Theodore; Root, Elihu

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Embarkation Points

See Camps, U.S. Army

Endicott Plan

Comprehensive plan to substantially fortify U.S. coastal defenses beginning in 1886 and named for U.S. secretary of war William Endicott. In the years immediately following the American Civil War, the condition and reliability of defenses designed to protect U.S. harbors and ports deteriorated steadily. Not until the early 1880s did Congress, the executive branch, and the armed services begin to address this issue. This decision was coupled with that of the construction of a more powerful modern navy. Advances in weapons technology also had rendered the old static coastal defenses largely obsolete. With naval strategy focused more on offensive capabilities, adequate coastal defenses would allow military planners to use fewer naval assets for protecting home shores and more for naval operations in foreign waters.

In 1886, newly inaugurated president Grover Cleveland appointed a board of inquiry that brought together military and civilian officials, under the direction of Secretary of War Endicott, to study the U.S. coastal defenses and to recommend plans of action to resolve these deficiencies. The result, after careful deliberations, was the 1886 Endicott Report, or Endicott Plan. Painting an alarming picture of American coastal defenses, the report urged the adoption of a \$126 million program to construct new breech-loading cannon, machine guns, floating batteries, torpedo boats, underwater mines, searchlights, and the like, all to bolster 29 U.S. coastal sites. The plan called for the procurement of 1,300 heavy guns and mortars. Not until 1888, however, did Congress begin funding the program (and then only a small part of it) with the creation of the Army Board of Ordnance and Fortification. The plan also resulted in the creation of the Army Gun Factory to produce the weapons called for in the report. Actual construction of forts did not begin until 1890, and this proceeded slowly and fitfully mainly because of congressional failure to provide adequate funds.

By 1897, only a small portion of the Endicott Plan had been met; only 30 of the prescribed 500 heavy guns and 70 of the 1,000 mortars were in place in the fortifications. Even more troublesome was the fact that an estimated 85,000 men would be needed to staff the new fortifications, although only about 8,500 would require extensive training. Once again, however, Congress refused to raise the

money needed to add artillery regiments to the army, and so the fortifications were badly undermanned.

As war with Spain loomed in early 1898, however, Congress finally added two new artillery regiments (the 6th and 7th), which would bring to 8,000 men the number of trained personnel needed to man the fortifications. This was possible thanks to the March 8, 1898, signing of the Fifty Million Dollar Bill, which finally broke the legislative logjam. Immediately thereafter, the Corps of Engineers and the Ordnance Department embarked on a crash course in coastal defense, adding guns, cannon, mortars, mines, ships, and the like to numerous fortifications around the country, particularly along the East Coast. Still, building and procurement lagged, and the Endicott Plan was not largely implemented until 1910. By then, of course, rapid advancements in weapons and naval technology had begun to render these installations increasingly outdated. Be that as it may, the Endicott improvements endured, with modification and modernization, until World War II.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Coastal Defenses, U.S.; Fifty Million Dollar Bill

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Ernst, Oswald Hubert

Birth Date: June 27, 1842

Death Date: March 21, 1926

U.S. Army officer. Born near Cincinnati, Ohio, on June 27, 1842, Oswald Hubert Ernst entered Harvard University in 1858 and two years later was appointed to the United States Military Academy, West Point, where he graduated in June 1864 and was commissioned a first lieutenant in the engineers. In July 1864, he became assistant engineer of the Army of the Tennessee and served throughout the Atlanta Campaign. Following an assignment as a professor of engineering at West Point, he helped oversee construction of Pacific coast fortifications. Promoted to captain in March 1867, he commanded an engineer company and then returned to West Point as a professor of engineering, signaling, and telegraphy. In 1873, he published *A Manual of Practical Military Engineering*.

Beginning in 1878, Ernst was involved in engineering assignments on western rivers, including the Mississippi. In May 1882, he was promoted to major and given charge of river engineering projects in Texas. From 1888 to 1893, he was a member of the Missis-

issippi River Commission. Colonel Ernst was superintendent of West Point from April 1893 to June 1898.

Appointed brigadier general of volunteers in May 1898, Ernst commanded the 1st Brigade of the 1st Division of I Corps in the Puerto Rico Campaign. Landing at Ponce, Puerto Rico, his brigade fought in the Battle of Coamo on August 9 and the skirmish at the Asomante Hills on August 12.

Following the war, Ernst served as inspector general of U.S. troops in Cuba, and in 1899, he was a member of the commission studying possible routes for a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. From February 1903 to June 1906, he was president of the Ohio River Commission. He retired from the army in 1906 as a major general and died on March 21, 1926.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Asomante Hills, Engagement at; Coamo, Battle of; Puerto Rico Campaign

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lacked the resources to do that and protect the American flank. In order to have prevented the Spanish reinforcement, he would have had to break contact with the American right flank. In any case, the insurgents had managed to delay the arrival of Escario's column until after the Battle of San Juan Hill. Nonetheless, Shafter's unwarranted charges created some ill will and served to undermine U.S. confidence in the insurgent forces.

Shortly thereafter advanced to brigadier general, Escario served as a commissioner and helped to negotiate the Capitulation of Santiago de Cuba Agreement. Repatriated to Spain at the end of the war, he subsequently served as the military governor of Alicante. He also won election to and served in the Spanish Cortes (parliament).

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

García y Iñiguez, Calixto; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba, Capitulation Agreement; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Shafter, William Rufus

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Escario García, Federico

Birth Date: Unknown

Death Date: Unknown

Spanish Army officer. Federico Escario García joined the Spanish Army and began his military career in the Philippines. Returning to Spain in 1872, he was badly wounded during the Third Carlist Civil War (1872–1875). Following his recuperation, he returned to active duty. In 1895, he was assigned to Matanzas, Cuba, and was then actively involved in fighting Cuban insurgents.

At the beginning of the Spanish-American War, Escario was a colonel and was stationed at Manzanillo, Cuba. On June 22, 1898, he led a column of 3,752 Spanish soldiers from Manzanillo in an effort to reinforce Santiago de Cuba, then under assault by U.S. expeditionary forces. This march, undertaken under adverse conditions, covered 160 miles of extraordinarily difficult terrain in 11 days. En route, the column fought more than 40 skirmishes with Cuban insurgent forces and suffered a 10 percent casualty rate from combat, disease, and desertion. In all, 27 soldiers were killed, and 3 officers and 68 soldiers were wounded. Escario arrived with his men at Santiago on the night of July 2.

Although Cuban insurgent Major General Calixto García y Iñiguez had wanted to send 2,000 of his men to intercept the column, U.S. V Corps commander Major General William R. Shafter had insisted that the insurgents maintain adequate strength in the Santiago area to protect the American right flank while at the same time guarding the Manzanillo Road. While García ordered General Salvador Hernández Ríos to intercept Escario's column, García

Estrada Palma, Tomás

Birth Date: July 9, 1835

Death Date: November 4, 1908

Cuban revolutionary and political leader who represented the Cuban Revolutionary Party in the United States and headed the Cuban Junta in New York beginning in 1895. Born on July 9, 1835, near Bayamo, Oriente Province, Cuba, Tomás Estrada Palma completed his secondary education in Havana and then studied law in Seville, Spain. The sudden death of his father, however, forced him to return home without finishing his degree.

In 1868, Estrada joined the Cuban rebels who were fighting against Spanish colonial rule during the Ten Years' War (1868–1878). He eventually became a commanding general and president of the provisional government in March 1876. In October 1877, Spanish forces captured him and exiled him to Spain, where he was briefly imprisoned.

Following the end of the Ten Years' War, Estrada was released and traveled to France, the United States, and finally Honduras, where he became a teacher, ran the postal service, and married the daughter of an ex-president. Estrada then traveled to the United States and settled in Central Valley, Orange County, New York, where he became a principal of a boys' school. He also established a high school for students from Latin America. He ultimately became a naturalized American citizen and staunch advocate of U.S. annexation of Cuba.



Cuban nationalist leader Tomás Estrada Palma, elected the first president of the Republic of Cuba in 1901. (John Clark Ridpath, *Ridpath's History of the World*, 1901)

While in New York, Estrada joined forces with José Martí and other Cuban exiles and helped found the Cuban Revolutionary Party in 1892. When Martí returned to Cuba to fight the Spanish in 1895 and was killed soon thereafter, Estrada took control of the organization and became its chief diplomatic representative in Washington. In September 1895, he was also instrumental in forming the Cuban Junta, which lobbied politicians and others in positions of power to champion their effort and pressure the Spanish to abandon Cuba. While in Washington, he fought against Spanish efforts to diffuse the independence movement by granting autonomy to the island. He also aided in the publication in the American press of Enrique Dupuy de Lôme's 1898 letter that was highly critical of President William McKinley. Estrada welcomed the war between the United States and Spain in 1898, and later endorsed the Platt Amendment as part of the Cuban constitution of 1901.

While still in the United States, Estrada was elected the first president of the Republic of Cuba in December 1901, although he did not campaign and represented no political party. Following a 25-year absence from Cuba, he returned to the island nation and took office in May 1902. The American flag was replaced with that of Cuba over the governor's palace at the time of his inauguration.

As president, Estrada continued policies initiated under the U.S. occupation that had lowered the national debt, established a budget

surplus, and improved public services. Working closely with American officials, he increased Cuban sugar exports to the United States, although Congress, in spite of a special session called by Roosevelt, refused to afford Cuban sugar preferential tariffs. In 1903, Estrada signed the treaty leasing Guantánamo Bay to the United States in perpetuity as an American naval base as part of the Platt Amendment. In 1905, he decided to run again for president as a candidate of the Moderate Party, during which he purged all members of other political parties, especially the Liberal Party, from office. The violent and fraud-ridden September 1905 election gave the Moderate Party an overwhelming victory, with Estrada elected to another term.

Excluded from power, in August 1906 the Liberal Party planned an uprising in the hopes of an American intervention under the Platt Amendment. Estrada responded by arresting members of the Liberal Party and suspending civil rights. Unable to put an end to the rebellion, he also hoped for American intervention and formally requested it in September 1906, threatening to resign his office if no aid arrived. Rather than send troops to Cuba, President Theodore Roosevelt established and sent a commission to investigate the problem. The commission concluded that election fraud had caused the revolt and recommended implementing some of the Liberals' demands. Estrada rejected the proposal and resigned as president on September 28, 1906. The United States then intervened to restore order in Cuba. Estrada returned to his birthplace and died in Santiago, Cuba, on November 4, 1908.

GREGORY C. FERENCE

See also

Bell, James Franklin; Cuban Junta; Cuban Revolutionary Party; Cuban War of Independence; Dupuy de Lôme-Canalejas Letter; Guantánamo Bay Naval Base; Martí y Pérez, José Julián; Platt Amendment; Ten Years' War

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Evans, Robley Dunglison

Birth Date: August 18, 1846

Death Date: January 3, 1912

U.S. Navy admiral. Born in Floyd County, Virginia, on August 18, 1846, Robley Dunglison Evans was the son of a doctor. After his father died when Evans was 10, his family moved to Fairfax Courthouse, Virginia. The next year, Evans went to live with an uncle, a lawyer in Washington, D.C. From an early age, Evans wanted to become a naval officer, and a Utah territorial representative suggested that he move there, establish residency for a year, and secure an

appointment to the Naval Academy from that territory. Evans, then age 13, traveled to Salt Lake City in 1859. His party was attacked twice by Native Americans, and Evans was slightly wounded by an arrow. He passed the entrance exam for the Naval Academy and received a warrant as an acting midshipman on September 20, 1860. He graduated from the academy, then located in Newport, Rhode Island, as an acting ensign on October 1, 1863.

Evans served along the Atlantic seaboard and particularly distinguished himself as one of the leaders of the volunteer naval landing force that took part in the Union assault on Fort Fisher, North Carolina, on January 15, 1865. He was wounded four times that day, including severe wounds to his legs that almost led doctors to amputate both. Evans drew a pistol and threatened to shoot anyone who tried. Although he recovered, one of these injuries left him with a severe limp and the affectionate nickname of "Gimpy Evans."

Medically retired at the end of the war, Evans was advanced to master on the retired list on May 10, 1866, and lieutenant on the retired list on July 25, 1866. Appealing to Congress for reinstatement, he was returned to active duty and served on the Asiatic station then in the Caribbean and Mediterranean. He was promoted to lieutenant commander on March 12, 1868, and to commander on July 12, 1878.

Evans also had a scientific bent. In 1876, he invented a long-distance signaling lamp for use on naval vessels. During 1880–1882, he was equipment officer at the Washington Navy Yard and a member of the Naval Advisory Board that recommended that all future U.S. Navy vessels be constructed of steel. While in command of the gunboat *Yorktown* on Pacific station in 1891–1892, Evans took a strong stand against Chilean authorities at Valparaiso, Chile, skillfully handling a tense situation there following the killing of American sailors who had gone ashore from the cruiser *Baltimore*, commanded by Captain Winfield Scott Schley. Evans's performance at Valparaiso and expressed willingness to use force if need be led to his being known as "Fighting Bob." He again displayed ability in handling a tense situation while in command of a flotilla in the Bering Sea Sealing Dispute of 1892. After a brief tour with the Light-house Board, he was advanced to captain on June 27, 1893, and given command of the armored cruiser *New York* in the West Indies and then in European waters. During 1895–1898, he commanded the new battleship *Indiana*, and on March 26, 1898, with war with Spain looming, he took command from Captain William T. Sampson, who was appointed to head the North Atlantic Squadron, of the newest U.S. Navy battleship, the *Iowa*.

Evans opposed the formation of the Flying Squadron because it would divide U.S. naval forces. He supported Sampson's proposal that the fleet bombard the Havana defenses in the belief that this would bring an early end to the war, but authorities in Washington rejected the idea as too risky. Evans then took part in the bombardment of the Spanish defenses of San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Evans and his ship played a significant role in the subsequent Battle of Santiago de Cuba. The *Iowa* fired the first shot at the ships of Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topote's squadron as they exited



Admiral Robley Dunglison Evans's career in the U.S. Navy began in the American Civil War. During the Spanish-American War, he commanded the battleship *Iowa* and took part in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba. (Library of Congress)

Santiago on July 3, 1898. Following the sinking of the Spanish ships, Evans undertook the task of rescuing their crews. His role in the crushing U.S. victory placed him among the naval heroes of the war. In the subsequent Sampson-Schley controversy, Evans gave credit to Sampson for the victory. Promoted to rear admiral in February 1901, he commanded first the Asiatic Fleet (1902–1904) and then the North Atlantic Fleet (1905–1907). The capstone of his career came in the assignment to command the U.S. Navy's Great White Fleet on its historic round-the-world cruise of 1907–1909. Illness forced him to leave the fleet at San Francisco in May 1907, and he retired from the navy that August. He wrote *A Sailor's Log: Recollections of Forty Years of Naval Life* in 1901 and *An Admiral's Log: Being Continued Recollections of Naval Life* in 1910. Evans died in Washington, D.C., on January 3, 1912.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Sampson, William Thomas; Sampson-Schley Controversy; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Schley, Winfield Scott; United States Navy

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Expansionism

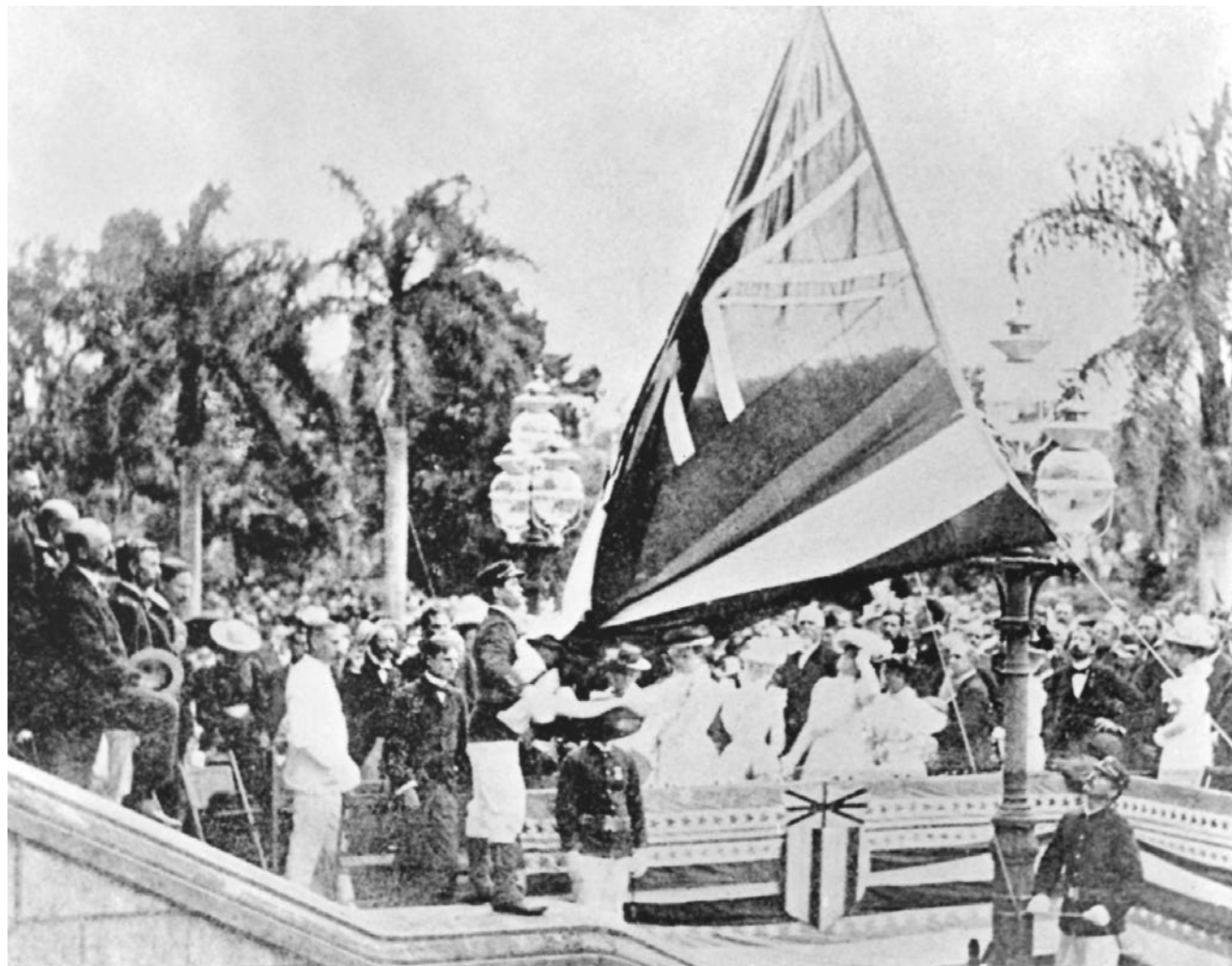
American expansionism, marked by the annexation of overseas territories, was a direct result of the Spanish-American War. With the acquisition in 1898 of Hawaii, a process that began as early as the 1880s, and then the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico resulting from the Treaty of Paris, the United States for the first time in its history was considered an imperial and colonial power.

At the conclusion of the American Civil War (1861–1865), a curious mixture of economics and ideology began pushing the United

States down the same path previously charted by European nations in Africa and Asia. Despite an earlier historical tradition of isolationism, the years between 1865 and 1900 were marked by notions of both commercial destiny and a political mission abroad. Yet it would not be until the war with Spain at the end of the 19th century that the United States would undertake an aggressive overseas expansionist posture.

Initially, after the Civil War, American territorial development was characterized by westward expansion, which had characterized the expansion of the nation since its founding. The antebellum Manifest Destiny ideology was carried to its fullest expression after 1865 with the settlement of the West and the encouragement of agricultural and manufacturing development. A period of great domestic growth and economic consolidation took place as a result of the achievement of a stronger national union.

The roots of American expansion abroad were at first economic and ideological rather than territorial. Even though American trade across the Pacific, in large measure stimulated by Commodore Matthew C. Perry's cruise to the Far East in the 1850s and the presence of American missionaries in China since the 1830s, indicated



The Hawaiian flag being lowered at Iolani Palace in Honolulu upon Hawaii's 1898 annexation to the United States. (Library of Congress)

the desirability of establishing naval bases and coaling stations for the new naval and commercial ships being built, America's primary objective was not the collection of colonial dominions. Small acquisitions in the Pacific, such as Wake Island in 1867, harbor rights in Pago Pago in Samoa in 1878, and the critical coaling station and naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii in 1887, were valuable largely in terms of their strategic importance. It would not be until the 1880s and 1890s, however, that the U.S. government would endorse a more aggressive outward thrust. A series of diplomatic incidents involving nations in Latin America, including President Grover Cleveland's stand against Great Britain in its boundary dispute with Venezuela in 1895, caused the United States to give a clear indication of its intention to maintain and reassert the principles of the 1823 Monroe Doctrine in the New World.

Although not favoring an exclusive policy of colonization, American leaders agreed that it was time for the United States to accept a more commanding role in world affairs. The growing need of American manufacturers for more and bigger markets could only be satisfied by significantly increasing U.S. exports to Latin America. To a great extent this was prompted by three decades—1870s, 1880s, and 1890s—of falling prices, financial panics, and periods of severe economic depression. The farmer-labor discontent of the period was reflected in the political allure of the emerging Populist and Socialist parties. Businessmen in particular urged an expansionist policy but not necessarily extraterritorial acquisitions. Perhaps the most vocal supporters behind the expansionist thrust were publicists, missionaries, politicians, naval officers, and professors, who blended the philosophies of Manifest Destiny, Darwinian evolution, social Darwinism, Anglo-Saxon racism, militarism, patriotism, and economic determinism into a unique justification for territorial acquisition.

The ideological roots of American expansion overseas began in the 1880s. In that decade, John Fiske, who helped popularize Darwin's theory of evolution, published an influential article in *Harper's Magazine*. The article, titled "Manifest Destiny," proclaimed that it was the duty of Anglo-Saxon nations to exercise political domination over so-called backward territories and that the recent industrial progress of the United States demanded that it undertake a colonial policy. The Anglo-Saxon view of American history and democracy was also voiced by the Reverend Josiah Strong, whose *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis* (1885) boldly asserted that the Anglo-Saxon race, the true upholders of the principles of Christianity and civil liberty, was destined to spread over the earth. It was thus the duty of the United States to assume the mantle of leadership for the future progress of the world.

Historian and economist Brooks Adams, a descendant of Presidents John Adams and John Quincy Adams, argued that the United States should take over the commercial role of England and the European centers of trade and expand its leadership with respect to overseas development. The most noted expansionist was Captain Alfred T. Mahan. His 1890 book, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783*, became the bible for those favoring a more ex-

pansive American foreign policy. Mahan argued that a powerful navy was the most important factor in sustaining a great commercial state. In his opinion, the United States must look outward, and central to his strategic ideas regarding American foreign policy was the construction of an isthmian canal.

The war with Spain in 1898 provided the opportunity for American diplomacy, militarism, and expansionism to come together as one policy. To the American public, the Spanish-American War was largely considered an idealistic crusade for the liberation of Cuba. In actuality, it enabled American supporters of expansion to acquire valuable overseas possessions. During the war, the United States annexed Hawaii.

The acquisition of the Philippines by purchase from Spain was met with resistance, however. When the American military finally defeated the rebel forces of Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy in 1901, the United States largely gained control of all the islands in the archipelago and justified its presence on the grounds that it did not want them to fall into the hands of imperial rivals such as Germany and Japan. In addition, the United States received from Spain the territories of Guam and Puerto Rico. The liberation of Cuba was achieved, and its subsequent independence was guaranteed by the 1901 Platt Amendment. But American influence in the Caribbean and Central America increased considerably after the war.

After the Spanish-American War and during the Philippine-American War, increased U.S. influence in the Far East was also felt. Secretary of State John Hay's Open Door Policy was designed to enable America to gain its own economic sphere of influence in China. After the 1900 Boxer Rebellion, the United States did manage to gain an economic foothold in China, thereby ensuring an expanding Open Door Policy favorable to American business interests.

Meanwhile, in the first decade of the 20th century, President Theodore Roosevelt issued the Roosevelt Corollary (1904) to the Monroe Doctrine, expanding American influence in Latin America by proclaiming that the United States had the right to intervene in the countries of the Western Hemisphere to maintain order and prevent European rivals from using force to collect debts from their colonies. During the William Howard Taft administration (1909–1913), the policy of dollar diplomacy promoted economic investment over military intervention in Latin America, but U.S. marines were still deployed to places such as Nicaragua, Honduras, and Haiti.

The Spanish-American War became the springboard to U.S. expansion abroad. America was now willing to assume the responsibility for governing overseas dependencies. Its policies in the Far East and Latin America signified a new direction in American foreign policy, one that represented U.S. ascendancy to world power status.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

See also

Hawaiian Islands; Imperialism; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Manifest Destiny; Monroe Doctrine; Open Door Policy; Roosevelt Corollary; Social Darwinism; Venezuela Crisis, First

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F

V Corps

V Corps (Fifth Corps) was the U.S. Army force assembled to invade Cuba during the Spanish-American War. V Corps was officially organized at Tampa, Florida, with Major General William R. Shafter taking command on May 16, 1898.

Tampa proved a poor choice for a debarkation site because only a single rail line connected Tampa to Port Tampa, 10 miles distant. Although the original plan was for V Corps to number 25,000 men, there was insufficient time to assemble them all as well as a shortage of weapons and uniforms, let alone transports to lift the men. Thus, when V Corps departed Tampa for Cuba on June 14 in 29 transports, it numbered only 819 officers and 16,058 enlisted men, of whom only 2,465 were volunteers.

Most of the men in V Corps were in five large formations: three divisions, an independent brigade, and a volunteer brigade. Brigadier General Jacon F. Kent commanded the 1st Infantry Division, while Brigadier General Henry W. Lawton commanded the 2nd Infantry Division. Each numbered about 5,000 men. Major General Joseph Wheeler commanded the dismounted cavalry division, which numbered about 2,700 men. Brigadier General John C. Bates commanded the independent brigade of some 1,100 men, while Brigadier General Henry M. Duffield commanded the brigade of volunteers, numbering about 2,700 men. Only five regiments of volunteers participated in the first part of the campaign through July 1. They were the 21st U.S. Cavalry Regiment (the Rough Riders), the 2nd Massachusetts, the 71st New York, the 33rd Michigan, and one battalion of the 34th Michigan. V Corps had little artillery support: only one battalion of 16 3.2-inch guns. Eight large field guns went with V Corps to Cuba but were too unwieldy to be used. The Gatling Gun Detachment of 4 guns saw considerable action. Other artillery support was provided in 8 field mortars and one Hotchkiss revolving cannon.

V Corps was a collection of units rather than a cohesive force that could function as a unit. This was a direct consequence of the lack of training time. Generally speaking, the regular officers were well trained, but few had commanded large units before, and operating as divisions was new to an army that had been accustomed to fighting in isolated small units in the American West.

On June 22, V Corps began coming ashore at Daiquirí, about 16 miles east of Santiago. American journalists soon reported the disorganization that marked the descent on Cuba and its immediate aftermath. V Corps fought in the Battle of Las Guásimas (June 24), the Battle of El Caney (July 1), and the Battle of San Juan Hill (July 1). The later engagement also included the Battle of Kettle Hill, which made Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt a national hero. During the siege of Santiago de Cuba (July 3–July 17, 1898), the 300-pound Shafter, suffering from gout, had to be carried about on an old door. Nevertheless, the Spanish surrender of Santiago on July 17 essentially ended the war in Cuba.

The prevalence of diseases such as malaria, typhoid, and yellow fever led to the controversial Round-Robin Letter and withdrawal beginning on August 7 of V Corps (then numbering 1,109 officers and 20,761 enlisted men). The men were sent to Camp Wikoff at Montauk Point, Long Island, New York. During the war, 2,459 members of V Corps were casualties: 243 men were killed in action, while 771 died of disease. Another 1,445 were wounded in action. V Corps was formally disbanded at Camp Wikoff on October 7, 1898.

MICHAEL R. HALL AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Camp Wikoff; Daiquirí Beachhead, Cuba; El Caney, Battle of; Las Guásimas, Battle of; Journalism; Kettle Hill, Battle of; Round-Robin Letter; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Shafter, William Rufus



Members of the 71st New York Regiment of Volunteers in San Juan, Cuba. The 71st was part of the U.S. Army V Corps. (Wildside Press)

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Fifty Million Dollar Bill

U.S. defense appropriation bill signed into law by President William McKinley on March 9, 1898. The so-called Fifty Million Dollar Bill allotted \$50 million to strengthen American land and naval forces in preparation for war with Spain. As tensions between the United States and Spain intensified after the battleship *Maine* blew up in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, President McKinley and his cabinet were somewhat divided over how best to resolve the deteriorating Cuban situation. The president desired a peaceful resolution, but on March 5, 1898, he learned that the Spanish were negotiating to purchase two cruisers being built in England for

Brazil. The following day, he asked Joseph G. Cannon, powerful chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, to obtain funds for improving the U.S. military. Cannon and McKinley agreed that \$50 million, taken entirely out of the treasury's surplus, would suffice. Accordingly, on March 7, 1898, Cannon introduced a \$50 million appropriation bill for national defense.

On March 8, 1898, a brief debate took place in the House during which numerous representatives spoke in favor of the bill. It passed by a unanimous vote of 311 to 0. In the Senate, the measure passed by an equally lopsided margin of 76 to 0. Many politicians believed that war with Spain was still avoidable and thus viewed the Fifty Million Dollar Bill as a peace measure. They reasoned that Spanish officials might recoil from war upon learning of a freshly reinforced U.S. military. McKinley signed the bill into law on March 9, 1898, providing the Navy Department and the War Department with immediate funding. Appropriately for a looming maritime conflict, the navy received roughly 60 percent of the total funds distributed.

The desire to improve American coastal defenses was actually at the heart of the Fifty Million Dollar Bill. The War Department expended more than three-quarters of its allotment strengthening harbor fortifications, installing or refurbishing coastal defense artillery, and securing defensive minefields. Critics subsequently accused Secretary of the Army Russell A. Alger of interpreting the Fifty Million Dollar Bill too narrowly, arguing that he should have spent more on the army's Quartermaster, Medical, and Signal

Corps. Doing so, they believed, might well have avoided the confusion and shortages that bedeviled the early war effort.

By all accounts, the Navy Department used its allotment judiciously. Under the successive direction of assistant secretaries Theodore Roosevelt and Charles H. Allen, the sea service rapidly expanded its forces. It purchased or leased more than 100 auxiliary vessels, including cruisers, small combatants, and support ships. The navy used many of these vessels for coastal defense, but some also saw combat. Overall, the Fifty Million Dollar Bill significantly enhanced U.S. naval preparedness.

TIMOTHY S. WOLTERS

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; Allen, Charles Herbert; Cannon, Joseph Gurney; Coastal Defenses, U.S.; McKinley, William; Naval Vessels, U.S. Auxiliary; Roosevelt, Theodore; United States Army; United States Navy; War Department, U.S.

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Filibuster

An individual who organized unauthorized armed expeditions against a foreign country, usually with the goal of overthrowing the existing government. Beginning in the mid-19th century, the term “filibuster” was applied to Anglo-Americans who undertook various expeditions in the Caribbean and Central America. The word comes from the Spanish *filibustero*, which was derived from the Dutch word *vrijbouter*, meaning freebooter. A freebooter was a private individual who made war on a foreign country without his home country’s permission.

An early filibuster was Aaron Burr, who between 1804 and 1806 organized and then launched a failed attempt to form his own country from territory in central and southwestern North American and Mexican territory. Another noted filibuster was William Walker, who led several expeditions to Mexico and Central America. In 1853, Walker tried—unsuccessfully—to foment an uprising in the Mexican states of Sonora and Baja California with the goal of wresting those states from Mexican control. In May 1855, he seized control of Nicaragua and ruled over it for two years before being ousted. His subsequent attempt to take over Honduras ended with his execution on September 12, 1860. Narciso Lopez, a Cuban émigré to the United States, launched three expeditions, all of which were unsuccessful, to Cuba between 1849 and 1851. His goal was the overthrow of Spanish rule there. John Quitman, a soldier and governor of Mississippi from 1850 to 1851, had supported Lopez’s expedition in 1850 and helped him assemble men and matériel for the attempted coup. Because of this, Quitman lost the governorship in 1851. In the summer of 1853, with the encouragement of President

Franklin Pierce, Quitman began assembling his own expedition to Cuba with the goal of overthrowing Spanish rule and establishing a state in which a slave economy might flourish. In May 1854, however, the Pierce administration withdrew its support for the filibuster out of fear that the addition of Cuba as a slave state would bring political chaos to the United States.

With the outbreak of the Cuban revolt against Spain in 1895, Cuban émigrés in the United States organized several filibuster expeditions to Cuba, which included providing arms and ammunition to the Cuban revolutionaries. The bases for these expeditions were located in Central America, Great Britain, and the United States, although the most important were in the United States. After 1895, Captain Johnny “Dynamite” O’Brien, an American, worked from New York and southern Florida to transport guns and ammunition to Cuba.

Although the U.S. government tried to stop the arms shipments, some nevertheless got through and the Spanish blamed the U.S. government for not stopping all of them. The Spanish government even accused both the Grover Cleveland and William McKinley administrations of supporting the Cuban insurrection against Spanish rule. While the revolutionaries in Cuba needed the support that the filibustering brought, they remained concerned that it could lead to an intervention by outside nations. Of 64 filibustering expeditions to Cuba from the United States, the U.S. government stopped 23, the Spanish stopped 2, and 2 others were lost at sea.

DALLACE W. UNGER JR.

See also

Cuba; Cuban Revolutionary Army; Cuban War of Independence

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Filipino Nationalist Army

Indigenous Filipino insurgency force formed in August 1896 near Balintawak, Philippines, that fought first against the Spanish (1896–1898) and then the U.S. Army after 1898. The Filipino Nationalist Army was officially disbanded in April 1901 after its leader, Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, was captured by American forces.

The insurgent forces had roots in the secret fraternal order Katipunan (Highest and Most Respected Association of the Sons of the Country), formed in 1892 by Filipino nationalist Andrés Bonifacio. By 1896, the Katipunan had some 30,000 armed members. When an informer betrayed the Katipunan to Spanish authorities, military resistance began with Bonifacio’s call to arms, the “Grito de



Filipino militiamen in training, 1898. (Library of Congress)

Balintawak.” A charismatic advocate of social reforms, Bonifacio was not, however, a capable military commander.

Throughout the war with Spain and with the United States, *principales*—leading citizens who formed local military companies with their tenants and clients—were essential to the nationalist cause. Among military officers who distinguished themselves and ultimately displaced Bonifacio was the self-proclaimed general, Aguinaldo, head of the town government of Cavite El Viejo. When a power struggle occurred within the insurgency movement, Bonifacio was taken prisoner and executed by the ascendant Aguinaldo faction.

Revolutionary forces were primarily from the Tagalog ethnic group. Many in the Ilocano and Bicol regions, afraid of a Tagalog-dominated government, aided Spanish authorities. Americans were sometimes able to use these ethnic divisions to their advantage, but they also discovered many Filipinos in Ilocano and Bicol fighting resolutely for Aguinaldo. Muslim residents of southern Mindanao revolted separately against Spanish authorities. In northwestern Luzon, Ilocano, and Pangasinan, an apocalyptic sect known as Guardia de Honor (Honor Guard) led guerrillas against large landowners, Spanish authorities, Filipino revolutionaries, and later the Americans. Some Guardia groups went over to the American side in 1900, however.

Insurgent forces contested eight provinces in central and southern Luzon until 1897, when Spanish regulars and their Filipino auxiliaries recaptured most of the area. Following the Cuban example, Aguinaldo adopted a guerrilla strategy, organizing Sandahatan (village militia units) with officers appointed by municipal councils. He declared Philippine independence on November 5, 1897, and issued the Constitution of Biak-na-Bato. According to the pact he had agreed to with the Spanish, he also called for an end to hostilities. In December 1897, the Spanish paid Aguinaldo and his key supporters 400,000 pesos to go into exile in Hong Kong. Aguinaldo promptly left for Hong Kong with some 30 other revolutionary leaders. Fighting continued nonetheless. Most Spanish troops came to be isolated in Manila, and by the autumn of 1898, a large part of the islands was commanded by regional Filipino forces who at least nominally recognized Aguinaldo.

Aguinaldo returned from Hong Kong on May 12, 1898, on an American ship. His return was arranged by Commodore George Dewey, who had just defeated the Spanish squadron in the Battle of Manila Bay. This was in accord with prewar U.S. Navy plans and Dewey’s assessment that the revolutionaries would be useful allies. Dewey distributed captured arms to the nationalist forces and generally refrained from interfering with Aguinaldo’s renewed decla-

ration of independence on June 12. Nor did the Americans intervene when Aguinaldo was named president of the revolutionary government on January 23, 1899.

After the first U.S. Army troops had arrived on June 30, 1898, in response to Dewey's proposal to capture the Spanish-held city of Manila, tensions between the Americans and Aguinaldo began to rise. Aguinaldo soon had Manila under siege, while his forces controlled much of the Philippines. Both armies intended to take Manila for themselves, and both objected to the lack of cooperation from the other. The U.S. government had decided not to cooperate with Aguinaldo and obtained a transfer of the islands from Spain. The killing of a Filipino soldier by an American GI in San Juan del Monte in February 1899 is usually recognized as the beginning of the Philippine-American War.

Many of Aguinaldo's advisers thought that a regular army uniformed and organized in European fashion would demonstrate that the Filipinos were a civilized people to be treated with respect. Aguinaldo himself sought a well-disciplined force under the direct command of the national government. However, the actual recruits available were a mix of Sandahatan militia, regional armies, personal followers of *principales*, Katipuneros, enthusiastic but undisciplined volunteers, and veterans of the Spanish colonial auxiliaries. Attacked by regular U.S. troops, the nationalists were repeatedly driven from fortified positions.

After November 1899, Aguinaldo returned to guerrilla warfare. Now perhaps at their apex, the nationalist forces totaled approximately 80,000 soldiers who were facing a better-armed and more effectively trained U.S. force of some 125,000 men. While Aguinaldo remained a symbol of the resistance, field command outside of northern Luzon fell to other military and regional leaders. Even as U.S. military officers established municipal governments, local officials often proceeded to form links with nationalist guerrillas.

As American forces continued to clash with the nationalists, at least 12 African American soldiers deserted their segregated infantry and cavalry regiments to join the Filipino cause. They were highly valued as marksmanship instructors. One of them, Private First Class David Fagen, became a first lieutenant in the Filipino Nationalist Army and was ultimately promoted to captain in September 1900.

Aguinaldo was captured on March 23, 1901, and two weeks later took an oath of allegiance to the United States. He then instructed all his officers to surrender, while American authorities declared a general amnesty to all nationalist soldiers. Americans who had joined the insurgency were excluded from the amnesty, however.

The nationalist armies were so regionalized that many units continued to fight, however, especially where popular support for the nationalist cause remained strong. In the Bicol district of southern Luzon, Major General Vito Bellarmino withdrew his forces with the civilian population into rugged rural terrain. He surrendered to the Americans on July 4, 1901, although pockets of guerrilla resistance held out longer under local leaders. In southwestern Luzon, Brigadier General Juan Cailles and Major General Miguel Malvar

appealed for mass support to continue the fight for independence. Cailles surrendered on June 14, 1901, but Malvar did not do so until April 16, 1902. Local resistance and a brutal pacification campaign by U.S. forces continued into 1903.

The Philippine-American War was a tragedy for the Filipino people, and the casualty figures are staggering. An estimated 18,000 Filipino Nationalist fighters died in the struggle, while anywhere from 250,000 to as many as 1 million civilians died as a result of the war. Many of them died from ancillary effects, such as malnutrition, poor sanitation, and disease. Indeed, a cholera epidemic that began during the war and continued beyond the cessation of major fighting killed many thousands of Filipinos. In contrast, American deaths were put at 4,324.

CHARLES ROSENBERG

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Bonifacio, Andrés; Dewey, George; Katipunan; Philippine-American War

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Filipino Revolutionary Movement

An organized effort by native Filipinos to end Spanish colonial rule, resulting in the Philippine Revolution against Spain from 1896 to 1898 and the Philippine-American War from 1899 to 1902. The Filipino revolutionary movement is considered the first anticolonial independence movement in Asia. It began in earnest when the Filipino reformer José Rizal was imprisoned and exiled for speaking out against Spanish leaders in 1892.

After Rizal's deportation, Andrés Bonifacio organized a militant revolutionary society in Tondo, Manila, on July 7, 1892. This society, Kataastaasan Kagalang-galang na Katipunan nang manga Anak nang Bayan (Highest and Most Respected Association of the Sons of the Country), known as the KKK or the Katipunan, was primarily supported by the working classes and peasants. The Katipunan provided the organization for armed rebellion to come. By 1896, the Katipunan had grown to some 30,000 members, including both men and women, throughout Luzon. Many female Katipuneras (as they were called), such as Teresa Magbanua y Ferraris, became successful military leaders.

The Katipunan worked secretly until the Spanish uncovered its operations on August 23, 1896, which forced the revolutionaries to



Filipino insurgent leader Emilio Aguinaldo shown with troops of his Filipino Nationalist Army in 1900. Following the U.S. defeat of Spanish forces in the Philippines, Filipino nationalists took up arms against the United States. (Bettmann/Corbis)

declare war. The first battle of the Philippine Revolution was fought on August 30, 1896, at San Juan Del Monte, where the reinforced Spanish garrison there routed Bonifacio and 800 Katipuneros. At first, the fighting was confined to Tagalog regions around Manila, Cavite, and Bulacan. Because the Spanish had effectively divided and segregated the people of the Philippines along ethnic lines, non-Tagalogs were initially suspicious of, or apathetic toward, the Tagalog-led revolution.

General Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, a respected Katipunero, led several successful military campaigns, defeating Spanish forces at Imus in Cavite Province on September 5, 1896. Bonifacio and Aguinaldo now struggled for power, and Bonifacio was executed for alleged treason against the revolutionary government on May 10, 1897. Aguinaldo assumed full leadership of the revolutionary movement, which helped garner more support from the middle and upper classes as well as varying ethnic groups.

Fierce Spanish attacks then forced the Katipunan to retreat into the mountains. The two sides finally ended hostilities with the Pact of Biak-na-Bato on December 14, 1897. As part of the peace deal, Aguinaldo agreed to go into exile in Hong Kong in exchange for 400,000 pesos. On December 27, 1897, Aguinaldo and 25 of his leaders left the Philippines, planning to use the money for arms and ammunition to continue the revolution.

In March 1898, as relations between Spain and the United States tilted toward war, Commodore Edward Wood of the U.S. Navy offered Aguinaldo support to incite the native Filipino population against Spain. On April 22, 1898, just three days before the United States declared war on Spain, Aguinaldo met with the American consul general to Singapore, E. Spencer Pratt, to discuss strategy. Pratt promised Philippine independence under U.S. protection in exchange for Filipino military support against the Spaniards. Aguinaldo agreed, and he and 13 of his lieutenants returned to Cavite on May 19, 1898, aboard USS *McCulloch*. Aguinaldo conferred with Rear Admiral George Dewey aboard his flagship, the *Olympia*, and then returned to the countryside to engage the Spanish Army. By the time Major General Wesley Merritt's troops arrived from the United States in June, Aguinaldo held most of Luzon outside Manila.

Although Aguinaldo attacked Manila on August 12, 1898, Merritt controlled the city and excluded the Filipino Nationalist Army. When the Spanish Army surrendered on August 14, the U.S. Army accepted the terms and guaranteed the safe return of its soldiers to Spain. Aguinaldo was less than pleased that the Americans appeared to be reneging on their pledges and were usurping what he believed was his right to control Manila.

Aguinaldo promptly convened the Malolos Congress and declared Philippine independence on September 29. He then sent an

emissary, Don Felipe Agoncillo, to Washington, D.C., to conduct talks with President William McKinley, but the McKinley administration refused to acknowledge Agoncillo as a government representative. Agoncillo proceeded to the Paris Peace Conference but was again denied recognition by both the United States and Spain.

The Filipino revolutionaries reluctantly allowed the U.S. occupation, but they continued to pursue their own political goals. They elected Aguinaldo as the first president of the Philippine Republic, but his relationship with the United States was severely strained. On February 4, 1899, at San Juan Bridge, American troops commanded by Colonel John M. Stotsenberg shot and killed a Filipino soldier, provoking a firefight. Aguinaldo declared war on the United States on February 5, 1899.

The Katipuneros, still intent on independence, rejected American attempts at peaceable disarmament, and the Philippine-American War began with a fight over Manila. From March to September 1899, the Filipino Army of Liberation and the U.S. Army engaged in brutal fighting in Luzon, the Visayas, and elsewhere. In November 1899, Aguinaldo disbanded the army, turning the revolutionaries into guerrilla fighters. From 1899 to 1902, the United States fought its first foreign counterinsurgency war against the guerrillas. Major fighting ended in 1902 with a U.S. victory. Aguinaldo's vision of an independent Philippines would not become a reality until 1946.

DAWN OTTEVAERE NICKESON

See also

Agoncillo, Felipe; Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Biak-na-Bato, Pact of; Bonifacio, Andrés; Cavite, Philippines; Filipino Nationalist Army; Katipunan; Luzon; Manila; Merritt, Wesley; Philippine-American War; Rizal, José; Tagalogs

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Filipino Thermopylae

See Tirad Pass, Battle of

Film

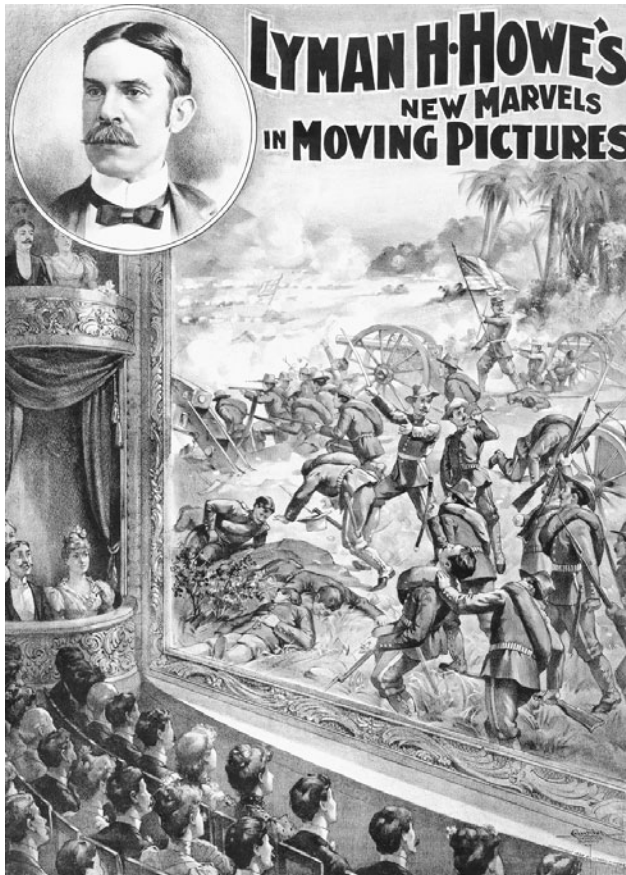
The Spanish-American War provided unique opportunities for the emerging film industry to use heightened patriotism and military developments to advance this new communication medium. The

earliest cinematic efforts took place in the decades following the American Civil War and were focused mainly on entertainment. The outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898 and the dawn of the American Century provided a wide array of opportunities to focus on new film genres and ideas, such as political themes, the horrors of combat, reports from newly acquired territories, and patriotic ideals. The Spanish-American War was the first conflict in which film played a significant role in recording events and garnering support for the war. These films, however, were quite unlike present-day movies. They lacked sound, were sometimes difficult to focus, and were usually quite short, some lasting little more than a couple of minutes.

The emergence of film as a means of communication can be traced back to a pair of events that occurred virtually at the same time. First, advances in technology spearheaded by the Edison Manufacturing Company and the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company, which produced most of the films during this period, ensured ready access to the necessary equipment. Second, the opening of a conflict that spanned the globe from the Atlantic to the Pacific provided excellent film footage, fresh concepts, and creative uses for the employment of film. Prior to the start of the war, many vaudeville houses had transitioned, in part, to accommodate short feature films as part of their performances. Between 1898 and 1901, however, the war was the dominant theme of these films and captured the support and imagination of many Americans.

In efforts to report the events of the war and to ensure its continued popularity, filmmakers provided reenactments of major battles and engagements. While a small number of films were actually recorded on the battlefield, most were staged on film sets constructed specifically for the purpose. The filmmakers were willing to circumvent the historical record, randomly mixing and matching military accoutrements to satisfy their needs, and to overlook significant factual points to achieve their artistic objectives. In *The Skirmish of the Rough Riders* (1899), for example, New Jersey National Guardsmen relied on secondhand accounts to recreate Colonel Theodore Roosevelt's charge up San Juan Hill during fighting in Cuba. In addition, the first truly propagandistic film, *Tearing Down the Spanish Flag* (1898), a 90-second film, was completely fabricated, yet the positive public response underscored the strong influence that film had on shaping public perceptions and attitudes.

The appearance of film as a major means of communication ensured that competing attitudes on the conflict were considered, compelling disagreements on the objectives of the war were aired, differing political perspectives were featured, and varying viewpoints on imperialism were highlighted. Because these ideas influenced a broad spectrum of the population and shaped public opinion, films became important barometers in political calculations. For instance, the drama *Love and War* (1899) told of the human sacrifices and antipathy toward the war and received wide acclaim from audiences. Because film theory and critical analysis did not exist at this point, producers relied on firsthand accounts of audience response to



An advertisement for “Lyman H. Howe’s new marvels in moving pictures” depicting an audience watching a film of an infantry attack during the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

monitor the success of their endeavors, while politicians used the same responses to determine public attitudes.

While much effort was made to improve film production and delivery methods during the war years, the still picture remained the prominent feature in films produced during the Spanish-American War. Photographers on the front lines captured realistic visuals of the war using cumbersome equipment capable of transferring the images of war into still life. Still pictures were often inserted into war films with appropriate narrative that provided a context and backdrop for the scene. These documentaries were the primary means of engaging the American people.

American Vitagraph also sent two photographers with V Corps to Daiquirí at the behest of Roosevelt.

Films produced during the Spanish-American War were often called visual newspapers and became powerful tools for informing and shaping the opinions of the American people. There were, however, several shortcomings connected with this medium. The most glaring was the general inability to capture live war footage because of advances in weaponry that made battlefields extremely dangerous for photographers and because of the primitive nature of cinematic technology. Rapid movement of motion picture equipment

was also most difficult. As a result, the reliance on reenactments and commentaries frequently compromised the historical accuracy and importance of these efforts.

The most extensive collection of films produced during the Spanish-American War is maintained by the Recorded Sound Division, Library of Congress, which has digitized, catalogued, and summarized dozens of films from the period. Moreover, these efforts have been critically evaluated by film scholars who apply modern theories to these early endeavors to use film to reach mass audiences. These films cover battles, parades, ships, notable commanders and politicians, etc. Included among them are some short films pertaining to the Philippine-American War through 1901, but the brutality and unconventional nature of that struggle did not attract as much attention from filmmakers as had the Spanish-American War.

The Spanish-American War was the first war to be captured on film, which meant that the challenges and horrors of the events were shared by large segments of the population. While these early endeavors were rudimentary, they nevertheless laid an important foundation for new cinematic ideas and improved technology that would strongly influence film use in later wars. Just 15 years later, when World War I began, battles and engagements of all types were captured on film, and by that time technological advances in cinematic equipment and new forms of cinematography made film a widely accessible medium to people around the world.

In the 20th century, the Spanish-American War was not frequently the subject of Hollywood films. It was soon eclipsed by the far more important and global world wars. What is more, the war provided few pitched battles and lasted less than four months, characteristics that led many filmmakers to simply overlook it. The few films that did feature the conflict tended to be American-centric and rather patriotic in nature. In 1927, a silent film portraying the exploits of the Rough Riders was released, but surprisingly no other major films were made about that subject until 1997, when a made-for-TV miniseries titled *The Rough Riders* appeared, starring Tom Berenger (as Roosevelt), Gary Busey, Sam Elliot, and George Hamilton. The movie documented well the gritty realities of war but did nothing to diminish Roosevelt’s heroic standing in the conflict. A number of good documentaries have been made about the war. In 1999, the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) produced an excellent factual overview of the war titled *Crucible of Empire*. In 2007, the History Channel produced *The Spanish-American War: First Intervention*, which featured actors, reenactments, and scholars discussing the war, all of which was interspersed with film and still photos dating to the war itself, including the use of a replica of a camera used by the Edison Manufacturing Company for authenticity.

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See also

Philippine-American War, U.S. Reaction to; Spanish-American War, U.S. Public Reaction to

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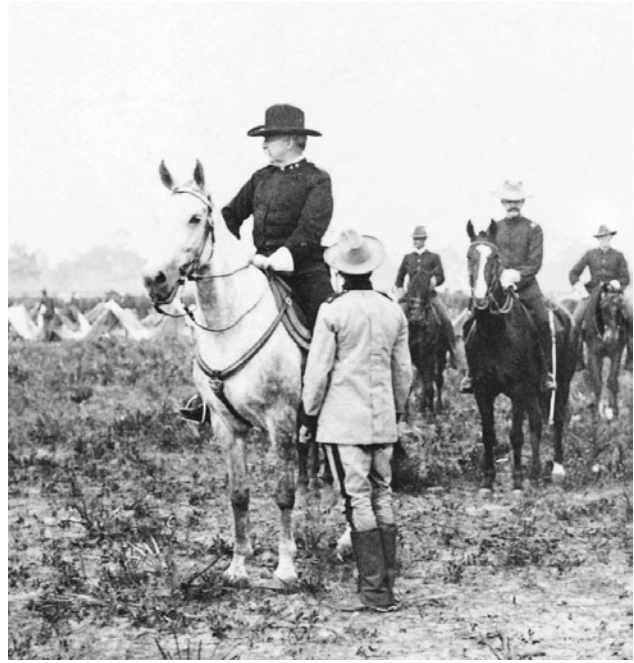
I Corps

One of eight U.S. Army corps created by the William McKinley administration in 1898 to fight the Spanish-American War. I Corps (First Corps) saw action during the July 21–August 12 Puerto Rico Campaign. McKinley's presidential order of May 7, 1898, created these corps, with the War Department responsible for staffing, equipping, and organizing them. Each corps was to consist of three infantry divisions. Each division would field three brigades, each of three regiments. At full strength, a corps could muster 30,000 men. Cavalry and artillery units would be assigned as needed.

I Corps was assigned to Camp Thomas, located on a former American Civil War battlefield at Chickamauga in northern Georgia. When this national military park was created, it was also intended to be a future troop mobilization and mustering-in center, and soldiers were able to train on its already-cleared battleground. Major General John R. Brooke, commander of the Department of the Gulf, took command of Camp Thomas and on May 16, 1898, was also assigned to command I Corps. Brooke, a native Pennsylvanian, had served in the Civil War, advancing to brigadier general by war's end. He remained in the regular army thereafter and in the spring of 1898 was in charge of what would become the largest military camp in the country during the Spanish-American War.

Camp Thomas also served as the mobilization point for III Corps, and so the camp accordingly grew very quickly, too quickly for Brooke to retain effective control. The troops were all volunteers, primarily National Guardsmen from various states, many of whom had no extensive camping experience. As a result, sickness quickly spread throughout the regimental bivouacs. Poor water quality, badly sited latrines, and a lack of medical personnel all contributed to the growing crisis. By the time the epidemic ended, 425 men had died—more than were killed during the war itself—mostly from typhoid. After Brooke and the 1st Division departed for Puerto Rico in late July, the government closed Camp Thomas in late August. The two remaining divisions of I Corps were sent to Lexington, Kentucky, and Knoxville, Tennessee.

Two brigades of Brooke's 1st Division, under the command of Major General James H. Wilson, departed Camp Thomas for Atlantic ports on July 5 and 22. They were slated to join the expedition to seize and occupy Puerto Rico, with Major General Nelson A. Miles in overall command of the expedition. Miles himself landed with a column of troops at the southern port of Guánica on July 25. Three days later Major General Wilson, with a brigade of his division, went ashore at Ponce. On August 3, Brooke led another column from the 1st Division ashore at Arroyo, 60 miles east of Ponce.



U.S. Army I Corps commander Major General Nelson Miles and his staff in Puerto Rico during the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

Having secured Puerto Rico's southern coastline, Miles sent four columns inland to sweep the island of Spanish defenders. The American offensive began on August 7. Wilson's column of brigade strength moved northeast from Ponce along a military road, halting for the night near Coamo, a small village that was occupied by a force of Spanish troops. The next day, August 8, Wilson sent the 16th Pennsylvania to flank the enemy while his artillery and remaining infantry occupied the enemy's attention. When the Pennsylvanians opened fire and attacked, the Spaniards broke and fled, pursued by a company of New York cavalry. The brief engagement at Coamo cost the Spanish 208 casualties, most of them captured. Wilson's force suffered only a few soldiers wounded. Wilson's men then advanced toward the village of Aibonito, where more than 1,300 Spanish troops were entrenched. The American attack was scheduled for August 13 but was cancelled when word was received that an armistice had gone into effect while American and Spanish officials negotiated a formal end to the war.

Brooke's column, advancing from Arroyo, skirmished at Guayama and advanced inland to Guanmani, where, like Wilson, his attack scheduled for August 13 was halted by word of the armistice. With the end of hostilities, the U.S. troops could relax and wait for transportation back to the United States. The brief fighting in Puerto Rico was the extent of I Corps' involvement in the war. On January 16, 1899, I Corps was disbanded. By that time, most of its volunteer units had mustered out.

RICHARD A. SAUERS

See also

Arroyo, Puerto Rico; Brooke, John Rutter; Camp Thomas; Coamo, Battle of; V Corps; Guánica, Puerto Rico; Guayama, Battle of; Miles, Nelson

Appleton; Ponce, Puerto Rico; Puerto Rico Campaign; Typhoid Fever; Wilson, James Harrison

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1st Marine Battalion

The 1st Marine Battalion was constituted on April 16, 1898, and disbanded on September 19, 1898. Consisting of 25 officers and 623 enlisted men, the battalion was formed at the Marine Barracks at the New York Navy Yard in Brooklyn by order of Secretary of the Navy John D. Long. Its record in the Spanish-American War helped define the role of the U.S. Marine Corps in the 20th century.

Initially consisting of four companies of infantry, the battalion became a combined arms force, with five companies of infantry and one company of artillery, all commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Robert Huntington. Six days after being given the order to form the battalion, Huntington and his men boarded the transport *Panther*. They arrived at Hampton Roads, Virginia, on April 23, 1898, and at Key West, Florida, on April 29. On June 7, the battalion was ordered to Cuba. Once there, it was to report to the captain of the U.S. Navy unprotected cruiser *Marblehead*, Commander Bowman H. McCalla, at Guantánamo Bay.

Rear Admiral William Sampson ordered Guantánamo Bay taken to serve as a coaling base and a hurricane shelter for ships on the blockade. The 1st Marine Battalion received the assignment of ending any threat from Spanish land forces to the ships in the harbor. On June 10, the battalion began coming ashore. It deployed on what became known as Camp McCalla at Fisherman's Point on the eastern side of the bay. During the next three days, the camp and its outposts were subjected to repeated Spanish attacks. The first Americans killed in battle in Cuba were 1st Marine Battalion privates James McColgan and William Dumphy, both of whom died on June 11. Three more marines and a naval acting assistant surgeon died before the attacks ended on June 14.

Taking the offensive on June 14, elements of the battalion and its Cuban rebel allies attacked Spanish forces stationed in the Cuzco Valley at the only freshwater well in the area. The Spanish forces were routed at the June 14 Battle of Cuzco Well, which ended in a Spanish withdrawal.

On June 25, elements of the battalion carried out an amphibious assault on Hicacal Beach on the bay's western shore to attack a Spanish force that had been hindering mine removal operations in the bay. Once ashore, the marines found that the Spanish forces had abandoned the position the previous day, and no fighting occurred.

On August 5, the battalion embarked with a naval convoy for an attack on Manzanillo. The town surrendered without the marines having landed. The battalion was then transported to Portsmouth Navy Yard, Seavey Island, Maine, where it was disbanded on September 19. On September 22, a portion of the battalion that had been sent to Washington was personally inspected there by President William McKinley.

During its brief existence, the 1st Marine Battalion earned distinction in several ways. First, two of its members—John Quick and John Fitzgerald—were awarded the Medal of Honor for their actions during the Battle of Cuzco Well. Second, its presence at Guantánamo kept the area's 7,000 Spanish troops from reinforcing Santiago. Third, while other military units suffered high sickness rates, the enforcement of a regimen of cleanliness in the battalion's camp resulted in the battalion having only 2 percent of its men on the sick list. Fourth, the battalion's exemplary record raised the consciousness of the American public to the role and capability of the U.S. Marine Corps, a branch of the U.S. Navy not well known at the time. Last and most importantly, the battalion demonstrated that the marines were capable of operating as a self-contained, mobile, combined arms force and taking and holding an advanced objective, defining a major future role of the U.S. Marine Corps in subsequent conflicts.

PATRICK MCSHERRY

See also

Camp McCalla; Cuba, U.S. Naval Blockade of; Cuzco Well, Battle of; Guantánamo, Battle of; Long, John Davis; Manzanillo, Cuba, Actions at; McCalla, Bowman Hendry; Sampson, William Thomas

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Fiske, Bradley Allen

Birth Date: June 13, 1854

Death Date: April 6, 1942

Naval reformer and inventor. Bradley Allen Fiske was born in Lyons, New York, on June 13, 1854. Growing up in New York and the Midwest, he displayed a knack for invention. Inspired by an uncle who was a naval officer, Fiske entered the United States Naval



U.S. Navy rear admiral Bradley Allen Fiske was a prominent naval inventor and reformer. (Naval Historical Center)

Academy at Annapolis and graduated in 1875. Afterward, he alternated between posts on shore and at sea. In these years, he became one of the navy's so-called Young Turks, progressive-minded officers who sought to reform and modernize the fleet, the ships of which had deteriorated markedly during the 1870s. Fiske produced an electric range finder as early as 1889 and two years later patented a naval telescopic sight. Mounted on a sleeve around the gun barrel, the sight did not recoil when the gun was fired.

Fiske's inventions brought him to the attention of the navy's Bureau of Ordnance, to which the navy twice assigned him. In that capacity, he supervised the installation of ordnance on the cruiser USS *Atlanta*, one of the navy's first steel warships, and later oversaw the installation of electric lighting and other electrical systems on other warships of the rapidly modernizing U.S. Navy. He became one of the navy's premier experts on electricity and in 1887 authored a well-regarded textbook on the subject, *Electricity in Theory and Practice*.

On the eve of the Spanish-American War in 1898, many U.S. cruisers and battleships carried Fiske range finders. Fiske personally used one of these, the stadimeter, to direct the gunboat *Petrel's* fire in the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898.

Fiske's inventions and wartime service earned him promotion to lieutenant commander in 1899. He attained the rank of captain

and his first command, the cruiser USS *Minneapolis*, in 1907. Following his promotion to rear admiral in August 1911, he rotated through the command of three different divisions of the Atlantic Fleet and briefly served as deputy commander of the fleet. In February 1913, Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels appointed Fiske aide for operations. The previous secretary of the navy, George von Lengerke Meyer, had established four aides to assist him. The aide for operations was the senior of these, and Fiske and other naval reformers hoped that the office would develop more authority and evolve into the nucleus of a naval general staff. In his new capacity, Fiske argued forcefully for the creation of that general staff, which he hoped to lead. He clashed routinely with Daniels over this issue and also his regular condemnation of the Woodrow Wilson administration's refusal to prepare for hostilities following the outbreak of World War I in Europe in August 1914.

Daniels accepted the need for a larger and better organized naval staff and a chief of naval operations to lead it, but he worried about maintaining civilian control of the navy. In 1915, he created a naval generation staff, but it lacked the full authority that naval reformers advocated. To lead it, he promoted the relatively unknown Captain William S. Benson over Fiske and several dozen other officers to become the first chief of naval operations. That same year, Daniels appointed Fiske president of the Naval War College at Newport, Rhode Island. Fiske retired the following year, having reached the mandatory retirement age of 62. He continued to write on naval affairs and served as president of the U.S. Naval Institute, the naval officers' professional organization, from 1921 to 1923. Over the course of his life, he wrote 6 books and 60 articles and patented 60 inventions. Fiske died in New York City on April 6, 1942.

STEPHEN K. STEIN

See also

United States Navy

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Flagler, Daniel Webster

Birth Date: June 24, 1835

Death Date: March 29, 1899

U.S. Army officer and chief of ordnance during the Spanish-American War. Daniel Webster Flagler was born in Lockport, New York, on June 24, 1835. He enrolled at the United States Military Academy, West Point. He graduated fifth in his class in 1861 and was immediately commissioned a first lieutenant in the U.S. Army.



U.S. Army brigadier general Daniel Webster Flagler, chief of ordnance during the Spanish-American War. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

During the American Civil War, he was breveted several times for exemplary service. He became widely known as the efficient chief of ordnance for the Army of the Potomac, serving in that department for the duration of the war.

After the war, Flagler held many different commands and at one time or another supervised all of the major U.S. arsenals. In 1871, at the rank of captain, he took command of the Rock Island Arsenal in southern Illinois. During the next 15 years, he improved and greatly enlarged the facility, turning it into one of the most important arsenals in the country. His improvements included the construction of several manufacturing plants, a fire house, a power plant, the Moline Bridge, and a railway line. Today, more than 100 years later, many of the buildings that Flagler designed and helped build at Rock Island still stand. He also played a major role in designing the army's new field artillery and coastal defense guns.

In January 1891, President Benjamin Harrison appointed Flagler the army's chief of ordnance, with appointment to the rank of brigadier general and advancement over two more-senior colonels in the Ordnance Department. In February and March 1898, in anticipation of the war with Spain, Flagler began to work closely with the Corps of Engineers to enhance coastal defenses along the eastern seaboard of the United States. This was a huge undertaking, as hundreds of guns had to be produced or procured. Flagler sharply increased production at the government's gun factories by adding

more shifts and operating them virtually around the clock. In addition, he ordered more than 200 light rapid-fire cannon from domestic as well as foreign suppliers. The Ordnance Department also vastly increased the stock of artillery shells, ordering 5,000 heavy-caliber shells during just one week alone in March 1898.

Flagler was criticized for canceling an order for enhanced rifle production at the onset of the war, sure in his belief that current inventories and production would produce more than enough weapons. When this proved not to be the case, at the end of April 1898 he ordered the immediate production of some 129,000 sets of infantry equipment, to include Krag-Jorgensen rifles. In less than two months' time, the Springfield Armory tripled the size of its workforce and was operating 20 hours per day. Similar increases were seen at other arsenals and manufacturing facilities around the nation.

Early in the war effort, Major General Nelson A. Miles sharply criticized the Ordnance Department and demanded that the War Department replace the Krag-Jorgensen with another weapon that had been previously rejected by Flagler. Miles also insisted that Flagler procure arms from abroad, something that Flagler hoped to avoid because of potential issues with quality control and shipping. Confident in Flagler's abilities, Secretary of War Russell A. Alger rebuffed Miles. The Ordnance Department nevertheless relied upon private contracts for millions of rounds of ammunition, artillery shells, fuses, and the like.

Despite several clashes with Miles and some early ordnance shortages, Flagler's department performed admirably during the Spanish-American War. There were no major weapons shortages, and Flagler worked effectively with the Corps of Engineers and the Quartermaster Department to ensure that equipment, ammunition, and weapons arrived at their final destination in timely fashion. Flagler died in Maryland on March 29, 1899, while still on active duty.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; Artillery; Coastal Defenses, U.S.; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Rifles

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Flying Squadron

U.S. Navy squadron formed in response to public pressure to create a naval force to protect the East Coast of the United States and U.S. coastal shipping against possible Spanish attack. The Navy Department established the Flying Squadron at Hampton Roads, Virginia, on March 17, 1898. Commodore Winfield Scott Schley took command.

Spanish rear admiral and minister of the navy Segismundo Bermejo y Merelo had envisioned sending Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete with a powerful squadron of six large warships (the battleship *Pelayo* and large cruiser *Carlos V* along with the four armored cruisers that would go to Santiago de Cuba) supported by three destroyers, three torpedo boats, and the auxiliary cruiser *Ciudad de Cádiz* to operate from Cuba against the North American Atlantic coast.

In reality, however, Cervera's squadron would be built around four modern armored cruisers. On paper they appeared formidable, but the squadron was poorly trained, and the *Vizcaya* with its fouled bottom could make only about 14 knots. To make matters worse, two of its 5.5-inch guns were disabled.

Nevertheless, the Flying Squadron was assigned the task of patrolling the East Coast from Maine to the Florida Keys. Its mixed bag of warships initially consisted of the armored cruiser *Brooklyn* (flagship), the battleships *Massachusetts* and *Texas*, the large and fast but lightly protected cruisers *Columbia* and *Minneapolis*, and the collier *Merrimac*. While powerful, the squadron was limited in speed to its slowest unit, the older second-class battleship *Texas*. The *Texas* had an average sea speed of just 14 knots, while the flagship could steam at 20 knots. Added later to the squadron was the war-purchased protected cruiser *New Orleans*. Also added were the battleship *Iowa*, the auxiliary cruisers *Marblehead* and *Harvard*, and the collier *Sterling*. The *Columbia* and *Minneapolis* were subsequently detached.

Early in May 1898, the Flying Squadron was ordered to Key West, Florida, as Cervera was known to be heading for the West Indies. On May 19, Schley was ordered by Rear Admiral William T. Sampson to proceed from Key West to blockade Cienfuegos, Cuba. Schley was expected off Cienfuegos the next day but did not hurry in getting there. Instead, the Flying Squadron arrived off Cienfuegos only on the morning of May 22.

By May 20, Secretary of the Navy John Davis Long knew that Cervera had arrived with his squadron at Santiago de Cuba and issued orders to Schley to blockade Cervera there. Schley received these orders on May 24. Schley, however, was not convinced that Cervera was not in Cienfuegos and dithered off the port before steaming slowly toward Santiago. Schley did not arrive outside Santiago until May 26. It was fortunate for the Americans that Cervera did not sortie in the interval. While steaming to Santiago, Schley sent a dispatch to Long and Sampson announcing that he lacked sufficient coal to remain off Santiago. In reality, he had sufficient coal to blockade the port for many days. Once in place off Santiago, the Flying Squadron consisted of the flagship *Brooklyn*; the battleships *Iowa*, *Massachusetts*, and *Texas*; the protected cruiser *Marblehead*; the auxiliary warships *Vixen* and *Hawk*; and the collier *Merrimac*.

On May 31, Schley approached the harbor entrance and took under fire the Spanish flagship *Colon*, which had dropped down from the inner harbor. Schley had the *Massachusetts* (temporary flag), *Iowa*, and *New Orleans*. But the American warships fired from

a range of 8,000–9,000 yards while steaming at 9–10 knots, resulting in no damage to either Cuban shore fortifications or the Spanish ships.

Admiral Sampson joined Schley off Santiago on June 1 to take overall command. The Flying Squadron was disbanded and became the Second North Atlantic Squadron on June 21.

JACK GREENE

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Cienfuegos, Naval Engagements off; Long, John Davis; Naval Strategy, Spanish; Naval Strategy, U.S.; Sampson, William Thomas; Sampson-Schley Controversy; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Schley, Winfield Scott

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Food

The provisioning, transportation, storage, and preparation of food during the Spanish-American War posed many challenges in an era of limited refrigeration. Adding to that burden was the fact that the war was being waged in tropical climates hundreds and even thousands of miles from home and at the height of summer.

On the eve of the war, the average U.S. soldier was provided with three classes of rations. The garrison ration was comprised of fresh meat, bread or flour, locally acquired vegetables and fruits, unroasted coffee, salt, pepper, sugar, and vinegar. The field ration was more Spartan, consisting of bacon, hardtack (a form of dry biscuit or cracker), canned or desiccated vegetables, roasted coffee, salt, pepper, sugar, and vinegar. Finally, a travel ration for use by soldiers on board trains or transport ships in the absence of other fare provided the basic elements for a mess of soldiers to cook a stew or ragout and consisted of canned beef, baked beans, and tomatoes as well as the ubiquitous hardtack and roasted coffee. This ration arrangement had served the U.S. Army since the 1870s. While sufficiently nutritious, it was generally decried as bland and unimaginative. In 1897, Commissary General Charles P. Eagan sought to increase the variety of the enlisted men's diet by introducing canned salmon to the field and travel rations.

With war imminent, Eagan dispatched officers to purchase in bulk all the meat, vegetables, flour, and other sundries as possible. Commissary officers canvassed food distributors across the country, contracting with agents to meet a complex schedule of monthly deliveries of perishable foodstuffs to the volunteer camps in the United States. Meat deliveries were considered especially critical, as



Drawing by William Glackens of the midday mess of the 6th Cavalry Regiment in Cuba, 1898. (Library of Congress)

fresh beef was considered an essential component of the soldier's diet in camp. In this instance, Eagan implemented a novel solution. Beef carcasses purchased in bulk from meat packers were frozen and stored in refrigerated railroad cars and ships, ensuring in principle a steady supply of fresh meat for the camps and V Corps in Cuba. Finally, corps and division commissaries were authorized to make local arrangements, as need be, for bread and vegetables.

Eagan's program was partially successful. Foodstuffs generally arrived on schedule, suffering from only minimal spoilage. More vexing was the management of food stocks and their preparation by incompetent regimental and company cooks. According to army regulations, each company was to mess as a unit, with individual soldiers rotated as cooks.

While this arrangement worked well enough in the regular army units, volunteer units did not fare as well. Frequently, cooks mismanaged their monthly ration allocation, subjecting their companies to alternating periods of feast in the first week of the month and famine in the last days before a new food delivery. On July 7, 1898, Congress finally authorized the formal creation of permanent cooks with the rank and pay of corporal. However, enlistments for

the new position were slow, subjecting many soldiers to chronic shortages and poor food.

To supplement their rations, enlisted volunteer soldiers turned to food vendors and sutlers who surrounded the volunteer camps. Local families, farmers, and merchants did a brisk trade with local soldiers, with many unscrupulous entrepreneurs giving little heed to the quality of their wares. At both Camp Thomas and Camp Alger, corps commanders attempted to stem the tide of food-borne illnesses by banning sutlers from the camps, many of whom were hawking spoiled pies, turnovers, eggs, and sweets. In each case their efforts were unsuccessful, as the vendors merely set up shop just outside of the camp's main entrance.

For soldiers in Cuba and later the Philippines, the issue of food and rations was more problematic. In Cuba, efforts to provide fresh meat to V Corps were made, but frequently the frozen beef carcasses thawed and spoiled before reaching company bivouacs. At the end of long supply lines, soldiers ate field rations for days and weeks at a time, the monotony of hardtack and bacon broken only occasionally by the delivery of canned goods. On their arrival in the tropics, soldiers were lectured at length by medical officers of the

dangers of eating local fruits and vegetables. Fresh fruits, while nominally nutritive, were considered to be dangerous for men from temperate climates when combined with heavy exertion. In V Corps, the question of food was compounded by the lack of fresh water. The cauldrons normally used for boiling fresh water had been left behind in Florida, leaving the men to trust to luck in procuring safe water.

As typhoid spread across the volunteer camps and accounts of V Corps' struggle against the elements reached home, Eagan became a lightning rod of public outrage. His efforts to manage the timely delivery of fresh food and his press for qualified cooks were forgotten amid the scandals plaguing the War Department. Eagan's career was ruined in the aftermath of his own testimony against Commanding General Nelson A. Miles's criticism of the Subsistence Department, triggering the Embalmed Beef Scandal. After publicly declaring that "I wish to force the lie back into his [Miles's] throat, covered with the contents of a camp latrine," Eagan was court-martialed and suspended from duty, with full rank and pay, until his retirement. As part of the 1901 reforms initiated by Secretary of War Elihu Root, the Subsistence Department was incorporated into an expanded Quartermaster Department, with medical officers sharing with trained cooks the oversight of the quality of food and rations.

BOB WINTERMUTE

See also

Camp Alger; Camp Thomas; Eagan, Charles Patrick; Embalmed Beef Scandal; V Corps; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Root, Elihu

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Foraker Amendment

An amendment to the 1899 Senate Military Appropriations Bill authored by Ohio senator Joseph Benson Foraker that banned the granting of franchises or concessions to non-Cuban entities (including those from the United States) during the U.S. occupation of Cuba. The appropriations bill was passed by Congress on March 3, 1899. Even before the Spanish ceded control of Cuba, American businessmen had begun to descend on the island with an eye toward acquiring control of Cuban land and industry and especially capturing franchises for potential monopolies such as railroads, telegraph, and electric power.

Although the Foraker Amendment unquestionably prevented exploitation of the island, it also hampered outside investment that Governor-General Leonard Wood thought vital. When Sir William van Horne proposed a rail line between Santa Clara and Santiago

that would have been the first land connection between Cuba's eastern and western coasts, Wood and Elihu Root devised a series of revocable permits that allowed van Horne's railway to circumvent the Foraker Amendment and traverse public lands. However, that was the exception rather than the rule, and American investment remained limited until after the occupation ended.

The Foraker Amendment along with two other amendments to military appropriations bills (the Teller Amendment to the 1898 bill and the Platt Amendment to the 1901 bill) in many ways defined the American occupation.

JACK MCCALLUM

See also

Platt Amendment; Teller Amendment; Wood, Leonard

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Fort San Antonio de Abad

A stronghold on the defensive perimeter (Zapote Line) of Spanish-held Manila in the Philippines. Fort San Antonio de Abad, also called Fort Malate, was located on Manila Bay's eastern coast and to the southwest of Malate, Manila's southern suburb. Approximately 500 feet south of a trench running from the bay eastward to an unnavigable swamp, this stone and mortar fortress was soundly constructed and mounted both old as well as modern defensive weaponry.

After the Spanish-American War began in April 1898, Spanish general Basilio Augustín y Dávila, Spain's governor-general in the Philippines, anticipating a U.S. move to take Manila, increased the armament of Fort San Antonio de Abad. It then mounted three 3.6-inch bronze field guns, four 3.2-inch bronze mountain guns, and two 3.2-inch steel mountain guns.

The fort's northern approach presented many physical obstacles. It faced a channel 100 feet wide and of uneven depth in its front, which approached the fortress from the east and then veered to the south before shifting westward into Manila Bay. Wetlands and dense thickets covered the approaches, but the channel was crossed by a stone bridge on the Calle Real Road adjacent to the structure. The bridge's entrances were overlaid by stone walls and sandbags and were held by Spanish troops supported by reserves. Linking the bridge and the fort was a trench system that ran westward to the bay for about 200 feet and eastward for 3,000 feet to Blockhouse No. 14. Fort San Antonio de Abad anchored the southern extremity of Spain's so-called Zapote Line protecting Manila.

In preparation for the U.S. assault on Manila in August 1898, U.S. brigadier general Francis V. Greene came ashore south of the fort and established his brigade in a bivouac known as Camp Dewey. He urged immediate destruction of the Spanish defenses because he was losing men to nighttime Spanish attacks. Greene asked VIII Corps commander Major General Wesley Merritt for ap-



The U.S. flag flies over Fort San Antonio de Abad (also known as Fort Malate) following its capture during the assault on Manila in August 1898. (Naval Historical Center)

proval to position the double-turreted monitor *Monterey* opposite the fort in order to destroy it. Its two 12-inch and two 10-inch guns easily outranged those in the fort, and Merritt agreed with the plan but was unable to persuade Commodore George Dewey, who thought that a short postponement would allow his secret negotiations to secure the surrender of Manila without a fight.

Once the sham First Battle of Manila began on August 13, the cruiser *Olympia* and its sister ships bombarded Fort San Antonio de Abad. The field guns of the *Utah* artillery lent support. The Spaniards failed to respond, and after 30 minutes, the 1st Colorado Volunteer Infantry Regiment of Greene's brigade went forward. His men advanced along the shore and crossed the channel in front of the fortress. Moving into the installation, they discovered it to be unoccupied except for two Spanish corpses and a wounded defender. Its parapet raked and its magazine exploded, Fort San Antonio de Abad never returned fire. It had been abandoned since the beginning of the bombardment.

RODNEY J. ROSS

See also

Augustín y Dávila, Basilio; Camp Dewey; Dewey, George; Greene, Francis Vinton; Manila; Manila, First Battle of; Merritt, Wesley; Zapote Line

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France

A nation in Western Europe and a significant colonial power at the time of the Spanish-American War. With a turn-of-the-century population of about 38.5 million, metropolitan France encompassed approximately 213,000 square miles. It bordered Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy to the east; Spain and the Mediterranean Sea to the south; the Atlantic Ocean to the west; and the English Channel to the north. At the time of the Spanish-American War, France was second only to Great Britain and Germany in terms of military power and economic development. The Third Republic of France (1870–1940) was a constitutional republic with a parliamentary organizational structure. In 1898, the country was still struggling to recover from its ignominious defeat at the hands

of the Germans in the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871). Adding to the internal upheavals of French politics and society, the country had a substantial socialist party and was in the process of a great scandal, known as the Dreyfus Affair, involving the army that sharply divided all of France.

France had a long and at times very close relationship with Spain dating back to the early 18th century when members of the same Bourbon family ruled both states. France and Spain also shared the bond of Roman Catholicism. Regarding the United States, the close relationship that the French enjoyed with the Americans during the American Revolutionary War had long since faded, the result of a number of diplomatic clashes. Among the most recent of these was the competition to build an isthmian canal linking the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Economic rivalries over interests in the Caribbean had a deleterious effect on relations between the two nations as well. By the 1890s, French financiers had invested heavily in Cuban business concerns, primarily sugar production. Also, French participation in the world economy grew with the formation of the Union Coloniale Française in 1895. This organization consisted of a group of influential businessmen, financiers, and politicians whose goal was to lobby support for colonial ventures.

Considering existing commercial ties between France and Cuba, it should come as no surprise that the French favored retaining the status quo in Cuba as a means of protecting their own investments. For its part, Great Britain shared this view of the situation in Cuba. Such was the situation at the outset of the Cuban War of Independence that began in 1895. As the Cuban drive for independence progressed and Spain's policies on the island turned more brutal, French opinion changed. By 1896, officials in France and at the Vatican were warning Madrid to get the situation in Cuba under control. Even at this juncture, however, the French government sought to contain the struggle so as to keep it between Spain and its colony.

This attitude on the part of the French government did generate strong anti-French feeling in the United States. Indeed, by 1897 or so many Americans wanted to intervene directly in Cuba, citing humanitarian reasons. It was clear to many in France, however, that the U.S. interest in Cuba had financial overtones. The French found themselves bitterly attacked in the yellow press by publishers such as William Randolph Hearst. By the same token, however, although France opposed American intervention, it would not act to prevent an invasion of Cuba without the support of Great Britain and Russia. When war appeared imminent early in 1898, Spain's queen regent, María Cristina, requested aid from the French but was politely turned down. Clearly, Paris did not view the war as a direct threat to French national interests and would not act without the concert of other European powers.

Among the more boisterous critics of American intervention in Cuba were the members of the French Socialist Party. These politicians identified U.S. humanitarian propaganda as merely a cover to engage in the same sort of economic exploitation and political imperialism in which other European powers, including France, were engaged.

As tensions between the United States and Spain increased dramatically after the sinking of the U.S. battleship *Maine* in February 1898, France and Russia were reportedly prepared to intervene in the crisis. On April 6, 1898, French diplomats in the United States along with those of Great Britain, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Italy all presented themselves as a group to President William McKinley to urge that the United States not intervene in Cuba. Such a mass demonstration on the part of European diplomats was unprecedented, but McKinley paid them no heed.

Keeping in mind this tense diplomatic situation, it is easy to see why relations between France and the United States cooled further during the initial phases of the Spanish-American War, which began on April 25. Nevertheless, as the fighting continued, the hostility between the two states began to subside. A French warship was present in Manila Bay as Rear Admiral George Dewey kept watch on Manila, and relations between Dewey and the French there remained cordial.

As it became clear that the Spanish could not hope to achieve a victory in the war, the Madrid government sought an intermediary through which to open a dialogue with the United States. Ultimately, France served in that capacity. On July 18, 1898, Spanish prime minister Práxedes Mateo Sagasta instructed his ambassador in Paris, Fernando León y Castillo, to contact the French ambassador in Washington, Jules-Martin Cambon. The purpose of the communication was for Cambon to inform the U.S. government that Spain was ready to open negotiations. The use of this third-party intermediary served to save face for both belligerents and hastened the peace process.

After successfully negotiating the Protocol of Peace on August 12, 1898, Cambon offered Paris as a venue for the formal peace conference, and talks opened on October 1, 1898. With active French participation, they concluded with the signing of the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898. One of the reasons for the success of the negotiations was that McKinley's goals for the settlement were not incompatible with those of France and the other European powers.

Much of France's ability to act as an intermediary despite its earlier opposition to the war stemmed from the fact that the country remained on the sidelines during the fight and exhibiting less assertiveness in diplomatic conversations with the United States. By the same token, the French possessed far greater economic interests and imperial holdings in North and West Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East than they did in the Caribbean. French public opinion aside, the government realized the potential value of maintaining friendly relations with the United States.

JAMES R. MCINTYRE

See also

Cambon, Jules-Martin; Cuban War of Independence; Dewey, George; Germany; Great Britain; Hearst, William Randolph; Imperialism; Jingoism; León y Castillo, Fernando de; *Maine*, USS, Inquiries into the Loss of; McKinley, William; Paris, Treaty of; Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo; Spain; Spanish-American War, International Reaction to; Vatican, Role in War; Yellow Journalism

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Frick, Henry Clay

Birth Date: December 19, 1849

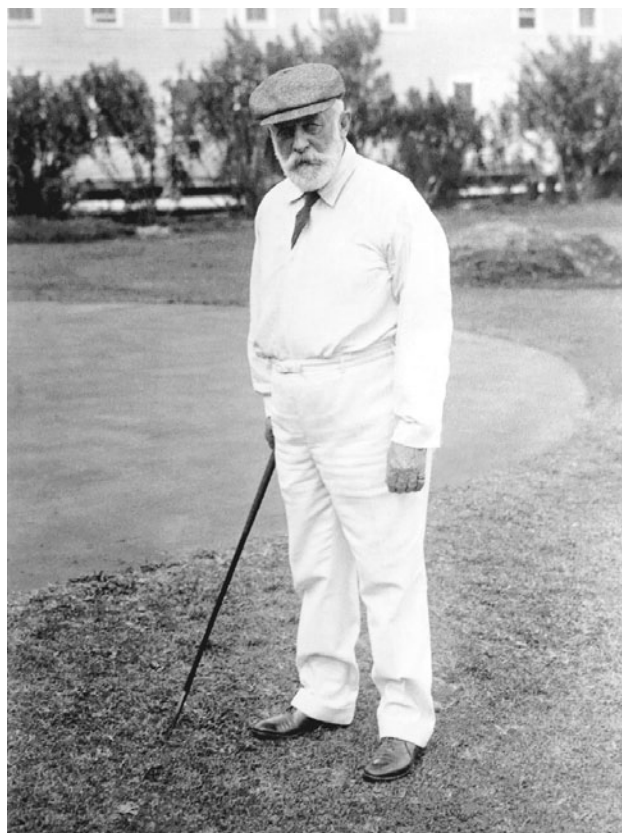
Death Date: December 2, 1919

Prominent industrialist of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Henry Clay Frick was born the son of a farmer of modest means in West Overton, Pennsylvania, on December 19, 1849. He studied literature and art at Otterbein University in Westerville, Ohio, but did not graduate. In 1870, he bought into a partnership with a cousin and two other men to build a coke oven near Pittsburgh. Coke (coal with the impurities burned off) was the primary fuel used in blast furnaces to make steel. An industrial boiler fuel, coke was in great demand during the Spanish-American War of 1898.

Owning 600 acres of coal-mining land and a few ovens for processing, Frick soon recognized the growing potential of steel. Indeed, steel was coming into heavy use for commercial and industrial construction as well as military production. He soon became manager of the firm H. C. Frick and Company. A product of the Gilded Age's capitalist belief in social Darwinism, Frick had very little regard for workers and rival businesses. After the Panic of 1873, which nearly bankrupted the company, Frick purchased most of his competitors' coal fields for far less than their actual value. In 1879, at age 30, Frick's fortune had exceeded \$1 million. His company was the largest producer of coke in the world with more than 40,000 acres of coal and 12,000 coke ovens.

In 1880, Frick met steelmaker Andrew Carnegie in New York City. The two entered into a partnership that further solidified their dominance in the steel industry. In 1889, after helping to modernize the industry, Frick was appointed chairman of Carnegie Brothers Steel. That same year, Carnegie retired from the direct management of the steel business. In 1892, the operations were reorganized as Carnegie Steel Company with Frick as manager. It became the largest steel company in the world with a worth of \$25 million.

Frick by now was well known for his heavy-handed dealings with workers and unions in the mills. He despised organized labor, believing that it represented an impediment to industrial growth. With an eye on profits and increasing margins, Frick and Carnegie forced a strike at the Homestead Works mill on June 30, 1892. It was one of the most dramatic and bloody labor confrontations in American history.



American industrialist Henry Clay Frick amassed great wealth as head of the Carnegie Steel Company. (Library of Congress)

When the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers threatened a strike at the steel mills in Homestead, Pennsylvania, Frick responded by locking out all 3,800 employees. Workers retaliated by taking control of the plant. Frick then arranged for 300 armed and deputized Pinkerton guards to retake the plant under the cover of darkness. The strikebreakers encountered fierce resistance from workers and townspeople as the guards fought to take back the factory. In all, 16 people were killed and hundreds were injured in the melee, but the Pinkerton guards were driven back.

Pennsylvania governor Robert E. Pattison then ordered the state militia to crush the strike and restore order. During the strike, Alexander Berkman, a Russian anarchist immigrant, shot and stabbed Frick in his office. Frick's wounds were not fatal. Leading industrialists and government officials applauded his stand against organized labor. Although Frick managed to stop the influence of organized labor in the steel industry, his antiunion posture drew scorn and bitterness from the general public.

At the end of the 1890s, Frick and Carnegie began battling over control of Carnegie Steel. In 1901, Frick negotiated the sale of Carnegie's plants to banking magnate John Pierpont Morgan. The sale paved the way for the formation of the U.S. Steel Corporation, which became the first business enterprise in the world to be valued at \$1 billion. Frick then ventured into railroad and real estate investments. He accumulated a sizable fortune during his lifetime,

and some \$50 million was donated to charity. A powerful industrial capitalist and controversial figure, Frick died in New York City on December 2, 1919.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

See also

Carnegie, Andrew; Social Darwinism

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Frye, William Pierce

Birth Date: September 2, 1830

Death Date: August 8, 1911

Republican politician, diplomat, and member of the U.S. Peace Commission that negotiated the December 1898 Treaty of Paris. Born in Lewiston, Maine, on September 2, 1830, William Pierce Frye graduated from Bowdoin College in 1850, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1853. He practiced law first in Rockland, Maine, before returning to his native Lewiston, where he also practiced law.

Frye began his public service career with several terms in the Maine legislature (1861–1862 and 1867) and also served as mayor of Lewiston (1866–1867) and state attorney general (1867–1869). He then won election to the U.S. House of Representatives and served during 1871–1881. In 1880, he was elected to the U.S. Senate, where he served from 1881 to his death in 1911.

During his tenure in the House and Senate, Frye provided service on a number of significant committees, including Foreign Relations and Commerce. While serving on the Commerce Committee, he took a strong interest in improving the nation's inland waterways. Likewise, he was a staunch supporter of a protective tariff and a significant participant in the periodic debates concerning the level of customs duties. He emerged as a major supporter of the American shipping industry and constantly sought to revitalize the American Merchant Marine.

In addition to his work in Washington, Frye became a popular spokesperson for the Republican Party and a favorite of audiences across the country. In his speeches to these large public gatherings, he expressed his strong advocacy of American expansionism. He was a strong advocate of U.S. involvement in Cuba, sparked by the destruction of the ship named for his state, the U.S. battleship *Maine*, and once war came, he strongly supported the war. President William McKinley asked Frye to serve on the commission to negotiate the peace settlement with Spain. Other members included William R. Day, Senator Cushman K. Davis, Whitelaw Reid, and Senator George Gray. The commission began its work in Paris on October 1, 1898.

While in Paris, Frye fully supported the position that the United States should take possession of both Cuba and the Philippines. When it briefly appeared as though the Spanish government would not accept the peace settlement, Frye brought up the possibility of payment to Spain of \$20 million. This proposal led to some criticism of Frye in the American press, but it certainly helped mollify Madrid's stance and ultimately cleared the way for acceptance by Spain. The Treaty of Paris was signed on December 10, 1898.

Frye returned to the United States and resumed his senatorial duties. He continued in office until his death in Lewiston, Maine, on August 8, 1911.

JAMES R. MCINTYRE

See also

Davis, Cushman Kellogg; Day, William Rufus; Expansionism; Gray, George; McKinley, William; Paris, Treaty of; Peace Commission; Reid, Whitelaw; Republican Party

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Funston, Frederick

Birth Date: September 11, 1865

Death Date: February 19, 1917

Adventurer, journalist, filibuster, and controversial yet popular U.S. Army officer best known for his exploits against Filipino nationalists and the capture of Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy during the Philippine-American War (1899–1902). Frederick Funston was born in New Carlisle, Ohio, on September 11, 1865, but moved with his family to Kansas when he was 16. He tried without success to gain entry to the United States Military Academy, West Point, and during 1885–1888 attended the University of Kansas but did not earn a degree. From 1888 to 1890, he worked as an assistant engineer for the Santa Fe Railroad and then took a position as a newspaper reporter in Kansas City, Missouri.

Unsatisfied with journalism, in 1891 Funston joined an expedition to California's Death Valley, where he served as a surveyor and explorer of the area's flora. When the expedition ended, he traveled to Alaska to explore the territory's botanical resources and served for two years (1893–1895) as an employee of the U.S. Department of Agriculture stationed in Alaska.

In 1896, inspired by the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898), Funston participated in a filibuster expedition that brought arms and supplies to the Cuban rebels. He then joined the Cuban Revolutionary Army as a captain of artillery. Known as "Fightin'



U.S. Army brigadier general Frederick Funston, who played a key role in the capture of Filipino leader Emilio Aguinaldo in March 1901 during the Philippine-American War. (Library of Congress)

Fred,” he saw action in a number of campaigns but fell desperately ill from malaria and had to return to the United States in 1897.

Irrepressible, Funston recovered sufficiently by 1898 to join the U.S. Army when the war with Spain began. Commissioned a colonel of volunteers on May 13, 1898, he took command of the 20th Kansas Volunteer Infantry Regiment and in the late summer was sent to the Philippines. There he participated in Brigadier General Arthur MacArthur’s Luzon Campaigns.

When the Philippine-American War began in February 1899, Funston’s outfit played a major role in the fighting. Something of a publicity seeker, he made certain that his daring exploits against Filipino insurgents, many of which he led in person, were reported by American newspaper correspondents. Many of his actions, however, became highly controversial, and his direct participation in cavalry charges and bayonet assaults went against official army regulations, which called for a more junior officer or noncommissioned officer to lead such operations.

In April 1899, Funston personally led an assault against a rebel stronghold at Calumpit by swimming across the Bagbag River, crossing the Rio Grande under murderous fire, and engaging in a brief bayonet charge. Although the rebel camp was found to be de-

serted, Funston’s exploits made front-page headlines in the United States. He was rewarded with promotion to brigadier general of volunteers that same year.

In March 1901, Funston played a key role in the capture of Filipino leader Aguinaldo. Again leading the expedition, Funston and his men disguised themselves as Filipinos. Working with the Philippine Scouts, they gained access to Aguinaldo’s camp by pretending to be prisoners. Once inside the stronghold, Funston and his accomplices seized Aguinaldo and took him into custody. For this feat, Funston enjoyed great publicity in the United States. In recognition of his role in Aguinaldo’s capture, Funston was advanced to brigadier general in the regular army.

Funston’s exploits were not without controversy, however. He was repeatedly accused of having engaged in atrocities against Filipinos and approving the looting of Filipino homes and public buildings. The most outlandish allegations included the looting of Roman Catholic churches and the holding of a mock Catholic Mass to amuse his men. Funston managed to avoid any official charges, however, and in one case brought charges against a San Francisco newspaper for libel. By 1902, his controversial actions and anti-Filipino and proexpansionist statements had earned him the enmity of the Theodore Roosevelt administration, which officially reprimanded him. Still, Funston escaped any formal charges, and his popularity in the United States seemed to immunize him from significant trouble.

Funston continued his career in the army and served in a variety of posts. As commander of the Presidio in San Francisco, he took control of the city after the 1906 earthquake, playing an important role in the recovery efforts but also drawing criticism for his order that looters be summarily shot. In 1911, he published *Memoirs of Two Wars: Cuban and Philippine Experiences*. During U.S. operations against Mexico in 1914, troops under Funston’s command occupied Veracruz. Funston also took part in the hunt for Pancho Villa.

In November 1914, President Woodrow Wilson approved Funston’s promotion to major general. With the United States preparing to enter World War I, Wilson reportedly wanted Funston to head American forces in France, but ill health precluded this. Funston died suddenly of a heart attack in San Antonio, Texas, on February 19, 1917.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Atrocities; Cuban Revolutionary Army; Cuban War of Independence; Filibuster; Luzon Campaigns; MacArthur, Arthur; Philippine-American War; Roosevelt, Theodore

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G

García, Pantaleon T.

Birth Date: July 17, 1856

Death Date: August 16, 1936

Philippine revolutionary and military and political leader. Pantaleon T. García was born in Imus, Cavite Province, on the island of Luzon in the Philippines on July 17, 1856. After completing his studies, he became a teacher. In 1896, he became part of the secret nationalist society known as the Katipunan, which sought to gain Philippine independence from Spain.

García joined the insurrection against Spain along with Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy when it broke out in August 1896. García fought the Spanish for nearly two years, was wounded, and rose to the rank of brigadier general. His wife, Valeriana Elises y Palma, often participated in his military campaigns. García, as judge advocate, conducted the pretrial treason hearings of the founders of the Katipunan, including Andrés Bonifacio, resulting in their court-martial and execution in the spring of 1897.

Despite the rebels' early successes, they were soon on the defensive against the Spanish authorities. García defended Imus and took part in the Battle of Puray in June 1897 before a truce was signed in December 1897. In December, García and his family relocated to Hong Kong as part of Aguinaldo's entourage, a move stipulated by the Pact of Biak-na-Bato. García's stay in Hong Kong was short-lived, however.

With war between the United States and Spain, the Spanish governor-general of the Philippines, General Basilio Augustín y Dávila, established a Consultative Assembly of Filipino notables in April 1898 in an effort to gain native support for Spain. García was one of the appointees. In May, however, García left the assembly and, shortly after the return of Aguinaldo to the Philippines, joined him

and Filipino insurgent forces as a zone commander near Manila. In July 1898, García attempted to negotiate the capitulation of Manila, but the Spanish—mostly out of pride—refused to surrender to Filipino forces and preferred to capitulate to the Americans in August.

García was also a representative to the Malolos Congress in September 1898 that established the Philippine Republic. Following the Spanish-American War, when it became evident that the United States would not grant independence to the Philippines, García took command of a division fighting the Americans in the Philippine-American War (1899–1902). Later he became chief of staff of the army. In November 1899, Aguinaldo, then president of the Philippine Republic, appointed García the political and military leader of the central government of Luzon.

In fighting against American forces in February 1900 in central Luzon, García was wounded and subsequently became quite ill. Sent to Jaen, Nueva Ecija, to recover, he was captured there by American troops in May. The following month, he accepted an amnesty issued by American authorities and took a pledge of allegiance to the U.S. government. He then served in several governmental positions including president of Imus and as a justice of the peace. García died in the Philippines on August 16, 1936.

GREOGRY C. FERENCE

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Augustín y Dávila, Basilio; Biak-na-Bato, Pact of; Bonifacio, Andrés; Katipunan; Malolos Constitution; Philippine-American War

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García y Iñiguez, Calixto**Birth Date:** 1839**Death Date:** December 11, 1898

Cuban revolutionary and senior military commander in the Cuban revolutionary movement. Calixto García y Iñiguez was born around 1839 in Holguín, Santiago Province, Cuba. He fought with the rebels in the Ten Years' War (1868–1878), rising through the ranks to second-in-command of the army. Captured in 1874, he was imprisoned in Spain. After the war's end, he was released and traveled to New York City, where he lived among other Cuban exiles.

In 1880, García unsuccessfully attempted to invade Cuba from the United States and was again exiled to Spain, after which he returned to the United States. In 1895, he joined the Cuban revolt conducting guerrilla activities at the beginning of the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898). By 1898, he commanded the Eastern Army, part of the Cuban Revolutionary Army.

Shortly before the United States declared war on Spain, the U.S. Army sent Lieutenant Andrew Rowan to García to gather intelligence for the planned invasion of Cuba. Rowan's exploits were immortalized in Elbert Hubbard's largely fictionalized best-selling story "A Message to García," making García perhaps the best known of the Cuban revolutionaries to Americans. It was García

who recommended that U.S. forces make Daiquirí their initial invasion site.

García's forces provided valuable intelligence and information and kept Spanish reinforcements from arriving during the July 1, 1898, battles at El Caney and San Juan Heights. But U.S. forces did not permit him to participate in the late July and early August 1898 surrender negotiations, causing much bitterness. To try to heal the rift between García and the Americans, U.S. Army brigadier general Leonard Wood invited him to the United States, where García was publicly honored and met with President William McKinley before his sudden death in Washington, D.C., on December 11, 1898.

GREGORY C. FERENCE

See also

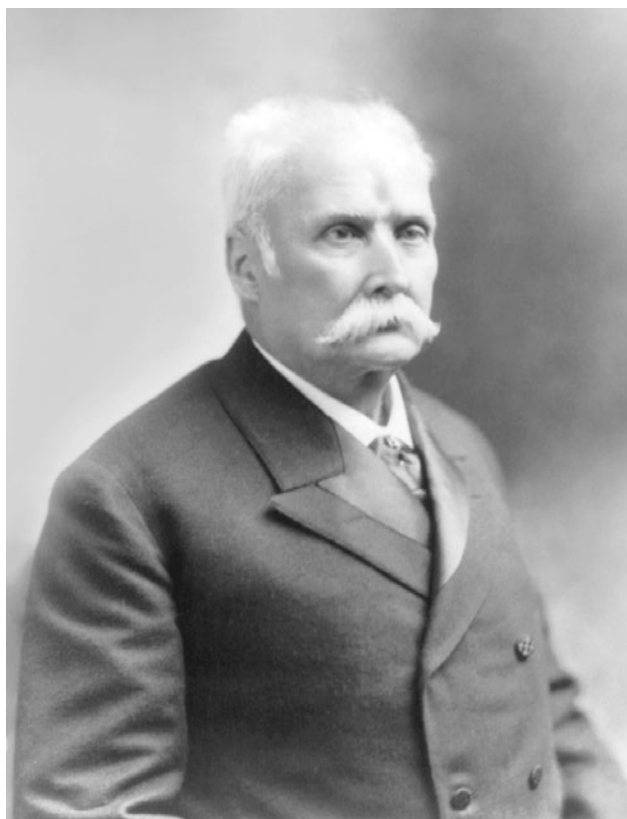
Cuban Revolutionary Army; Daiquirí Beachhead, Cuba; El Caney, Battle of; Hubbard, Elbert; "Message to García, A"; Rowan, Andrew Summers; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Ten Years' War; Wood, Leonard

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Cuban revolutionary Calixto García y Iñiguez. In 1898 he commanded the eastern forces of the Cuban Revolutionary Army during the war against Spain. (Library of Congress)

Garretson, George Armstrong**Birth Date:** January 30, 1844**Death Date:** December 8, 1916

U.S. Army general of volunteers. Born in New Lisbon, Ohio, on January 30, 1844, George Armstrong Garretson moved with his family to Cleveland. He then worked in the wholesale grocery business. At the beginning of the American Civil War, he enlisted in the U.S. Army, serving from May to September 1862. Applying to the United States Military Academy, West Point, he was accepted in 1863. Graduating in 1867, he was commissioned a second lieutenant of artillery.

Garretson resigned from the army in 1870 and returned to Cleveland, where he worked in the wholesale grocery business until 1875. He was then employed by the Second National Bank, which became the National Bank of Commerce. He worked his way up from clerk to president in 1890, holding the latter position until his death.

Garretson had retained his interest in the military and served as a militia captain of Troop A of the Ohio Cavalry during 1887–1892. A staunch Republican, at the beginning of the Spanish-American War he offered his services to President William McKinley, who appointed him brigadier general of U.S. Volunteers on May 4, 1898. Garretson took command of the 2nd Brigade of the 1st Division, II Corps, at Camp Alger, Virginia. The brigade consisted of three regiments: the 6th Illinois Infantry, the 6th Mas-

sachusetts Infantry, and the 8th Ohio Infantry. The 2nd Brigade arrived at Siboney, Cuba, on July 11, 1898.

Following its arrival in Cuba, Garretson's brigade was assigned to Brigadier General Guy V. Henry's 1st Division of Major General Nelson A. Miles's Puerto Rican expeditionary force. Garretson's brigade landed at Guánica, Puerto Rico, on July 25, 1898. The next day, Garretson proceeded to Yauco with seven companies: six of the 6th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment and one of the 6th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment. Just before arriving at Yauco, Garretson's men skirmished briefly with two companies of the Spanish Patria Battalion commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Francisco Puig. Puig's orders called on him merely to determine the strength of the U.S. force, so he soon withdrew. This brief skirmish was, however, the first engagement of the Puerto Rico Campaign. Garretson's brigade arrived at Ponce on August 4 and then moved north to Adjuntas before reaching Utuado by August 16.

Discharged from service on November 30, 1898, Garretson returned to the banking business in Cleveland. He died in that city on December 8, 1916.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Camp Alger; Guánica, Puerto Rico; McKinley, William; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Puerto Rico Campaign; Siboney, Cuba; Yauco, Battle of

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Gascoyne-Cecil, Robert Arthur Talbot

Birth Date: February 3, 1830

Death Date: August 22, 1903

British Conservative Party politician, prime minister, and foreign minister during the Spanish-American War. Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, third Marquis of Salisbury, was born on February 3, 1830, at Hatfield, Hertfordshire, England. Educated at both Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1851 he was advised to make a sea voyage for his health and spent nearly two years traveling around the world, including visits to South Africa; New South Wales, Australia; and New Zealand. On his return to England in 1853, he was elected, unopposed, to the House of Commons.

In July 1857, Gascoyne-Cecil married, but his new father-in-law objected to the match. Hard-pressed financially, Gascoyne-Cecil supplemented his income by writing for the *Saturday Review*, the *Standard*, and the *Quarterly Review*. In his writing, he revealed a considerable distrust of democracy. Also known for his skill in debate, he served as secretary of state for India during 1866–1867. In 1868, his career in the House of Commons ended with the death of his father, and he entered the House of Lords as Lord Salisbury.



Robert Cecil was prime minister of Great Britain three times and held that office during the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

In 1869, Salisbury became chancellor of Oxford University. In 1874, when the Conservatives returned to power, he resumed his position at the India Office. In April 1878, he became secretary of state for foreign affairs. He supported the Ottoman Empire against Russia and pushed for a conference to discuss the Treaty of San Stefano, resulting in the Congress of Berlin of June–July 1878. He also arranged for Britain to secure Cyprus from the Ottomans.

After the Conservatives' defeat in the elections of 1880 and Benjamin Disraeli's retirement from politics, Salisbury became the Conservative Party leader in the House of Lords. In 1885–1886, he was both prime minister and foreign secretary, during which time Britain annexed Burma. In a speech, he announced that he believed that some peoples, including the Hindus, were unfit for self-government. He was prime minister for a second time in 1886–1892 and a third time in 1895–1902. In 1890, Germany acknowledged British control of Zanzibar, in return for which Salisbury gave up Heligoland to Germany.

Salisbury rejected U.S. president Grover Cleveland's declaration that the refusal of British Guiana to agree to arbitration with Venezuela constituted a violation of the 1823 Monroe Doctrine, but Salisbury also rejected appeals from Spain for support against the United States over Cuba. When Queen Regent María Cristina sent a letter to Queen Victoria asking for British assistance in preventing U.S. intervention, Salisbury convinced the queen to oppose such

a step. Salisbury and many other British politicians were already conscious of the need to secure the United States as a possible future ally against Germany. Indeed, Salisbury expressed the view that any concerted European policy would only strengthen the “war party” in the United States.

Following the start of the Spanish-American War, however, Salisbury favored some joint European action to bring about an early end to the fighting. This failed because President William McKinley was opposed to any European mediation of the conflict and because Spain was not then ready to negotiate. Following the war, Salisbury made concessions to the United States. He surrendered British rights in Samoa and agreed to abrogate the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 and permit the United States to build the Panama Canal under its own control.

During Salisbury’s third period as prime minister and foreign minister, he also had to deal with a host of other important foreign policy issues, including the Kruger Telegram Incident of 1896 with the Germans, the Fashoda Crisis of 1898 with the French, the South African (Boer) War of 1899–1902, and the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1902. Salisbury resigned as prime minister in July 1902. He died on August 22, 1903, at his ancestral home in Hatfield, Hertfordshire, England.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Clayton-Bulwer Treaty; Cleveland, Stephen Grover; McKinley, William; Monroe Doctrine; Panama Canal; Samoa; Venezuela Crisis, First; Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom

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Gatling Gun

The American Civil War (1861–1865) gave rise to a number of new weapons. Among these were several precursors to the modern machine gun, including Wilson Ager’s Coffee Mill. It took its name from the means of feeding the ammunition from the top of the weapon by a funnel and crank mechanism, all of which resembled a coffee mill.

Ager’s gun had a single barrel. The ammunition was formed of a steel tube that contained powder and a .58-caliber bullet and a nipple at the end for a percussion cap. Steady turning of the crank



U.S. Navy sailors drill with a Gatling gun aboard ship during the Spanish-American War. (James Rankin Young and J. Hampton Moore, *History of Our War with Spain*, 1898)

dropped a round into the chamber, locked the breech block in place, dropped a hammer that fired the round, and ejected the spent case. Ager claimed a firing rate of 100 rounds a minute, although the gun barrel could not have long withstood the heat thus generated.

Ager demonstrated his weapon before President Abraham Lincoln, and the U.S. Army eventually purchased 50 of them. The Coffee Mills proved unreliable, however, in combat use and were never employed en masse. Ultimately they were used in the defenses of Washington.

Confederate Army captain D. R. Williams also invented a mechanical gun. Mounted on a mountain-howitzer carriage, it was a 4-foot long 1-pounder of 1.57-foot bore. Operated by a hand crank, it utilized paper cartridges and could fire 65 shots a minute. It tended to overheat, and it was also not a true machine weapon in that ammunition was fed into it by hand.

Other such weapons also appeared, but the most famous of mechanical guns was that invented by Richard Jordan Gatling in 1862. Well aware of problems from the buildup of heat, Gatling designed his gun with six rotating barrels around a central axis, each barrel fired in turn and each with its own bolt and firing pin. Thus in a firing rate of 300 rounds per minute, each barrel would have been utilized only 50 times.

The Gatling gun employed a hopper for the ammunition similar to that of the Coffee Mill. The first Gatling gun also employed steel cylinders with a percussion cap at the end, a round, and paper cartridges with the charge. The production model did away with the percussion cap in favor of a rim-fire cartridge. Turning the crank rotated the barrels, dropped in the rounds, and fired each barrel in turn. The chief difference from the Coffee Mill was in the rotating multiple barrel design.

The U.S. Army's chief of ordnance Colonel John W. Ripley, who was well known for his opposition to innovative weaponry, blocked adoption of the Gatling gun. Gatling's North Carolina birth also seems to have worked against him. Despite Gatling's appeals to Lincoln, the army never adopted the gun. Its only use in the Civil War came when Major General Benjamin Butler purchased six of them at his own expense and employed them effectively in the Siege of Petersburg at the end of the war.

In 1864, Gatling redesigned the gun so that each barrel had its own chamber, which helped prevent the leakage of gas. Gatling also adopted center-fire cartridges. These and other refinements produced a rate of fire of about 300 rounds per minute. Finally, in 1866, the U.S. Army purchased 100 Gatling guns, equally divided between 6-barrel models of 1-inch caliber and 10-barrel models of .50-inch caliber. Gatling worked out a licensing agreement with Colt Arms to produce the gun.

The Gatling gun provided effective service in the Indian Wars in the American West and in the Spanish-American War. V Corps' Gatling Gun Detachment played an important role in the Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign, especially in the U.S. victory in the Battle of San Juan Hill of July 1, 1898. They were also utilized in the Puerto Rico Campaign.

Gatling guns also served with the U.S. Navy. Tested by the British government in 1870, the Gatling gun out-shot its competition by a wide margin and was adopted by both the British Army and the Royal Navy, in .42-caliber and .65-caliber versions, respectively. The Gatling gun remained the standard mechanical rapid-fire weapon until the introduction of the Maxim gun, the first true machine gun.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Gatling Gun Detachment, V Corps; Puerto Rico Campaign; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign

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Gatling Gun Detachment, V Corps

Unit that played a significant role in the Battle of San Juan Hill on July 1, 1898. Detachment commander Lieutenant John Henry Parker was a strong advocate of employing machine guns offensively, and he pushed his weapons to the front and continued to advance them with the attacking troops.

Upon his graduation from the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1888, Parker was assigned to the 13th Infantry Regiment. One of his duties was to train a crew in the use of the Gatling gun. He began to ponder ways of more effectively employing the Gatling gun in battle. In 1897, he submitted a paper outlining his ideas, including the design for a carriage that would allow a Gatling gun to be carried along with attacking infantry. He believed that such weapons should be used offensively as well as filling their traditional role in defense.

Although his paper was ignored, Parker continued to advocate an offensive role for the Gatling gun. At the beginning of the Spanish-American War, he went with his regiment to Tampa, Florida, to prepare for the invasion of Cuba. Although his regimental commander rejected his ideas, Parker submitted them to the corps staff. The ordnance officer at Tampa, Lieutenant Colonel John T. Thompson, acted as Parker's advocate and arranged for him to be appointed assistant ordnance officer. On May 27, 1898, V Corps authorized formation of a provisional Gatling Gun Detachment to be directly under the orders of corps commander Major General William Shafter. The detachment was allocated 4 guns of a shipment of 15 new weapons. Although Parker asked for a total of 43 men, he was at first assigned only 12.

When V Corps sailed from Florida to Cuba, the Gatling Gun Detachment was not initially included. Thompson, however, assigned the detachment the task of protecting the expeditionary force's ammunition, so they were able to sail on the transport *Cherokee*. Upon



Gatling gun on the firing line during the Battle of San Juan Heights, Cuba, on July 1, 1898. (John H. Parker, *History of the Gatling Gun Detachment, Fifth Army Corps, at Santiago*, 1898)

arriving in Cuba, Parker convinced Shafter to assign another 30 men to his detachment.

Parker had the opportunity to test his ideas on July 1, 1898, when V Corps attacked San Juan Heights, east of Santiago. Parker was ordered to support the cavalry division's attack there. At first, the Gatling Gun Detachment was charged with protecting the U.S. artillery. Under heavy fire from Spanish guns, they were quickly ordered to the rear. At 9:00 a.m., however, Parker was sent forward to support the advance, and he eventually brought his guns within 600 yards of the Spanish trenches on San Juan Hill.

Even though many of Parker's men were hardly trained, he opened a steady fire on the Spanish around 1:00 p.m. The Americans had been pinned down but were then able to begin an advance under cover of Parker's fire. After nine minutes of steady Gatling gun fire, the attackers had advanced to within 150 yards of the trenches, and Spanish defenders were beginning to stream to the rear. Parker pushed his guns forward and continued to lay down fire on the enemy trenches. The fortified Spanish position was soon taken, and the Gatling Gun Detachment took up defensive positions, helping to break up two Spanish counterattacks later in the day.

An appreciative Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt noted the important role played by the Gatling Gun Detachment in the battle. For the remainder of the war, he insisted on having Gatling guns nearby. Other officers on the scene also spoke highly of the performance of the detachment and credited it with making possi-

ble the capture of San Juan Heights. Parker was forever known by the nickname "Gatling Gun Parker."

After the war, Parker continued to advocate machine-gun development in the U.S. Army. He wrote two books, *The History of the Gatling Gun Detachment, Fifth Army Corps, at Santiago, with a Few Unvarnished Truths concerning That Expedition* (1898) and *Tactical Organization and Uses of Machine Guns in the Field* (1899). Parker became one of the first U.S. Army officers to study how best to use the new machine weapons on a changing battlefield.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Cuba; Gatling Gun; Roosevelt, Theodore; San Juan Heights, Battle of

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German East Asian Squadron

See East Asian Squadron

Germany

Germany in the late 1890s was the most powerful state on the European continent. Germany bordered France, Belgium, and the Netherlands to the west; Denmark, the North Sea, and the Baltic Sea to the north; Russia to the east; and Austria-Hungary and Switzerland to the south. A latecomer to the imperialist race, Germany nonetheless counted among its overseas possessions German East Africa, the Cameroons, German Southwest Africa, and Togoland in Africa. In Asia, it had the South Sea islands of New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago, the North Solomons, and the Marshall Islands. In addition, Germany possessed a base at Jiaozhou (then known as Kiao-Chau, Kiaochow, Kiauchau, or Ki-autschou), on the Shandong (Shantung) Peninsula in China. At the time of the Spanish-American War, Germany's population was approximately 54.5 million people.

Prussia and its allied German states had defeated France in the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871), ending the long period of French European hegemony. In January 1871, while the war was still in progress, Prussian minister president Otto von Bismarck proclaimed the establishment of the German Empire. Germany not only took Alsace and much of Lorraine from France but also imposed on that nation a substantial indemnity of 5 billion francs that was several times the cost of the war to Germany and helped fuel a dramatic German economic industrial expansion. German foreign trade also burgeoned with German industries often competing chiefly with those of Britain and the United States. Germany's foreign trade was approximately equal to that of the United States.

The constitutional arrangement created by Bismarck, now German chancellor, placed considerable power in the emperor or kaiser. Nonetheless, Bismarck dominated Emperor Wilhelm I (1871–1888) and largely ran German affairs. Frederick III was already dying of throat cancer during the few months he was kaiser in 1888 and left no imprint. He was followed by his son and successor Wilhelm II (1888–1918).

Headstrong and rash, Wilhelm soon clashed with Bismarck and forced the “Iron Chancellor” into retirement in March 1890. In his foreign policy, the aggressive Wilhelm quickly alienated most of the leaders of the European powers. As a consequence, France broke free of the isolation imposed by Bismarck and was able to ally with Russia in 1894. Britain, which might have been an ally of Germany, was alienated by the kaiser's aggressive naval building program.

Wilhelm and his minister of marine Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz claimed that the new German battle fleet was defensive only, but there is every indication that the two men actually sought a navy large enough to challenge Britain, and even Britain allied with the United States for world naval mastery. Wilhelm was preoccupied with the navy and believed that a powerful fleet coupled with growing German industrial power would allow Germany, a latecomer to imperialism and world rivalries, to “find its place in the sun” as a major world power.



Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm II pursued an aggressive foreign policy and was determined to expand both Germany's navy and its overseas empire. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

Wilhelm's aggressive, even bullying foreign policies isolated Germany in Europe except for Austria-Hungary. Wilhelm and leading figures in the German Navy had long anticipated the collapse of Spain's colonial empire. In early 1898, the kaiser, increasingly worried about U.S. naval and imperial aspirations, announced that he was determined, when the opportunity presented itself, to purchase or simply to seize the Philippines from Spain.

When the Spanish-American War began, Wilhelm II hoped to put together an anti-U.S. continental bloc. Although Wilhelm's grandmother, Queen Victoria, thought that the U.S. declaration of war against Spain was “monstrous,” British leaders were more upset by the kaiser's decision to increase the number of German capital ships and lend moral support to the Boers in South Africa. Consequently, the British government was already thinking of how it might improve relations with the United States against Germany, which was coming to be seen as Britain's principal trading rival as well as a threat to Britain's naval mastery. Without Britain's assistance, no such European alignment was possible.



Depiction by Frank Cresson Schell of the converted revenue cutter USS *McCulloch* firing a warning shot across the bow of the German cruiser *Irene* off Manila, 1898. (Library of Congress)

Following Commodore George Dewey's victory in the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, Tirpitz and Wilhelm insisted on increasing the strength of the German East Asian Squadron in the hopes of securing territory in the Philippines. Wilhelm was intensely frustrated by the situation in the Philippines, professing to see there an informal agreement among the British and the Americans against Germany, especially with U.S. ships allowed access to British bases and able to take on coal. Captain Edward Chichester, the British squadron commander off Manila, also proved most accommodating to Dewey. In late May, Wilhelm was writing that the German naval increases of 1898 had come too late. By 1901, Germany would be much stronger at sea, and he hoped that Germany would then be able to "put forth demands and seize the initiative."

In any case, three German cruisers arrived in Manila shortly after the battle, followed on June 12 by the cruiser *Kaiserin Augusta* with East Asian Squadron commander Vice Admiral Otto von Diederichs. With the kaiser's full concurrence, Prince Bernhard von Bülow, state secretary for foreign affairs, had ordered the admiral to the Philippines so that he might secure firsthand knowledge of the situation there. Two additional German warships arrived a week

later, giving Germany six capital ships to but four for the U.S. squadron. This increase in German strength clearly altered the naval balance of power in the islands. Great Britain, by contrast, had three ships in Philippine waters, and France and Japan had one each.

Officially, Diederichs claimed that the German naval presence resulted from the need to protect German citizens and property in the Philippines, to prepare a possible evacuation of foreign nationals, and to solve certain logistical problems involving the transfer of troops. Dewey, however, was concerned that Germany might interfere with operations in the Philippines before Spain surrendered, thereby ensuring itself a role in the peace negotiations and ultimate disposition of Spanish territory. There were indeed rumors of a possible German intervention on Spain's behalf, of plans to occupy part of the Philippines, and of secret negotiations with the Filipino revolutionaries to establish a German protectorate. Indeed, it was quite true that Wilhelm and Bülow hoped that they might acquire one or more of the Philippine islands.

Dewey advised Washington of his concerns and, as a result, the Navy Department believed that it might be necessary to dispatch

an additional squadron to the Philippines. Plans to do this ended with the recall of Admiral Manuel de la Cámara y Libermore's Spanish Squadron and the signing of an armistice with Spain in August, pending a general peace settlement.

In the weeks following the Battle of Manila Bay, relations between Dewey and Diederichs grew uncomfortably strained. The Americans were irritated by what they perceived as willful interference. Indeed, they cited the excursions of German officers to the Spanish line of defense, a visit to Filipino nationalist Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy's headquarters by German representatives, the clandestine evacuation of the Spanish governor-general Basilio Augustín in the *Kaiserin Augusta*, and the establishment of a station on the Bataan Peninsula, where the Germans landed a detachment of troops. Dewey claimed that German ships had interfered with the U.S. naval blockade of Manila, a charge that Diederichs stoutly denied, arguing that his intentions were in strict accord with international laws of neutrality.

Meanwhile, there occurred off Manila what naval historian Holger Herwig has called "the single most destructive event in German-American relations before the First World War." Two successive incidents sparked this. The first was when a German ship failed to display colors until the Americans had fired a shot across its bow. The other occurred when a German warship approached the American squadron at night and had to be similarly warned. Tensions reached a climax on July 10, 1898, when Diederichs sent his flag lieutenant, Paul von Hintze, to protest to Dewey. In a face-to-face confrontation, Dewey told Hintze that if Germany wanted war, it could have it. Diederichs reported that he believed that Dewey's outburst was fired by an explosive mixture of rumors, American newspaper reports depicting Germany as an aggressor, and a certain unease resulting from the size of the German fleet. Realizing, however, that there was no particular sympathy for the Germans among Philippine revolutionaries, Diederichs yielded. He pointed out in a report that his presence had accomplished nothing and had probably done more harm than good to the German cause, damaging the German image abroad and alienating other powers. Indeed, the American press, duly informed of the incidents, adopted a strong anti-German stance.

At the same time, American intentions in the Philippines were unknown, and all imperialist players jockeyed into position, making sure to state their interests in the archipelago. Germany was not alone in hoping that the islands might be divided among interested powers or placed under an international mandate, something that Berlin tried to champion among the other European nations through diplomatic channels. But when annexationist sentiments in the United States grew stronger in the summer of 1898, other nations' chances for territorial gains in the Philippines all but evaporated.

When the first contingent of U.S. ground forces and three additional warships arrived to bolster Dewey's squadron, the confrontation between Dewey and Diederichs began to ease, and the German vice admiral moved on to Batavia (Jakarta) to attend a

Dutch state ceremony. Following the capture of Manila and the subsequent signing of the Protocol of Peace, ships belonging to foreign powers, including Germany, began to withdraw from Philippine waters. The German Empire instead proceeded to enter into negotiations with Spain for the purchase of some of its Pacific possessions, acquiring the Caroline, Pelew, and Ladrone islands, excluding Guam, in 1899.

JERRY KEENAN, SPENCER C. TUCKER, AND KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Bülow, Bernhard Heinrich Martin Karl von; Dewey, George; Diederichs, Ernst Otto von; East Asian Squadron; Katipunan; Manila Bay, Battle of; Philippine Islands, U.S. Acquisition of; Wilhelm II, King of Prussia

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Ghost Squadron

Reference to bogus sightings of Spanish rear admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron off the coast of Cuba in June 1898. On the night of June 7, 1898, the U.S. Navy gunboat *Eagle*, a converted yacht commanded by Lieutenant William Henry Hudson Southerland, reported sighting a Spanish cruiser and destroyer off the northern coast of Cuba. These were thought to be ships of Cervera's squadron, which had been presumed to be at Santiago de Cuba.

Unable to immediately verify the report, the departure of Major General William R. Shafter's V Corps for Cuba was halted. U.S. rear admiral William T. Sampson, commanding the ships blockading Santiago, was highly skeptical of the report, and he ordered Lieutenant Victor Blue ashore to verify the presence of the Spanish ships in the harbor at Santiago de Cuba.

Another bogus sighting occurred on June 10 when the U.S. Navy auxiliary cruiser *Yankee* arrived off Santiago and reported sighting eight ships, including a battleship. This mystery was solved the next day with the arrival off Santiago of the American tender *Armeria*, armed yacht *Scorpion*, and storeship *Supply* along with the British ship *Talbot*. Debriefing confirmed that these ships had been in the

vicinity of the bogus *Yankee* sighting, and Blue's report confirmed that the Spanish ships were still at Santiago. The false sightings led to a six-day delay in the departure of V Corps for Cuba, however.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Blue, Victor; Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Cuba, U.S. Naval Blockade of; V Corps; Sampson, William Thomas; Shafter, William Rufus

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Gilded Age

A reference to a historical era in the United States that lasted roughly from 1870 to 1900. The hallmarks of this turbulent period were mass immigration, industrialization, labor unrest, and a laissez-faire economy. The term "Gilded Age" was coined by Mark Twain in his 1873 book *The Gilded Age: A Tale of Today* (coauthored by Charles Dudley Warner). The use of the term "gilded" is interesting in that it means a thin appliqué of gold or silver on a particular surface or object, usually one that is not valuable in and of itself. In this instance, what Twain was alluding to was the thin veneer of opulence and prosperity that overlay a society that was beset with problems, including poverty, greed, corruption, and exploitation.

The gilded surface of American society was perhaps best represented by the robber barons of the era such as John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, Jay Gould, Henry Clay Frick, and Cornelius Vanderbilt. These men had built huge industrial empires and amassed dizzying sums of money in the process. Their lavish lifestyles became the envy of the nation, but sometimes their wealth was achieved through unscrupulous business practices and the exploitation of their workers. On the other hand, many of these same men also created huge philanthropic endeavors that gave millions of dollars to various causes and institutions. Carnegie and Rockefeller were especially involved in philanthropy later in their lives. Thus, the Gilded Age gave birth to philanthropic endeavors much larger than any others in America's past.

In general, the American economy grew by leaps and bounds during the Gilded Age, but the resultant prosperity was not well dis-

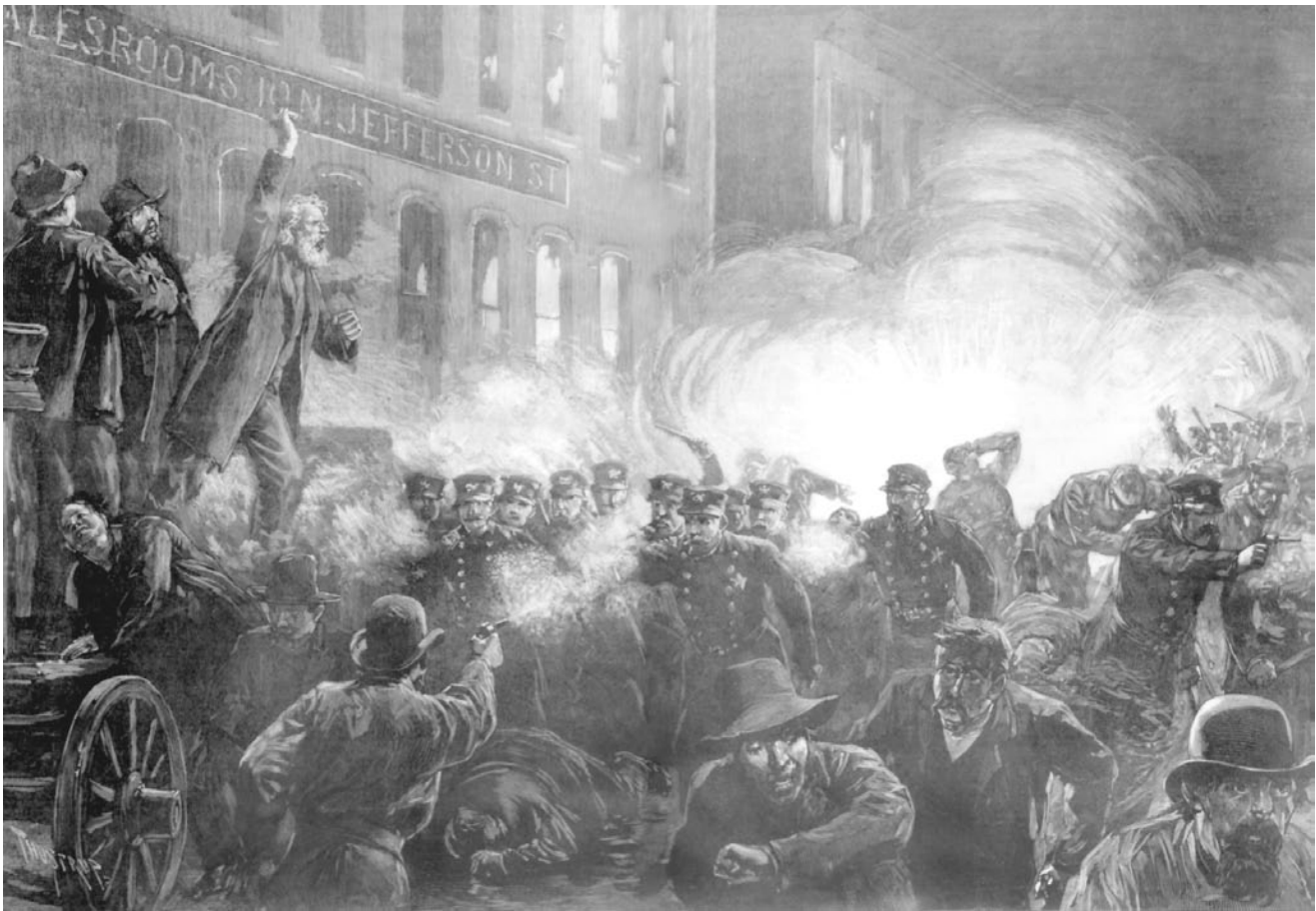
tributed and was punctuated by frequent economic depressions. The Panic of 1873, for example, witnessed some 18,000 businesses declare bankruptcy and an unemployment rate of more than 14 percent. Every 7–10 years saw similar economic calamities, but at the time there were no government mechanisms in place to stem the ill effects of them or aid the millions who became jobless. At the same time, American farmers suffered greatly, as they were plagued by deep and mounting debt, falling prices, and high transportation costs. On the other hand, when times were good, industries and commercial enterprises both small and large flourished, and some farmers eagerly moved into the newly opened areas of the Great Plains and the American West. The Homestead Act, first signed into law in 1862, provided thousands of Americans with 160 acres of land, at no cost, in the vast western prairies, while railroads were hustling to keep up with demand throughout the nation.

To power the U.S. move toward a fully industrialized economy in these years, the nation needed an ever-expanding labor pool. This was accomplished largely through massive immigration. The second great wave of immigration began around 1880 and featured immigrants largely from Eastern and Southern Europe. Most of the immigrants were poor, uneducated, and unfamiliar with life in an urbanized, industrial setting. Yet most were eager to work and lay claim to the American Dream. These individuals worked in coal mines, quarries, and factories of every sort and on the railroads. Their labor was absolutely key to America's rise as a great industrial power. On the down side, many of the newly arrived immigrants suffered considerable discrimination because of their religion (Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, and Judaism) and their inability at first to speak English. In cities, they were mostly relegated to slums and ghettos that featured deplorable and dangerous living conditions.

Toward the end of the 19th century, many industries underwent a flurry of consolidation. Large corporations formed trusts to skirt antimonopoly laws, which finally necessitated the power of the federal government to curb the worst abuses of such activity. Because of the huge sums of capital needed to start and sustain certain industries, mergers and trusts were most often found in the railroad, oil refining, meatpacking, steel making, and sugar-refining industries. Factories utilized scientific applications of labor activity to improve efficiency and increase profits. This, however, led to increasingly boring and monotonous work for unskilled and semi-skilled laborers. This coupled with dangerous working conditions

Percentage of U.S. Workforce Engaged in Various Industries, 1860–1920

Year	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Construction	Mining	Railroads	Other
1860	53%	14%	5%	2%	<1%	26%
1870	53%	19%	6%	1%	1%	20%
1880	51%	19%	5%	2%	2%	21%
1890	43%	19%	6%	2%	3%	27%
1900	40%	20%	6%	2%	4%	28%
1910	31%	22%	5%	3%	5%	34%
1920	26%	27%	3%	3%	5%	36%



The police charge rioters in Haymarket Square in Chicago, Illinois, on May 4, 1886. The riot occurred when a bomb exploded among a group of policemen as they attempted to disperse a giant labor rally in the square. Eleven people died in the incident. The illustration, which appeared in *Harper's Weekly* on May 15, 1886, was titled "The Anarchists Riot in Chicago." (Library of Congress)

in many occupations that killed or maimed thousands each year brought about the first significant attempts to unionize nonskilled workers. Many businessmen deplored unions, however, and the last 25 years of the 19th century bore witness to some of the worst and most violent labor-management clashes in U.S. history. These included the 1886 Haymarket Square Riot in Chicago in which 11 people died and hundreds of others were wounded, the 1892 Homestead Steel Strike, and the 1894 Pullman Strike, also in Chicago.

The rapid industrialization in the United States was not, of course, all bad. Not only did it expand the economy and the middle class substantially, but it also brought about a great assortment of inventions and technological advances. Between 1860 and 1890, the number of new patents issued by the government surpassed 500,000, or nearly 10 times as many as had been issued between 1800 and 1860. This flurry of technological innovation gave U.S. industries an edge over the competition. It also brought new technology that transformed peoples' lives. Thomas Edison's incandescent light bulb and electrical generation and distribution facilities provided many Americans with electrical lighting at a low cost and also allowed factories to operate around the clock, increasing output and profits. Alexander Graham Bell's 1876 inven-

tion of the telephone radically changed the way in which Americans communicated.

The Gilded Age also saw periodic efforts to reform the economic and political system, but by and large the period was marked by stagnation and stasis. During the 1880s and early 1890s, the power balance in Washington was nearly evenly divided between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party, meaning that little legislation that passed in Congress was bold or innovative. Conservative Democrats, sometimes referred to as Bourbon Democrats, were wedded to low taxes, low tariffs, and minimal government intrusion in the economy. They also eschewed imperial expansionism. Their views prevailed in the party until the mid-1890s, when the rural Democrats and Populist Party joined forces to advance the agenda of free silver. The Republican Party, favored by many businessmen and even some laborers, advocated high protective tariffs, government subsidies to expand industry and railroads, labor wages that surpassed those of Europe, and overseas expansion. The Populist Party, which enjoyed its heyday in the 1892, 1894, and 1896 elections, rapidly lost steam thereafter, but its reform agenda was picked up during the Progressive era (ca. 1900–1930).

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Bell, Alexander Graham; Bryan, William Jennings; Carnegie, Andrew; Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Democratic Party; Edison, Thomas Alva; Frick, Henry Clay; Gould, Jay; Homestead Steel Strike; Populist Party; Progressivism; Pullman Strike; Republican Party; Robber Barons; Rockefeller, John Davison; Silver Standard; Slums; Trusts; Twain, Mark

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Glass, Henry

Birth Date: January 7, 1844

Death Date: September 1, 1908

U.S. Navy captain who captured the island of Guam during the Spanish-American War. Born on January 7, 1844, in Hopkinsville, Kentucky, Henry Glass entered the United States Naval Academy in 1860. He graduated a year early, in May 1863, and was commissioned in the U.S. Navy as an ensign. He participated in the unsuccessful Union Navy bombardments of Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina, in the summer of 1863. In February 1865, he took part in the Union capture of Georgetown, South Carolina, an important Confederate seaport located on Winyah Bay.

In 1868, Glass was promoted to lieutenant commander. In 1874, he received his first command, the sailing sloop *Jamestown*, first commissioned in the U.S. Navy in 1844 and then serving as a training ship. Glass was promoted to captain in 1894.

During the Spanish-American War, Glass commanded the cruiser *Charleston* in the Pacific. Launched in 1888, the *Charleston* was the first steel cruiser built for the U.S. Navy. Although decommissioned on July 27, 1896, the *Charleston* was quickly recommissioned on May 5, 1898, following the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. On May 21, 1898, Glass departed San Francisco for Honolulu. Then, on June 4, the *Charleston* departed Honolulu for Manila in the Philippines accompanied by three transports.

Once at sea, Glass opened his sealed orders. These directed him to capture Guam, the largest and southernmost of the Mariana Islands, before arriving in the Philippines. He arrived in the port city of Agaña, the capital of Guam, on June 20, 1898. He found the city virtually defenseless and the Spanish governor, Juan Marina, unaware that a state of war existed between the United States and Spain. The last message that Marina had received from the Spanish government was dated April 14, 1898.

On June 21, 1898, in a bloodless confrontation, Glass took Governor Marina and the 54 Spanish infantrymen on the island as prisoners of war. Glass ordered Spanish citizens disarmed and the American flag raised in the Plaza de España. The United States had conquered its first colony in the Pacific Ocean without a shot being fired. Glass made Spanish-American businessman Francisco Portusach Martínez acting governor of the island until a formal U.S.-controlled government could be established. Portusach, born in Barcelona, Spain, but a naturalized U.S. citizen, was the only American living on the island.

Within days after Glass and his Spanish prisoners departed for Manila, Portusach was overthrown by José Sisto, a Filipino who had served in the Spanish colonial government. Sisto was then promptly overthrown by a group of local Chamorro people who held power until the U.S. Navy returned in January 1899 and reinstated Sisto.

On June 22, 1898, Glass sailed to join Admiral George Dewey at Manila Bay. Glass arrived in Manila Bay on June 30 and participated in the U.S. naval blockade of Manila. Glass and the crew of the *Charleston* took part in the bombardment of Manila on August 13, 1898, that helped precipitate the surrender of Manila. Relieved of his command of the *Charleston* on December 12, 1898, Glass assumed command of the naval training station at San Francisco on January 23, 1899.

Glass was promoted to rear admiral in 1901. He participated in U.S. naval maneuvers off the Pacific coast of Panama in November 1903 that facilitated Panama's independence from Colombia. Glass died in Paso Robles, California, on September 1, 1908.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Dewey, George; Guam; Manila, First Battle of

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Goethals, George Washington

Birth Date: June 29, 1858

Death Date: January 21, 1928

U.S. Army officer, civil engineer, and key figure in the construction of the Panama Canal. George Washington Goethals was born in Brooklyn, New York, on June 29, 1858, to a family of Dutch immigrants. He pursued studies at the City College of New York from 1872 to 1876 and then entered the United States Military Academy at West Point, from which he graduated in 1880. He was one of only two members of his class selected for the Corps of Engineers in the U.S. Army and was commissioned a second lieutenant in June of that year.

Early in his military career, Goethals gained experience in the construction of canals, harbors, dams, and locks. He taught civil



U.S. Army engineer Colonel George Washington Goethals oversaw completion of the Panama Canal. Under his supervision, the project was completed a year ahead of schedule and came in under budget. (Library of Congress)

and military engineering at West Point from 1885 to 1889 and again from 1898 to 1900. Promoted to captain in 1891, he served as assistant to the army chief of engineers from 1894 to 1898.

During the Spanish-American War, Goethals was chief of engineers, holding the rank of lieutenant colonel of volunteers. From 1903 to 1907, he was a member of the Army General Staff and supervised the building of a canal at Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River. He also worked on the construction of canals at Chattanooga, Tennessee, and at Colbert Shoals, Alabama. In the meantime, the United States had begun constructing the Panama Canal, an isthmian canal linking the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The project faced many challenges and experienced slow progress in the first three years. In March 1904, when the canal's principal civilian engineer John F. Stevens resigned his post, President Theodore Roosevelt appointed Goethals chairman and chief engineer of the Isthmian Canal Commission.

Goethals had to overcome a host of complex problems involving engineering, logistics, personnel, climate, and health concerns. Personally overseeing all excavations and construction, he ordered several mountains near the center of the Panamanian isthmus leveled to minimize the canal's elevation. He expanded by a consider-

able margin the width of the canal, realizing the need for easy access and passage for ships of larger sizes. He also took into account the long-term defense needs of the waterway. When he was faced with the daunting challenge of damming the erratic Chagres River with the Gatun Dam and the formation of the Gatun Lake, he brought in more army and civilian engineers who had experience in building locks and dams. Approximately 45,000 people of varying nationalities labored on the canal project during 1904 to 1914.

Goethals and his team completed the canal almost a full year ahead of schedule and also under budget. He received many honors and awards for his achievements, and upon completion of the canal, President Woodrow Wilson appointed him the first governor of the Panama Canal Zone. Advanced to major general, Goethals served as governor from 1914 until his resignation and retirement on January 31, 1917.

Goethals was recalled to active duty in December 1917 following U.S. entry into World War I and served as acting quartermaster general of the army. Several months later, he became director of the Division of Purchase, Storage and Traffic. In this post, he had charge of all supplies and the movement of all troops within the United States and overseas. At his request, he was relieved of active duty in March 1919. Soon thereafter he established his own engineering and construction firm, George W. Goethals and Company, and became an engineering consultant to the Port Authority of New York on many projects, including the Holland Tunnel, the George Washington Bridge, and the Goethals Bridge, which was named in his honor. Goethals died in New York City on January 21, 1928.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Panama Canal; Roosevelt, Theodore

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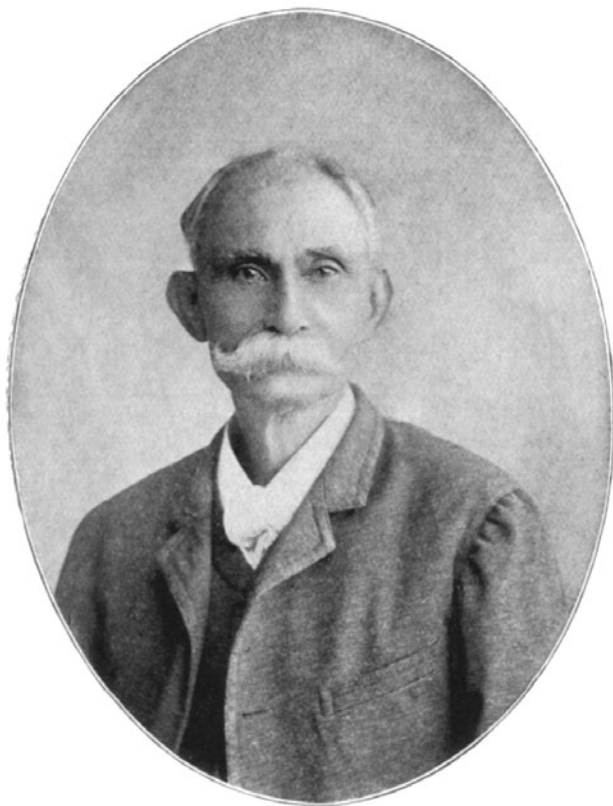
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Gómez y Báez, Máximo

Birth Date: November 18, 1836

Death Date: June 17, 1905

Cuban revolutionary and military leader. Máximo Gómez y Báez was born on November 18, 1836, into a lower middle-class family in the small town of Baní, Dominican Republic. He entered a Catholic seminary, but his studies were cut short with the invasion of the Dominican Republic by Haitian military forces. He joined the forces led by Dominican general Pedro Santen and saw action in a number of battles, fighting with particular bravery at the Battle of Santé in 1856. Gómez remained a captain in the Dominican Army until 1865, when he moved to Santiago de Cuba.



Although born in the Dominican Republic, Máximo Gómez y Báez took up the Cuban struggle for independence and became a general in the Cuban Ten Years' War (1868–1878). (Library of Congress)

While virtually all of Spain's colonies had achieved independence in the early part of the 19th century, Cuba was still part of the Spanish Empire. This situation had become increasingly unsatisfactory to many Cuban liberals, particularly because the Spanish government refused to extend even minimal representation to the Cubans. In 1868, a variety of Cuban groups undertook to separate from Spain through military action, and the Ten Years' War began. By this time, Gómez was living with his family in the jurisdiction of Bayamo, a center of that war's early actions. He joined the Cuban revolutionary forces six days after the declaration of war on October 16, 1868. By 1871, he led a campaign against the city of Guantánamo. Not only was the campaign a success, but from it emerged another great Cuban general, Antonio Maceo Grajales. From this moment forward, the lives of both of these men were always intertwined.

In 1873, after assuming command of the central department of Cuba with the rank of major general, Gómez seized the towns of Nuevitas and Santa Cruz from Spanish forces, adding them to the ever-growing number of places gained by the Cuban Revolutionary Army. In subsequent action against Spanish troops in February 1874, the fighting was so fierce that Gómez had two horses shot out from under him as he led his troops into battle. The success of Gómez and his troops caused alarm in Spain and among the Spanish military, prompting renewed effort on the part of the Spanish Crown to stanch the rebellion. In early 1875, as Gómez invaded Las

Villas, one of Cuba's central provinces, the Spanish government decided to send out General Arsenio Martínez de Campos and 40,000 reinforcements to reinvigorate the Spanish military effort in Cuba. Their arrival in early 1876 began to turn the tide in Spain's favor.

By the time the Pact of Zanjón was signed on February 10, 1878, ending the Ten Years' War, a disillusioned Gómez had already left Cuba. Traveling to Jamaica and then Honduras, where he was appointed an army general, he supported an ill-fated attempt to revive the war for Cuban independence in 1879–1880. With the failure of the Guerra Chiquita (Little War), all military efforts to make Cuba an independent state ceased.

By 1884, Gómez was in New York, where he joined exiled leaders, such as Maceo and the new leader and conscience of the Cuban cause, José Martí y Pérez, in an effort to obtain financial aid and people willing to fight for the independence of Cuba. Unfortunately for the cause, Gómez and Martí clashed over Gómez's leadership style, leading Gómez to return to his native Dominican Republic. In 1891, however, Martí organized the Partido Revolucionario Cubano (Cuban Revolutionary Party) and invited Gómez to join. Maceo also accepted the invitation to join the new party, reuniting the most effective triumvirate of Cuban leaders.

From 1892 until early 1895, these three men led many others in organizing and mobilizing support to renew the cause of Cuban independence. These efforts culminated with the start of the Cuban War of Independence on February 24, 1895, at Baire, Cuba, led by Maceo, now a major general. By April, Gómez and Martí joined the fighting in Cuba.

Tragedy struck swiftly, however, with the death of the charismatic Martí in a skirmish at Dos Ríos on May 19, 1895. Maceo and Gómez, who was now acting as generalissimo, continued to vigorously prosecute the war, and by 1896, the entire island was in rebellion against Spain. Unable to defeat the rebels with conventional military tactics, the Spanish government sent Captain-General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, who undertook a campaign of terror to suppress the revolution. A ruthless disciplinarian and effective tactician, Weyler introduced the *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) system, turning Cuba into a large concentration camp. The Cuban fighters held all the cities, so Weyler rounded up approximately 500,000 civilians from the countryside and placed them in camps from which they could not offer aid to the rebels. While this resulted in much suffering and many deaths from disease, not to mention international condemnation, it did deprive the guerrillas of their natural source of support.

On December 7, 1896, Maceo was killed along with one of Gómez's sons who had served as his aide. The fighting continued, however, as a war of attrition. In the meantime, the struggle in Cuba had become a cause célèbre in the United States through sensationalized accounts in the yellow press. Those in the United States who wished to expand U.S. imperial interests saw the Cuban conflict as a perfect opportunity. On April 19, 1898, the U.S. Congress declared war on Spain with the avowed intent of freeing Cuba. Gómez considered his military role primarily accomplished. His

policy of accommodation and cooperation with American forces ultimately led to a fundamental disagreement with other Cuban revolutionaries, including General Calixto García y Iñiguez, who resigned in protest after American forces refused to allow him to participate in the Spanish capitulation ceremonies on July 17, 1898.

After the United States joined the war, U.S. troops rapidly defeated the Spanish forces on the island. What became known as the Spanish-American War officially came to an end on December 10, 1898. The transfer of power took place on January 1, 1899, and U.S. domination of Cuba began.

Washington did not entrust the process entirely to the Cubans but supported efforts toward a constitutional government in Cuba. Many Cubans wanted Gómez to become president of the new republic, but he was far too discouraged by U.S. domination of Cuba to participate in their government. However, one of his last acts as commander of the revolutionary forces was to travel to Washington, D.C., and seek payment for his troops from the U.S. government. To this end, he accepted the offer of \$3 million and departed for Havana. He arrived there on February 24, 1899, exactly four years after the start of the Cuban War of Independence.

The acceptance of the U.S. offer by Gómez, however, created a rift between him and the new constitutional assembly. This body removed Gómez as commander in chief of the Cuban forces, which led to his retirement from public life. Gómez died on June 17, 1905, during a speaking tour in Cuba.

JERRY KEENAN

See also

Cuban Revolutionary Party; Maceo Grajales, Antonio; Martí y Pérez, José Julián; Martínez de Campos, Arsenio; *Reconcentrado* System; Ten Years' War; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano; Yellow Journalism; Zanjón, Pact of

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Gompers, Samuel

Birth Date: January 27, 1850

Death Date: December 3, 1924

American labor leader and founder of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Born on January 27, 1850, in London, England, to a working-class Jewish family, Samuel Gompers, like his father, entered the cigar-making trade. The family immigrated to the United States in 1863, and Gompers quickly became active in the New York cigar makers' union.

Gompers's early labor philosophy contained socialist elements, and he advocated sharp and even confrontational action against



American labor leader Samuel Gompers was president of the American Federation of Labor for 35 years. (Library of Congress)

the excesses of employers and big business. However, by the time he helped found the AFL in 1886, which he headed until his death in 1924 (except for one year, 1895), he had largely rejected his earlier ideas of radical social change. Instead, he mainly sought economic advantages for workers. These included better pay, more benefits, and job security. Of somewhat lesser importance were working conditions, which for the skilled workers in the AFL were not a major issue. Specifically, Gompers sought to organize skilled tradesmen within the capitalist system.

Gompers refused to believe that unskilled workers could be organized and thus denied their admittance to the AFL during his nearly 40 years as the federation's president. He also eschewed political affiliations. As a result, the AFL did not participate in much of the violent labor unrest of the late 19th century, such as the 1892 Homestead Steel Strike or the 1894 Pullman Strike. By the early 20th century, the AFL was perhaps the most successful labor organization in the United States, with hundreds of constituent unions throughout the country.

Gompers's elitism and refusal to claim a political stake in the labor struggle helped lead to the formation of the Industrial Workers of the World in 1905, a labor organization aimed primarily at unskilled workers with a definite socialistic bent. Although Gompers's vision did not extend to the millions of unskilled or even semiskilled workers, his organization efforts nevertheless showed that big business in the United States would not for long enjoy unchecked supremacy over its employees.

Gompers allied himself with President Woodrow Wilson during World War I in hopes that labor loyalty would translate into government support once peace returned. Gompers served on the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense and in 1918 presented Wilson's famed Fourteen Points to labor groups in Europe. The AFL also sponsored loyalty organizations to combat socialist and pacifist labor groups opposed to the war. Following the war, the fear of Bolshevism led to attacks on organized labor, preventing any rapprochement.

Gompers attended the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and assisted in the creation of the International Labor Organization (ILO) under the League of Nations. Increasingly, more radical labor leaders criticized Gompers for his alleged selling out to the Wilson administration during the war. In Gompers's final years, he helped export America's conservative brand of union organization to Latin America. Gompers died in San Antonio, Texas, on December 3, 1924.

RODNEY MADISON

See also

Carnegie, Andrew; Frick, Henry Clay

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Goodrich, Caspar Frederick

Birth Date: January 7, 1847

Death Date: January 26, 1925

U.S. navy officer. Caspar Frederick Goodrich was born on January 7, 1847, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and in November 1864 graduated first in his class from the United States Naval Academy, then temporarily located in Newport, Rhode Island. He served with the European Squadron for most of the late 1860s, being promoted to lieutenant in 1868 and lieutenant commander in 1869. During the next decade, his career included routine service ashore and afloat, including several tours at the Naval Academy. In 1882, he was present at the British bombardment of Alexandria, Egypt, as executive officer of the U.S. Navy screw sloop *Lancaster*.

In 1884, Goodrich served on a navy board that called for setting up what would become the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode



U.S. Navy captain Caspar Frederick Goodrich had charge of landing the U.S. Army's V Corps at Daiquiri and Siboney in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

Island. Promoted to commander that September, he then served on the Endicott Board (named for Secretary of War William C. Endicott), which reviewed the nation's coastal defenses and called for a major modernization program. In 1886, Goodrich became the officer in charge of the Naval Torpedo Station at Newport.

Goodrich twice served as president of the Naval War College in Newport, first from 1889 to 1891 and again from 1896 to early 1898. Between these two tours of duty, he served as commanding officer of the apprentice training ships *Jamestown* and *Constellation* and the gunboat *Concord*. During his second tour at the War College, in 1897 he helped develop potential war plans for campaigns in the Pacific Ocean and Caribbean. Promoted to captain that same year, he reported a plan for a Coast Signal Service in March 1898 just before being detached from the War College for Spanish-American War service.

In April 1898, Goodrich assumed command of the converted cruiser *St. Louis*, a former passenger steamer. In early May, his ship was one of three patrolling east of Martinique searching for Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron. Unsuccessful in this task, Goodrich's men were able to cut the telegraph cable between St. Thomas and San Juan, Puerto Rico, on May 13. On May 18, some of his men repeated this task at Santiago de Cuba, but they were driven off by Spanish fire when attempting the same at Guantá-

namo Bay the next day. On June 3, Goodrich took part in the initial operations designed to capture Guantánamo Bay for the use of the U.S. squadron blockading Cervera at Santiago. On June 21, Rear Admiral William T. Sampson put Goodrich in charge of landing the army's V Corps at Daiquirí and Siboney, a process he oversaw through June 26.

While present at the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3, Goodrich and the *St. Louis* were not directly engaged. After the battle, he transported Cervera and other Spanish prisoners of war to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, before returning to Caribbean waters. In early August, Goodrich and the *St. Louis* were involved in the early stages of the Puerto Rico Campaign commanded by Major General Nelson Miles.

On August 8, 1898, Goodrich assumed command of the cruiser *Newark*, which was intended as the flagship of Commodore Winfield Scott Schley, although the war ended before it could assume this role. On August 9, Goodrich embarked on a mission to land U.S. Marines on the Isle of Pines but diverted to Manzanillo with a group of smaller warships upon receiving reports that the port's garrison was on the verge of surrender. On August 12, the day the Protocol of Peace was signed, his force briefly bombarded the city before learning of the cease-fire early the next morning. Goodrich later assisted in the salvage of the Spanish cruiser *Infanta Maria Teresa*, which had gone down with the rest of the ships of Cervera's squadron at Santiago de Cuba on July 3.

Goodrich's assignments after the war included seagoing commands on the monitor *Puritan*, cruisers *Richmond* and *Minneapolis*, and battleship *Iowa* and service ashore at two navy yards, Philadelphia in 1901 and Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1903. Promoted to rear admiral on February 17, 1904, he served until late 1906 as commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet. During this period, forces under his command provided assistance to the city of San Francisco following the devastating earthquake there in April 1906. From 1904 until 1909, he also served as president of the United States Naval Institute. Following a brief tour of duty at the Navy Department in early 1907, he finished his active career as commandant of the New York Navy Yard from 1907 to his retirement on January 7, 1909.

One of many retired officers recalled to active duty during World War I, Goodrich served as officer in charge of the Pay Officers' Material School until November 8, 1919, when he retired for a second and final time. He died on January 26, 1925, in Princeton, New Jersey.

STEPHEN SVONAVEC

See also

Cables and Cable-Cutting Operations; Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Endicott Plan; V Corps; Guantánamo, Battle of; Manzanillo, Cuba, Actions at; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Puerto Rico Campaign; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Schley, Winfield Scott

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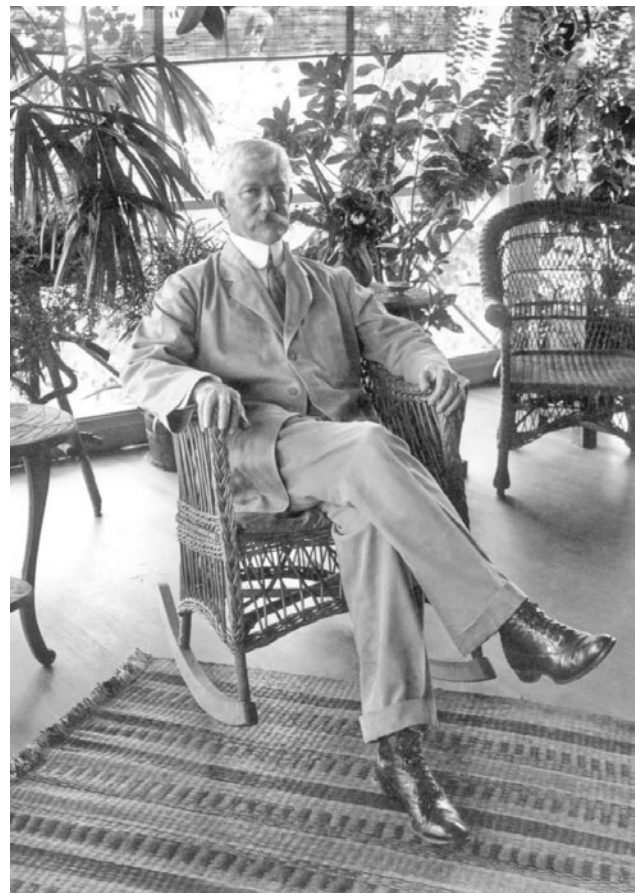
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Gorgas, William Crawford

Birth Date: October 3, 1854

Death Date: July 4, 1920

U.S. Army surgeon and surgeon general of the United States. Born on October 3, 1854, in Mobile, Alabama, William Crawford Gorgas was the son of the former Confederate chief of ordnance and grandson of a former governor of Alabama. He was raised on the family plantation near Mobile and, unable to obtain an appointment to West Point, decided to join the Army Medical Corps after obtaining a medical degree from Bellevue Medical College in New York. In the 1880s, while stationed at Fort Brown, Texas, he met Marie Doughty, his future wife, while they were both recovering from yellow fever. Because he was subsequently immune to the disease, Gorgas spent much of the next two decades in posts where yellow



U.S. Army surgeon William Crawford Gorgas is best remembered for helping to eradicate yellow fever in Cuba and in Panama, which greatly eased construction of the Panama Canal. (Library of Congress)

fever was common. In 1898, during the Spanish-American War, he was sent to Cuba to be the director of sanitation.

Working under Brigadier General Leonard Wood, who was both a physician and Cuba's military governor, Gorgas applied the research done by Walter Reed's Yellow Fever Commission into a coordinated effort to rid Cuba of mosquitoes. The resultant mosquito control program, which included draconian punishments for leaving standing water, virtually eradicated yellow fever and dramatically reduced the incidence of malaria within less than three years. Since the legs of hospital beds were placed in flat dishes filled with water to keep crawling bugs from getting onto patients, Gorgas treated the water and placed screens around patients to keep the disease from spreading.

In 1904, the United States acquired the rights to the Panamanian isthmus and bought the equipment left by the French after their failed effort to dig a canal. Realizing that the death rate among workers from yellow fever and malaria had been a major factor in the French failure, the army sent Gorgas to take charge of sanitation in the Canal Zone. Unfortunately, the Canal Commission and Colonel George Goethals were unwilling to spend any money on improving sanitary conditions and controlling mosquito breeding. An outbreak of yellow fever in late 1904, however, convinced the Canal Commission to fund Gorgas's attempts at mosquito control. Because of insufficient funding, it was not until late 1905 that yellow fever and malaria were eradicated in the Panama Canal Zone. Following President Theodore Roosevelt's visit to the Panama Canal Zone, Gorgas was made a member of the Canal Commission. Determined to see the completion of the Panama Canal, he refused an offer in 1911 to become president of the University of Alabama. He was the only U.S. official who remained on the canal project from beginning to end.

In 1914, Gorgas was promoted to brigadier general and named surgeon general of the United States, an office he held through World War I. He is credited with having made the medical corps more efficient and with standardizing medical evaluation of new recruits.

Retiring from the army in 1918, Gorgas accepted an offer from the Rockefeller Foundation to travel to South America to advise on the eradication of yellow fever and malaria. He also served as president of the American Medical Association and the American Society of Tropical Disease. Gorgas died in London on July 4, 1920, shortly after suffering a stroke. Following a large funeral in St. Paul's Cathedral, his body was returned to the United States and buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

MICHAEL R. HALL AND JACK MCCALLUM

See also

Medicine, Military; Panama Canal; Reed, Walter; Yellow Fever

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Gorman, Arthur Pue

Birth Date: March 11, 1839

Death Date: June 4, 1906

Vocal anti-imperialist and U.S. Democratic senator from Maryland (1881–1899 and 1903–1906). Arthur Pue Gorman was born on March 11, 1839, in Woodstock, Maryland. From 1851 to 1855, he served in the U.S. Senate as a page. He was made a messenger in the Senate post office in 1855, assistant postmaster in 1861, and postmaster in 1865. During the 1860s, Gorman, an avid baseball player, was an early supporter of the Washington Nationals Base Ball Club, an organization that helped to propel baseball to its position as America's most popular pastime. A supporter of President Andrew Johnson, Gorman left his Senate position in 1866 to be the collector of internal revenue for the fifth district of Maryland, a position he held until 1869.

Gorman served in the Maryland House of Delegates from 1869 to 1875 and in the Maryland Senate from 1875 to 1881. He was also president of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company from 1872 to 1882. In 1880, he was elected to serve in the U.S. Senate. A Bourbon Democrat, he was a conservative who supported banking and railroad interests, promoted laissez-faire capitalism, encouraged the gold standard, and opposed U.S. overseas expansion and imperi-



A U.S. senator from Maryland, Arthur Pue Gorman was a staunch anti-imperialist and an outspoken opponent of the Spanish-American War. (Chaiba Media)

alism. In 1884, he was the campaign manager for Grover Cleveland's first presidential campaign. Gorman was reelected to his Senate seat in 1886 and 1892. During the 1890s, he created and held the unofficial position of Democratic floor leader in the Senate.

In 1893, West Virginia representative William Wilson introduced a bill in Congress to reduce tariff rates in order to fulfill President Grover Cleveland's 1892 campaign promise to lower tariff rates set by the 1890 McKinley Tariff, which had increased the tariffs on imports to the United States to 48 percent and was particularly detrimental to American farmers. Although the tariff was passed by the House of Representatives with minor alterations, Gorman significantly altered the legislation in the Senate with more than 600 amendments, greatly limiting the impact of the new legislation on tariff rates. As such, the resulting Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894, which reduced the tariff rate to just 42 percent, was a victory for Gorman and a humiliating defeat for Cleveland. This coincided with the onset of a sharp and deep economic depression that began in 1893 and that resulted in a Democratic rout in the 1894 off-year elections and the 1896 presidential election.

Although Gorman had displayed scant interest in foreign affairs during his political career, after the explosion of the U.S. Navy battleship *Maine* on February 15, 1898, his interest in foreign affairs increased. On March 26, he announced his support for U.S. intervention in the Cuban crisis. Gorman supported President William McKinley's declaration of war on Spain but was concerned about how the war would be financed and argued for a bond issue as the best approach. Gorman also argued that big business should fund a portion of the war effort. He refused to support the 1898 Treaty of Paris that ended the Spanish-American War on the grounds that it provided for the acquisition of an American colonial empire. He believed that the acquisition of the Philippines would involve the United States in a bloody war of conquest, a scenario that proved largely correct. Meanwhile, he had lost his reelection bid to Republican Louis F. McComas in November 1898.

Gorman, however, did not leave politics and won the other Maryland Senate seat in the 1902 election. On March 6, 1903, he was unanimously elected the first chairman of the Democratic caucus in the Senate. Gorman died of a heart attack in Washington, D.C., on June 4, 1906.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Democratic Party; Imperialism; McKinley, William; Paris, Treaty of; Philippine-American War; Philippine-American War, U.S. Reaction to; Philippine Islands, U.S. Acquisition of; Republican Party; Spanish-American War, U.S. Financing of

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Gould, Jay

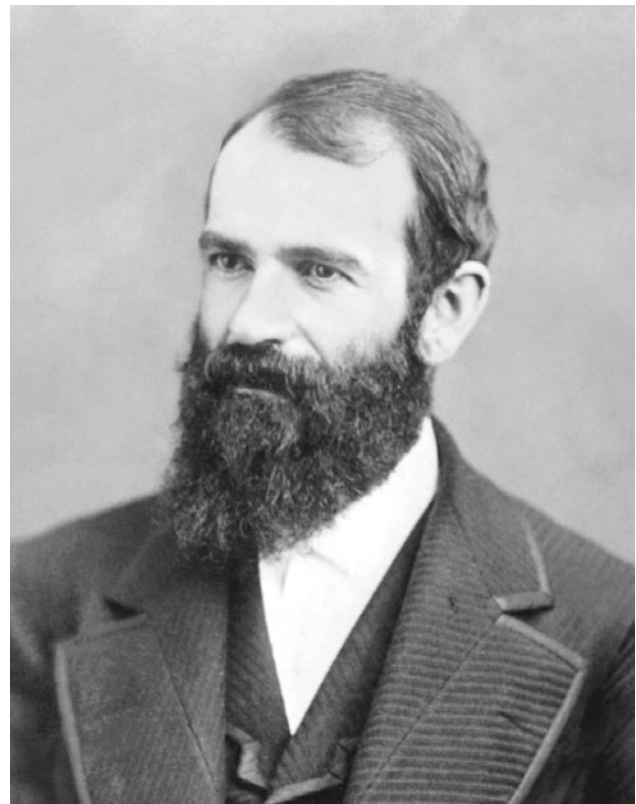
Birth Date: May 27, 1836

Death Date: December 2, 1892

American financier and railroad magnate. Jay Gould, born Jason Gould in Roxbury, New York, on May 27, 1836, grew up in poverty and as a youth labored on his family's small dairy farm. Although his last name led many to conclude erroneously that he was Jewish, he was in fact a Presbyterian. Physically and temperamentally ill-suited to farming, he became a surveyor. After a brief period of speculating in the tanning of animal hides, he began to buy stock in small railroads during the 1860s.

Gould was the prototype of the greedy robber baron and corrupt railroad owner who bribed politicians for his own material advancement. He successfully manipulated railroad stock to his personal advantage and built a huge fortune. After deflating the price of railroad stock, he would purchase the stock, revalue the company, and make substantial profits. He was portrayed in newspapers, especially by the political cartoonist Thomas Nast, as a reckless speculator and greedy capitalist.

In 1867, Gould became a director of the Erie Railroad. In 1869, he and his business associates James Fisk and Daniel Drew used bribery, chicanery, and manipulation to prevent Cornelius Vanderbilt from acquiring control of the Erie Railroad. That same year,



Although born in poverty, Jay Gould became immensely wealthy as a financier and railroad tycoon. He became well known for his aggressive business practices. (Library of Congress)

Gould and his business partners bribed President Ulysses S. Grant's brother-in-law to obtain information about the government's proposed gold purchases. Gould then began to buy massive quantities of gold in an attempt to corner the market. He hoped that the increase in the price of gold would elevate the price of wheat and lead to increased freight business for the Erie Railroad. Gould's gold speculations caused an economic panic on September 24, 1869, known as Black Friday. Although he emerged from the fiasco financially intact, his reputation had been badly tarnished. After Fisk's death in 1872, Gould was removed as a director of the Erie Railroad. Undeterred, he now began to buy a controlling interest in the Union Pacific Railroad and other western railroads. By 1880, he controlled more than 15 percent of the entire U.S. railroad system.

Gould's questionable and ruthless business practices notwithstanding, the eventual outcome of most of his activities was usually beneficial to the expansion and development of the United States. He was a firm supporter of the development of a consolidated national transportation and communication system. During the 1880s, he was instrumental in obtaining control of the American telegraph industry for Western Union and developing the elevated train system in New York City. During the Spanish-American War, his vision of creating a modern communication system based on the telegraph greatly facilitated the American war effort, as did the nation's impressive railway network. Gould died of tuberculosis on December 2, 1892, in New York City. At the time of his death, he was reputedly the wealthiest person in the United States.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Robber Barons; Telephone and Telegraph

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Grant, Frederick Dent

Birth Date: May 30, 1850

Death Date: April 12, 1912

U.S. soldier and diplomat and the eldest son of Ulysses S. Grant. Fredrick Dent Grant was born on May 30, 1850, in St. Louis, Missouri. For the first three years of his life, the Grant family lived on military posts in Michigan, New York, and Missouri. In 1853, Grant's father was posted at Fort Vancouver, Washington. His father's salary, however, was not sufficient to take his family to the West Coast. Grant and his mother, who was eight months pregnant with her second child, remained in Missouri. After Grant's father resigned from the U.S. Army in 1854, the family lived on a farm near



U.S. Army brigadier general Frederick Dent Grant, son of Ulysses S. Grant, commanded troops in both Puerto Rico and the Philippines. (Library of Congress)

St. Louis until 1858, when they moved to Galena, Illinois. Grant attended public school in Galena until the outbreak of the American Civil War.

In June 1861, Grant's father rejoined the U.S. Army as a colonel in command of the 21st Illinois Volunteer Infantry. The younger Grant, whose resemblance to his father was uncanny, accompanied his father on the march across Illinois to northern Missouri. He returned to Galena once the 21st Illinois Infantry had reached Missouri. He then rejoined his father after the Battle of Belmont on November 7, 1861, and stayed with him until February 1862. In the spring of 1863, he rejoined his father and accompanied him during the siege and capture of Vicksburg (May 22–July 4, 1863). In 1864, just before the Battle of the Wilderness (May 5–7, 1864), his father sent him to Burlington, New Jersey, to attend school. In 1866, he enrolled at the United States Military Academy at West Point.

Grant graduated from West Point in 1871 and was assigned to the 4th U.S. Cavalry. Almost immediately, he took a leave of absence to take a job as a civil engineer for the Union Pacific Railroad. In the autumn of that year, he served as General William Tecumseh Sherman's aide-de-camp during his tour of Europe. Grant returned to the United States in 1872 to rejoin the 4th Cavalry in Texas. In March 1873, he was advanced to lieutenant colonel and became a staff member for Lieutenant General Philip Sheridan. Grant also accompanied George Armstrong Custer during the Black Hills expedition in 1874. Grant resigned from the military in 1881 and be-

came a businessman in New York City. In 1885, in the months prior to his father's death, he helped his father prepare his autobiography. In 1888, Grant became U.S. minister to Austria, a position he held until 1893. In 1894, he became a commissioner of police in New York City, a post he held until the outbreak of the Spanish-American War.

In 1898, Grant joined the 14th New York Volunteers at the rank of colonel. On May 27, 1898, he was promoted to brigadier general of volunteers. He fought in Puerto Rico during the war and commanded the military district of San Juan after the war. From April to November 1899, he led the 2nd Brigade, 1st Division of VIII Corps, in the Philippines during the fight against the Filipino insurgents. In November 1899, he was transferred to the 2nd Brigade, 2nd Division. In June 1900, he took command of northern Luzon, where he waged a number of battles against the Filipino revolutionary forces. On February 18, 1901, he was commissioned a brigadier general in the regular army.

In October 1901, Grant helped defeat Filipino insurgents in Samar and Leyte and facilitated the transfer to civilian rule in 1902. After returning to the United States, he was promoted to major general in February 1906. Grant remained in the army until his death from cancer on April 12, 1912, in New York City.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Luzon Campaigns; Puerto Rico; Samar Campaigns

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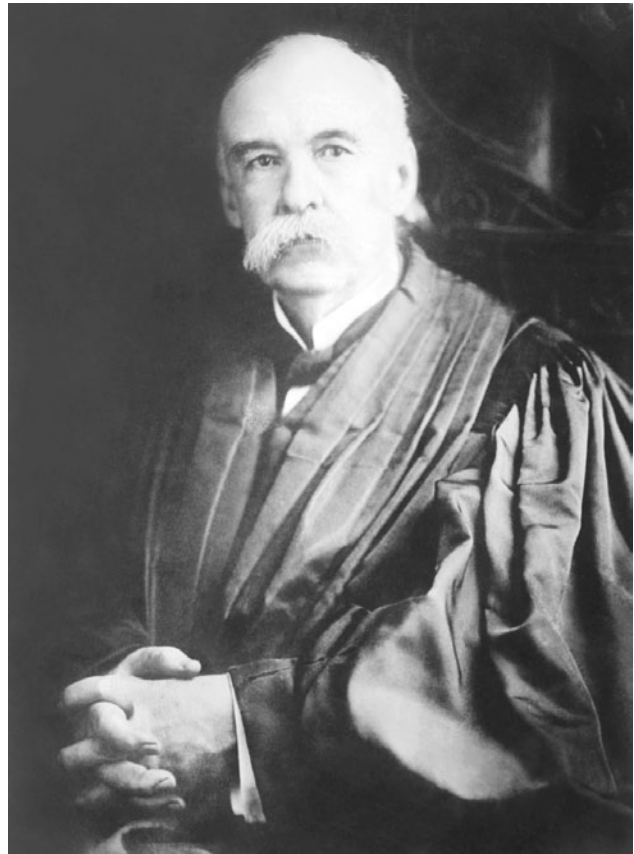
Gray, George

Birth Date: May 4, 1840

Death Date: August 7, 1925

Jurist, Democratic U.S. senator (1885–1899), and diplomat. George Gray was born on May 4, 1840, in New Castle, Delaware. His father was a prosperous attorney. After graduating from Princeton University in 1859, Gray attended Harvard University Law School before being admitted to the Delaware bar in 1863. He took up the practice of law in his hometown of New Castle for a time with his father. Gray continued his practice uninterrupted until 1879, when he successfully ran for the position of attorney general for the State of Delaware, which he held until 1885 and through which he made many connections in the Democratic Party.

When U.S. senator Thomas F. Bayard resigned his seat in 1885, Gray was elected by the state legislature to fill the vacancy. He was sworn in on March 18, 1885, and was reelected in 1887 and again in 1893. While in the Senate, he gained a solid reputation for his work.



George Gray, Democratic senator from Delaware and U.S. circuit court of appeals judge. Gray served on the commission that paved the way for peace talks to end the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

He served on numerous committees including the Committee on Patents, the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and the Committee on Revolutionary Claims.

In August 1898, Gray took on a new diplomatic role by serving on the Joint High Commission, which was designed to smooth U.S.-Canadian relations. The commission convened in Québec. Immediately thereafter, he served on the commission that paved the way for peace talks between Spain and the United States in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War. This process resulted in the December 1898 Treaty of Paris. Although Gray and President William McKinley were not in the same political party, the two men were close friends and confidantes. Gray did not support Philippine annexation but did support the treaty because he believed that added deliberations—or a renewed war—would be more damaging than the treaty itself.

In 1899, Gray lost his bid for reelection but that same year was appointed by McKinley to a judgeship in the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the Third District, a post he held until 1914. In 1900, Gray was appointed by the president to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague, Netherlands, and would be reappointed to this position three additional times between 1900 and 1920. Gray also served on the commission that President Theodore Roosevelt

appointed in 1902 to investigate a disruptive coal strike in Pennsylvania.

Gray served on several international commissions charged with mediating international disputes. From 1890 to 1925, he was a member of the Smithsonian Institution's Board of Regents. He also served as a trustee and vice president for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Gray died in Wilmington, Delaware, on August 7, 1925.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Paris, Treaty of; Peace, Protocol of; Peace Commission

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Great Britain

Island nation lying to the west-northwest of the European continent. Great Britain is surrounded by water, with the English Channel to the south, the North Sea to the east, and the Irish Sea and the Atlantic Ocean to the west and north. In the 1890s, Great Britain included all of the British Isles, including Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. With a population of more than 30 million in the 1890s (not including its overseas territories), Great Britain also ruled over extensive overseas possessions and protectorates, which spanned the globe from the Far East to the Asian subcontinent to the Middle East and Africa. On the eve of the Spanish-American War, Great Britain was beyond question the world's leading economic and military power, but this position was under pressure from other powers, notably Germany and the United States.

Throughout the 19th century, Great Britain was a nation of superlatives. It was the first nation to industrialize, took the lead in the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1814, assembled the world's largest overseas empire, and possessed a potent military establishment, including the largest and most advanced navy in the world. As a result of industrialization and empire building, Britain was the world's leading economic power throughout much of the century and enjoyed a significant head start over its continental neighbors in this regard.

Classical liberalism was the guiding political philosophy in Britain throughout the 19th century. Gradually, the franchise was extended to the middle class in the Great Reform Bill of 1832, male industrial workers in the Reform Bill of 1867, and male agricultural workers in the Reform Bill of 1884. As a result, the middle class played an increasing role in British politics as the aristocracy gradually declined. Middle-class values became dominant in Victorian England (so-named for the British monarch Victoria, who ruled from 1837 to 1901). These emphasized sober living and respectability. Liberal reforms reached most levels of society such as

the military, education, and housing, which contrasted sharply with the more revolutionary fervor that periodically engulfed France.

The excesses of early 19th-century industrialization began to be redressed with the legalization of labor unions and socialist critics of classical economic liberalism. Ireland remained a problem, as government after government debated over the issues of home rule and the intractability of Irish Protestants in Ulster. But perhaps the biggest challenges facing Britain lay in the rapidly changing international order of the late 19th century.

By the 1890s, Britain possessed an expansive colonial empire covering 12 million square miles and a quarter of the world's population. The Royal Navy had secured Britain's military and economic supremacy by protecting its extensive trading interests, and the British led in the world of global finance and insurance.

Since the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, Britain pursued a foreign policy of splendid isolation concerning continental affairs, intervening only when the international balance of power was threatened. It was imperative, then, that the British protect their freedom of action. This reality made them shun formal alliances, particularly military and political.

In the late 19th century, Britain grew increasingly isolated as a result of the new diplomatic realities taking shape in Europe. After experiencing several decades of unquestioned leadership, the British faced foreign policy challenges from different areas of the globe. Britain faced Russian encroachment toward India and its growing presence in China. Britain also faced colonial disputes with France in Asia and Africa and the challenging of Japan. By 1894, France and Russia had signed a formal alliance, which caused much alarm in London. On the European continent, Germany posed a threat with the largest and most powerful army in Europe. In 1890, Kaiser Wilhelm II initiated a new German foreign policy based on direct competition with Britain in the colonial realm and with the building of a powerful German Navy.

The overwhelming lead that Britain enjoyed in industry and in naval strength steadily eroded in the closing years of the century. A chief reason for this development was the spread of industrialization throughout Europe and the United States. One of the stark realities that Britain faced was a united Germany, whose population and industrial capacity was growing steadily after 1870. For example, German coal production grew from less than 90 million tons in 1890 to under 280 million tons in 1914 as opposed to Britain's at just over 290 million tons. In the last two decades of the 19th century, Britain's industrial and commercial preeminence shrank markedly. In 1880, Britain commanded about 23 percent of world manufacturing and world trade. By 1913, that had dropped to 14 percent.

While Britain's traditional industries such as coal, textiles, and ironware continued to increase in production, it lost its lead to newer industries of the late 19th century such as steel, chemicals, machine tools, and electrical products. These industrial statistics alarmed the British government because of their diplomatic ramifications. If British industry fell behind the Germans in, say, steel



Joseph Chamberlain embodied two major trends in political life in Great Britain during the late 19th century: social reform and imperialism. Arguing for an end to Great Britain's isolationist policies, Chamberlain enthusiastically supported an alliance between Great Britain and the United States. (Library of Congress)

production, this meant that the Germans could potentially out-produce the British in military goods such as battleships, which could threaten British interests worldwide. And although the British were most concerned about the growing rivalry with Germany, the fantastic increase in U.S. industrial output was also cause for concern. By 1898, the Americans were producing more steel than the British and Germans combined.

This trend toward gradual decline did not go unnoticed by the British leadership. Prime Minister Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, Lord Salisbury, saw the need for Britain to end its traditional isolationist policy. In 1898, he argued that the expansionist policies of the late 19th century had left Britain vulnerable. By that date, there were calls from various sectors of the British leadership for an alliance between Great Britain and the United States. Joseph Chamberlain, the colonial secretary, was the most vocal supporter for such an arrangement. Realizing Britain's isolation, he reached out to the United States as the best-placed nation for an alliance based on obvious cultural similarities, shared language, and compatible world-views. Such views were also championed in the British press. While the British government construed the rise of the United States as a

reminder of Britain's eroding supremacy, the British people considered it preferable to Germany's bid for world hegemony.

For much of the 19th century, the United States was generally hostile toward Great Britain, largely as a result of the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and British actions during the American Civil War. By the late 1890s, however, a series of significant events prompted both countries to seek more amicable relations. By cultivating American friendship, British decision makers hoped to have gained a partner in ensuring that the balance of power would continue to tilt in Britain's favor.

The First Venezuela Crisis (1895–1897) marked a turning point in relations between the United States and Britain. After much bluster and diplomatic posturing on the part of the Grover Cleveland administration, in September 1896 Britain and Venezuela agreed to submit to arbitration to end the crisis. On February 2, 1897, Britain and Venezuela assembled an arbitration tribunal that would determine the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana, and in 1899 the tribunal awarded most of the claims to British Guiana.

When Congress declared war on Spain on April 25, 1898, continental powers such as Germany and Austria sided with Spain's position over Cuba, with Kaiser Wilhelm II taking the lead in attempting to organize an anti-American coalition. As relations between the United States and Spain continued to worsen, the British Foreign Office neither refrained from taking measures supporting Spain nor took part in any actions designed by any European powers that would humiliate the United States. Ultimately, rivalries among the European powers coupled with British neutrality precluded any intervention on behalf of Spain.

Britain declared its neutrality upon the start of the conflict. During the war, Lord Salisbury's cabinet had three objectives. The first was to remain neutral and adhere to international agreements respecting neutrality. Second, it hoped to protect British interests in areas where the conflict would take place. Third, it wished to preserve and continue to court American friendship, which was now considered vital to Britain's international security. These three ideals proved difficult to reconcile. As a result, the first objective of maintaining strict neutrality was modified to fulfill the last two.

Despite its neutrality, Britain took steps that clearly favored the United States throughout the conflict. For example, British officials allowed Commodore George Dewey to send messages to Washington through the Hong Kong cable, the only such communication system spanning the Pacific Ocean. Second, the British delayed the official proclamation of its lease in Mirs Bay in China so that American warships could make use of that anchorage. In Canada, British authorities expelled a Spanish agent on dubious grounds, while at the same time they allowed American agents to conduct espionage activities in Gibraltar. The British consul in Singapore was useful in assisting the U.S. consul E. Spencer Pratt in contacting Filipino rebel leader Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy in May 1898, who then returned to the Philippines. The British squadron sent to Manila in effect helped bolster Dewey's small squadron against that of Germany

there, and the British commander Captain Edward Chichester, while following correct international procedures, made no secret of his support for the Americans and Dewey. The British also aided the United States in consolidating control of the Philippines by lending landing craft to gain control of the island of Panay and sending a gunboat to intervene in gaining control of Cebu, a strategic location in the central Philippines.

Between May and July 1898, the Spanish government hoped that Britain would mediate an end to the conflict. Despite British assurances, however, the Spanish government became convinced that Britain had shown partiality to the United States throughout the conflict. As it turned out, French mediation facilitated an end to the war on August 12, 1898. After that, Salisbury supported an American presence in Asia and even wrote President William McKinley that he would be disappointed if the United States did not take possession of the Philippines.

The Spanish-American War firmly established the rapprochement between the United States and Britain, which would last into the 21st century. Also, Britain's benevolent neutrality thwarted Kaiser Wilhelm II's intrigues for a continental alliance against the United States on behalf of Spain, ensuring a Spanish defeat and in return gaining American goodwill during Britain's conflict against the Boers in 1899. Indeed, British policies and actions during the war enabled the nations to settle several outstanding differences and disputes and paved the way for what many historians have come to call a special relationship between the two nations. Among the most notable of the resolved differences came about in the November 1901 Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, which gave the United States the green light to construct the Panama Canal without British involvement, something that the 1850 Clayton-Bulwer Treaty had required. This also appeared to be tacit British acceptance of the 1823 Monroe Doctrine and America's right to control the Western Hemisphere. Indeed, with Britain's recognition of American hegemony in the Americas, the Western Hemisphere was the only corner of the world that posed no troubles for Britain as it grappled with troubles and rivalries in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

DINO BUENVIAJE

See also

Chichester, Edward; Clayton-Bulwer Treaty; France; Gascoyne-Cecil, Robert Arthur Talbot; Germany; Great Britain, Policies and Reactions to the Spanish-American War; Hay-Pauncefote Treaty; Panama Canal; Pratt, E. Spencer; Venezuela Crisis, First; Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom; Wilhelm II, King of Prussia

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Great Britain, Policies and Reactions to the Spanish-American War

Great Britain's attitude toward the Spanish-American War, manifested in the actions of the British government and prevailing public opinion, was one of sympathetic neutrality toward the United States. This stance reflected a continuing effort by British policy makers to pursue a rapprochement with the United States and gain American support for British policies in Europe and the Pacific. In 1898, general British opinion regarded U.S. intervention in both Cuba (and later the Philippines) as wholly admirable and in no sense a threat to Britain's interests. Surely, however, Britain's sympathetic neutrality also reflected its growing trepidation over Germany, including the ambitious German naval construction program to build a powerful high seas fleet, not to mention Germany's increasing interest in securing an overseas empire and its expanding international trade. Indeed, Germany, which had become Great Britain's biggest rival and potential adversary by the 1890s, compelled British policy makers to pursue greater accommodation with the United States. Many point out that this began the enduring Anglo-American alliance, or special relationship, that exists to the present day.

Britain's attitudes toward the war reflected a marked shift from the tension that had prevailed in Anglo-American relations throughout the 19th century. This change had begun with the settlement of the First Venezuela Crisis (1895-1897). This Anglo-American confrontation, which began over a boundary dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana, led to a crisis in which the Grover Cleveland administration demanded that Britain accept American mediation to settle the dispute. The crisis led the British finally to recognize U.S. predominance in Latin America and the Caribbean, as first set forth in the 1823 Monroe Doctrine.

The evolution of Britain's attitude toward American overseas expansionism in general and the U.S. war with Spain in particular had a number of sources, including practical and historical considerations. Many Britons in policy- and opinion-making positions viewed U.S. expansion into overseas colonies as inevitable. In this view, the United States had reached a stage in its social and economic development wherein overseas expansion was an imperative, driven both by economic exigencies and the desire to join the club of great powers. It was therefore necessary to reach an accommodation with growing U.S. power rather than to confront it. Of course, the cultural affinity between Britain and the United States and the shared language made this task considerably easier.

Many in the United Kingdom welcomed U.S. expansion in Asia and the Pacific as compatible with British interests. As an example, British officials sought American assistance in China. In March 1898 the British minister in Washington, Sir Julian Pauncefote, approached the U.S. State Department about cooperating in protecting free trade in China. The United States had refused any initial commitment because of the growing crisis in Cuba but nevertheless left its options open. Britain was becoming increasingly concerned with Germany's growing military and economic power and the ag-



Poster showing personifications of America (Columbia and Uncle Sam) and Great Britain (Britannia and John Bull), holding hands in friendship, and vignettes of naval battles, 1898. The poster cites such diverse reasons for "kindred interests" as common language, resources, integrity, valor, colonial success, chivalry, and invincibility. (Library of Congress)

gressive overseas expansionism of Kaiser Wilhelm II. At the same time, Britain was becoming increasingly isolated in Europe, and its ability to absorb new possessions and compete with the other expanding colonial powers (Germany, France, Russia, and Japan) seemed more limited.

Spain's impending collapse threatened to open a power vacuum that many in Britain feared Germany would fill. In the view of many informed Britons, an American presence in the Caribbean, East Asia, and the Pacific was better than a German one. When the United States annexed the Philippines in 1898, there was a widespread sense of relief that Britain no longer had to bear the imperial burden in East Asia alone. Indeed, the British regarded the Americans not as colonial rivals but as fellow workers in the task of better ordering the world and tutoring so-called backward peoples, to use the patronizing language of the day.

Practical considerations surrounding the global balance of power were fed by the emotional appeal of perceived racial and cultural affinity. Spokesmen for Anglo-Saxonism in Britain linked British and U.S. imperialism to the destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race to expand and rule nonwhite peoples in the Eastern and Western

Hemispheres. The shared instincts of Anglo-Saxonism were therefore compelling the Americans into an expansionist policy. The prevailing official view in the Lord Salisbury government, as well as informed public opinion, was that American isolation was no longer possible or practical and that the United States had to assume its rightful place alongside Britain on the world stage.

The perception of inherited racial impulses propelling the United States outward conveyed a strong feeling of racial affinity, and newspaper editorials in the United Kingdom often emphasized this racial link. It was a purely emotional concept, of course, inspired by a perceived spirit of Anglo-Saxon brotherhood and requiring nothing more than the racial relationship as an incentive to closer association and mutual support. The racial argument generated great enthusiasm among its advocates along with contempt among some in governing circles who were more practical even when advocating Anglo-American collaboration. Nevertheless, it probably provided the most powerful incentive in Britain to support U.S. policy from 1898 to 1900 or so. Many contemporary observers asserted that the British public and government sided with the United States in its war with Spain because of racial and cultural similarities tied to bonds of common language, history, and tradition. This supranationalism produced a concept of Anglo-American homogeneity that made mutual sympathy and support natural and proper.

In regard to Cuba and the Philippines, the application of Anglo-Saxon solidarity took differing forms. The U.S. acquisition of Cuba appeared to many British observers to be imperative given the island's proximity to the United States, the heavy American capital investment there, and Cuba's strategic location astride potential isthmian canal roots through Central America. Indeed, many figures in the British government were dismayed when Congress passed the 1898 Teller Amendment renouncing any American desire to annex Cuba. As in the Philippines, many Britons believed that Cuba was better off, and their own country's interests safer, if Cuba had come under U.S. rule. Britain did not see U.S. dominance in the Caribbean as a threat to the British West Indies or to British interests in Central America.

In any case, prevailing opinion in the British Isles viewed the war against Spain as a war of liberation being waged by the United States for humanitarian purposes. This was in concert with American views as well. British sympathy for the American cause also manifested itself in a number of practical measures that the government took to support U.S. military operations and impede those of Spain. For example, British military officials did not allow the Spanish Mediterranean Squadron to take on coal in Egypt, thus delaying its departure for Cuban waters. Likewise, in Hong Kong, an allegedly neutral port, British authorities allowed the U.S. Asiatic Squadron to use cable facilities to communicate with Washington, thus facilitating orders from the U.S. Navy Department to Commodore George Dewey to deploy to the Philippines. The British also delayed officially proclaiming their lease of Mirs Bay from China so that American naval vessels would not have to be ordered from that port when war broke out.

It was in Philippine waters, however, that British sympathy for the United States became most apparent. News of Dewey's victory over the Spanish Philippines squadron in the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, brought naval forces from a number of nations—including both Germany and Britain—to the Philippines. The German force was the first to arrive, followed by those of Britain and France. The British and French commanders and their officers treated the Americans courteously and cooperated with the U.S. blockade of the islands. Friction quickly developed, however, between Dewey and the German naval commander, Vice Admiral Otto von Diederichs, over the latter's open sympathy for Spain and Germany's violation of Dewey's blockade regulations. The tension intensified when Germany put out diplomatic feelers about a naval base at Subic Bay and land leases in the islands.

Subsequent events gave rise to a legend that only the interposition of British naval vessels between Dewey's and Diederich's forces prevented the Germans from interfering with the U.S. blockade. Reality was more prosaic. The Germans had positioned ships around Grande Island at the mouth of Subic Bay, leading Dewey to suspect that the Germans were using that island to smuggle supplies to the Spanish. In a July 13, 1898, incident, the Germans' placement of their ships had prevented Filipino guerrillas fighting with U.S. forces from taking Grande Island. When Dewey sent two of his cruisers to investigate, the Germans quickly withdrew, and American sailors and marines quickly occupied the island. British ships were in the vicinity but were not involved. Dewey's report of the near confrontation, fanned by inflammatory press reports, led to intensified anti-German and pro-British sentiment in the United States.

These events in the Philippines and the reaction to them in Britain and the United States illustrate how Anglo-American relations had evolved during the Cuban crisis and the ensuing Spanish-American War. British sympathy for the United States in the 1898 war had far-reaching consequences for U.S. relations with Britain and for international politics in general. U.S. policy makers were grateful for the position that Britain had taken during the war, and many Americans in the foreign policy establishment wasted no time in calling for closer cooperation between the two powers.

The new American attitude was evident in the U.S. during Britain's war in South Africa with the Boer states of Transvaal and the Orange Free State—the Boer War—from 1899 to 1902. Opposition to Britain among the European powers was overwhelming, and the war contributed to growing British isolation in Europe. Washington, however, did not share this outlook and adopted a policy that leaned heavily toward the United Kingdom. The Americans did not confront the British over their blockade of the South African states and actually provided supplies to the British forces. American sympathy for the British grew in part from the fact that the United States was also fighting to suppress an insurgency in the Philippines. Above all, however, it took a pro-British stance because the experience in the Spanish-American War had convinced many Americans that British and U.S. interests complemented each other, that a British defeat in South Africa would undermine British cred-

ibility as a great power, and that such an erosion of Britain's standing in the world would be bad for the United States.

The Spanish-American War thus provided a starting point for growing Anglo-American cooperation and mutual sympathy that has endured for more than a century.

WALTER F. BELL

See also

Chichester, Edward; China; Colonial Policies, U.S.; Cuba; Dewey, George; Diederichs, Ernst Otto von; Expansionism; France; Germany; Great Britain; Hong Kong; Imperialism; Japan; Manifest Destiny; Manila Bay, Battle of; Monroe Doctrine; Olney, Richard; Philippine Islands; Racism; Spanish-American War, International Reaction to; Teller Amendment; Venezuela Crisis, First; White Man's Burden; Wilhelm II, King of Prussia

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Greely, Adolphus Washington

Birth Date: March 27, 1844

Death Date: October 10, 1935

Polar explorer, army officer, and chief signal officer during the Spanish-American War. Born on March 27, 1844, in Newburyport, Massachusetts, Adolphus Washington Greely entered the U.S. Army in 1861, at age 17, at the beginning of the American Civil War as a private. He served in the Volunteers throughout the war, saw action in numerous battles, and was breveted major by 1865. The following year, he was commissioned in the regular army as a second lieutenant in the infantry.

In 1881, now a first lieutenant, the intrepid Greely was placed in charge of an expedition to locate the North Pole and establish the first meteorological station there. The expedition set a new record for having explored the most northern latitude ever recorded, at 83 degrees, 24 minutes north, but became trapped at Cape Sabine on Ellesmere Island, waiting for months for relief ships to arrive. The ships did not arrive until 1884, by which time 21 of Greely's 27-man team had died from starvation, exposure, or illness. The 6 survivors, including Greely, were near death when they were finally rescued. Greely returned home to a hero's welcome and became internationally known for his exploits.

In 1886, Greely was promoted to captain. In March 1887, President Grover Cleveland elevated him to chief signal officer of the U.S. Army as a brigadier general, a position he held for nearly 20 years. During and immediately after the Spanish-American War,



U.S. Army officer and Arctic explorer Adolphus Washington Greely was chief signal officer during the Spanish-American War. (Chaiba Media)

Greely supervised a number of major and ambitious projects involving the construction and laying of telegraph lines for military use. Indeed, 800 miles of lines were constructed and operated in Puerto Rico, 3,000 miles in Cuba, and 10,200 miles in the Philippines. Using his previous polar experiences, Greely supervised the construction of 4,000 miles of cable, including submarine and land cables, in Alaska. He also introduced wireless telegraphy there. At the time, it was the most extensive wireless system in the world. Greely was largely responsible for the military's later adoption of wireless telegraphs.

In 1903, Greely served as the U.S. delegate to the International Telegraph Conference held in London and the International Wireless Telegraph Conference held in Berlin. In 1906, he was advanced to major general and took command of the Northern Division. That same year, he transferred to the Pacific Division, where he directed relief operations after the devastating San Francisco earthquake of 1906. He retired from active service in 1908.

Greely's retirement years were filled with organizational work, scientific endeavors, and writing. He was a founding member of the National Geographic Society and helped establish the first free library in Washington, D.C. He also wrote numerous books, including *Three Years of Arctic Service* (1886), *American Explorers*

(1894), and *Reminiscences of Adventure and Service* (1927). In 1935, just prior to his death, Congress awarded him the Medal of Honor for his outstanding commitments to the military and sciences. Greely died in Washington, D.C., on October 10, 1935.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Telephone and Telegraph

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Greene, Francis Vinton

Birth Date: June 27, 1850

Death Date: May 13, 1921

U.S. Army officer, politician, and writer. Born in Providence, Rhode Island, on June 27, 1850, Francis Vinton Greene was the son of American Civil War hero Major General George Sears Greene. The younger Greene graduated first in his class from the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1870 and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the artillery. Originally assigned to the 4th U.S. Artillery Regiment, he transferred to the U.S. Engineer Corps in 1872 and helped survey the northern boundary of the United States with Canada from Lake of the Woods, Minnesota, to the Rocky Mountains. Promoted to first lieutenant in January 1874, he served as both a military attaché and an engineer until being promoted to captain in January 1883. He was the American military attaché to the U.S. legation at St. Petersburg, Russia, during 1877–1879 and observed Russian forces in action during the Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878). Returning to the United States, he served as assistant engineer of public works for the District of Columbia until he returned to the United States Military Academy at West Point as an instructor in practical military engineering during 1885–1886.

Greene resigned his regular army commission to become the president of the Barber Asphalt Paving Company in 1886. He could not completely leave the military behind, however, and joined the New York National Guard. He was appointed first in December 1889 as engineer and major of the 1st Brigade, New York National Guard, and then in January 1892 as colonel of the 71st Regiment, New York National Guard. When the Spanish-American War began, he raised the 7th New York Infantry Regiment (Volunteers) and was quickly promoted to brigadier general, U.S. Volunteers.

Assigned to the Philippine Expeditionary Force, Greene commanded the 2nd Brigade of Brigadier General Thomas M. Anderson's



Brigadier general of volunteers Francis Vinton Greene commanded the 2nd Brigade during the First Battle of Manila in the Philippine-American War. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

2nd Division in the First Battle of Manila. Greene's brigade formed the left of the U.S. attack along Manila Bay, with Brigadier General Arthur MacArthur's 1st Brigade farther inland on the U.S. right. Unaware that Major General Wesley Merritt, commanding the U.S. forces, had made arrangements with Spanish commander in Manila General Fermín Jáudenes y Alvarez to surrender the city to the Americans once they had taken the Spaniards' outer defenses, Anderson, Greene, and MacArthur prepared for a tough fight on August 13, 1898. With orders to capture the inner city and keep Philippine insurgents under Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy out of the suburbs, the sharp skirmish for the outer Spanish defenses that lasted slightly more than an hour was only the first act of the battle.

Around 11:30 a.m., Jáudenes surrendered the inner city. With help from the Spaniards, Greene then secured Manila's suburbs north of the Pasig River. Eventually, Merritt's forces controlled the citadel and most of Manila's suburbs. For his actions in the First Battle of Manila, Greene was appointed major general of volunteers, but he again resigned from the army in February 1899.

Returning from the Philippines, Greene became active in the Republican Party of New York. He became president of the New York Republican Committee in 1900 and served as a delegate to the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia that same year. A

good friend of Theodore Roosevelt, Greene corresponded regularly after the Spanish-American War with the New York governor, then president of the United States. In January 1903, Greene accepted the position of New York City police commissioner, a job he held until 1904. In his later years, he became president of the Niagara-Lockport and Ontario Power Company.

In addition to his civic and business duties, Greene was a military historian of some note. His published works include *Deflections of the Plumb-Line along the 49th Parallel* (1876), *The Russian Army and Its Campaigns in Turkey* (1879), *Life of Nathaniel Greene, Major General in the Army of the Revolution* (1893), *The Present Military Situation in the US* (1915), and *Our First Year in the Great War* (1918). Greene died in New York City on May 13, 1921.

JASON N. PALMER

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Anderson, Thomas McArthur; MacArthur, Arthur; Manila, First Battle of; Merritt, Wesley; Roosevelt, Theodore

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Gridley, Charles Vernon

Birth Date: November 24, 1844

Death Date: June 5, 1898

U.S. Navy officer and captain of the cruiser *Olympia*, Admiral George Dewey's flagship, during the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898. Charles Vernon Gridley was born on November 24, 1844, in Logansport, Indiana. When he was an infant, his family moved to Hillsdale, Michigan, where he grew up. Not a gifted student, Gridley graduated from the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, in 1864 close to the bottom of his class. Assigned to the screw sloop *Oneida*, Acting Ensign Gridley participated in the Union blockade of the South in the Gulf of Mexico during the final months of the American Civil War, including the sanguinary Battle of Mobile Bay on August 5, 1864. In 1871, now a lieutenant commander, Gridley was transferred to the navy's first iron-hulled warship, the *Michigan*, which was based in Erie, Pennsylvania. In 1872, he married and decided to raise his family in Erie. He was promoted to commander in 1882 and to captain in March 1897.

On July 28, 1897, Gridley was assigned command of the *Olympia*. At 5:40 a.m., on May 1, 1898, from the deck of the *Olympia*, Dewey commanded: "You may fire when you are ready, Gridley." This signaled the opening of the Battle of Manila Bay, which resulted in the prompt destruction of the entire Spanish Pacific squadron. Gridley was not in the best of health, having already suffered dysentery and liver cancer. The stress of events caused his health to deteriorate precipitously. After the battle, Dewey relieved



U.S. Navy captain Charles Vernon Gridley commanded the flagship *Olympia* during the Battle of Manila Bay. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

the visibly ill Gridley from command and ordered him home on the passenger liner *Coptic*. On June 5, 1898, while the *Coptic* was in harbor at Kobe, Japan, Gridley died. His cremated remains were transferred to the United States and interred in Erie's Lakeside Cemetery. Four U.S. warships were subsequently named in his honor.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Dewey, George; Manila Bay, Battle of

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“Grito de Baire”

Spanish for “Shout of Baire” or “Cry of Baire.” “Grito de Baire” marked the beginning of the third and final Cuban insurrection of the 19th century, becoming the war cry of the Cuban War of Independence of 1895–1898. The war began on February 24, 1895, a date established by the writer José Martí, the father of Cuban independ-

ence. On that date, the insurrection started more or less at the same time in four locations in Cuba. The first was in Bayate, under the direction of Bartolomé Masó; the second was in Ibarra, under Antonio López Coloma and Juan Gualberto Gómez; the third was in Guantánamo, under Emilio Giró and Periquito Pérez; and the fourth was in Baire, under the brothers Mariano and Saturnino Lora.

On February 24, when the latest insurrection began, the Lora brothers caught the attention of the Cuba people early on, and so the revolt was said to have begun in Baire, a small town in southeastern Cuba, thus the “Shout of Baire.” In reality, of course, the insurrection broke out in at least four major locations simultaneously, an event that Martí himself had carefully orchestrated for maximum effect. His thinking on this was twofold. First, he hoped to frighten and overwhelm Spanish authorities with a rebellion that was not limited to one area, and second, he wanted to incorporate as many Cubans as possible into the movement, realizing that there was strength in numbers. Unfortunately, less than three months after the Grito de Baire, Martí was killed on May 19, 1895, in a clash with Spanish troops on the outskirts of Dos Rios in Oriente Province.

The 1895–1898 Cuban War of Independence was the third in a series of Cuban uprisings against Spanish rule since 1868. In October 1868, the Ten Years' War began with the “Grito de Yara,” a rallying cry signifying an attack on the small village of Yara by the Cuban revolutionary Carlos Manuel de Céspedes y del Castillo. Martí and his followers obviously used this to inform their own rallying cry 27 years later. The Ten Years' War endured until 1878, with the Spanish maintaining control of the island and only undertaking token reforms. In August 1879, the Guerra Chiquita (Little War) broke but petered out in 1880. Most Cubans were exhausted and demoralized by the earlier struggle and so did not rally to the revolutionary cause.

In 1895, however, many Cubans did rally to the cause. Even after the death of Martí, the undisputed intellectual and spiritual father of the revolution, Cuban revolutionaries moved quickly to establish a governing assembly and a revolutionary army to carry the insurrection to all parts of the island. Máximo Báez y Gómez, commander in chief of the revolutionary army, launched a series of effective assaults against Spanish troops that began in the east and ranged all the way to the western parts of Cuba by 1896. Although the Cuban insurgents were unable to decisively defeat the Spanish, they harassed them enough so that they took drastic measures, including General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau's infamous *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) system that resulted in the brutal relocation of approximately 500,000 Cubans, many of whom lost their lives in the squalid reconcentration camps.

Continued armed assaults against the Spanish, the destruction of sugar plantations and processing plants, and largely successful lobbying efforts on the part of the Cuban Revolutionary Party virtually ensured an American intervention by 1898. When it became clear that Spain would not relinquish Cuba or engage in fundamental reform there, the United States decided to take action and declare war in April 1898. This decision had been made considerably easier with

the mysterious destruction of the U.S. battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898. Now the battle cry “Grito de Baire” became part of the U.S. war effort, although American military forces paid only lip service to the Cuban revolutionaries during the short conflict. When the conflict ended in August 1898, the Cubans had thrown off the shackles of Spanish rule but were clearly in a subservient position to the United States. The island nation would remain a virtual economic colony of the United States until 1959, when a revolution led by Fidel Castro would cast off all things American and convert the nation to a Marxist-Leninist state.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Céspedes y del Castillo, Carlos Manuel de; Cuban Revolutionary Party; Cuban War of Independence; Gómez y Báez, Máximo; Martí y Pérez, José Julián; *Reconcentrado* System; Ten Years' War; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano

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Guam

A Pacific island covering approximately 200 square miles. Guam is the southernmost island in the Mariana Island chain and the largest island in Micronesia. At the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Guam had been a Spanish possession for more than 200 years. The culture of the island was a mix of Spanish Catholic customs and traditional island beliefs. The island was of little importance to the Spanish Empire, as it had only a few thousand inhabitants and no significant economic resources.

On June 21, 1898, the U.S. Navy cruiser *Charleston*, commanded by Captain Henry Glass, arrived at Guam with orders to secure the island for the United States. When Glass ordered his sailors to open fire on the Spanish garrison, the action was misinterpreted as a salute. The last communication to the island from Spain had arrived before the declaration of war, and the Spanish governor was completely unaware of the state of war between the two nations.

After a short bout of negotiations and a great deal of confusion, on June 22 Governor Juan Marina surrendered the island and its inhabitants to American control. No combatants or civilians were injured in the short-lived Battle of Guam. The entire Spanish garrison of 54 soldiers was taken prisoner and soon repatriated to Spain at American expense. With the Treaty of Paris, signed on December 10, 1898, Spain agreed to permanently cede control of Guam to the United States.

The U.S. Navy soon established a naval base and coaling station on Guam, which had an excellent natural harbor for facilities. The navy and American expansionists had wanted Guam as a vital fu-

eling station for warships and merchant vessels crossing the Pacific Ocean in the East Asia trade. The naval installation at Guam proved critical to trade and national security because it was an important way station for vessels traveling to and from the Philippines, which the United States had also annexed from Spain during the Spanish-American War.

Four days after the December 7, 1941, Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Japanese troops invaded Guam. Most of the American garrison had evacuated the island prior to the Japanese landings. The Japanese occupation of Guam lasted for almost three years. On July 21, 1944, a second battle commenced at Guam, with Japanese resistance continuing until August 10. Of the 18,500-man Japanese garrison, fewer than 500 surrendered.

Guam is currently an unincorporated U.S. territory with a semi-autonomous self-elected government. In 1952, Congress declared that all individuals born on Guam were U.S. citizens. In 1968, Congress granted the residents of Guam the right to elect a governor and a lieutenant governor to oversee the island's government. Since 1972, Guam has been allowed to send one nonvoting member to the U.S. House of Representatives. In 1982, the citizens of Guam voted to pursue commonwealth status under the U.S. government, but as of 2006, the island remains an unincorporated U.S. territory.

PAUL J. SPRINGER

See also

Coaling Stations; Glass, Henry; Paris, Treaty of; Philippine Islands

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Guánica, Puerto Rico

Town on the southwestern coast of Puerto Rico that was the site for U.S. landings on July 25, 1898. Guánica is located on a deep-water harbor and is 15 miles west of Ponce. It has been identified as the landing point for Christopher Columbus during his second voyage to the New World in 1493. The town was founded in 1508. Guánica is about 100 miles from San Juan.

Major General Nelson A. Miles, commander of the U.S. expeditionary force for Puerto Rico, departed with his troops from Guantánamo, Cuba, on July 21 in the transports *Columbia*, *Macon*, and *Yale*. U.S. Navy captain Francis J. Higginson commanded the naval escort consisting of the battleship *Massachusetts* (flagship), cruiser *Dixie*, and armed yacht *Gloucester*. Initially, the plan called for Miles to land at Cape Fajardo on the northern coast of Puerto Rico. Once at sea, however, he changed the objectives to Ponce and Guánica on the southern coast. He knew from intelligence reports that the Spanish were expecting him to land at Fajardo and had prepared accordingly. The city of Ponce, by contrast, was only 70 miles from San Juan and offered a ready source of supplies.



U.S. transports off the port of Guánica, Puerto Rico, in 1898. (Library of Congress)

In the early morning of July 25, a small naval landing party of 28 sailors commanded by Lieutenant Harry M. P. Huse, executive officer of the *Gloucester*, came ashore at Guánica. A dozen Spanish loyalists opened fire on the landing force but quickly dispersed to spread the alarm. There was no resistance when the landing party raised the U.S. flag in the town at 11:00 a.m. Huse secured 10 lighters in the harbor and used these to help bring ashore the 6th Massachusetts Infantry and 6th Illinois Infantry Regiments. Upon landing, the American forces immediately moved east toward Yauco and on July 27 advanced on Ponce.

In 2000, Guánica had a population of 9,247 people. It is today the site of the Guánica Dry Forest Reserve, the largest remaining tract of tropical dry coastal forest in the world and an International Biosphere Reserve. The dry forest has 700 plant species, of which 48 are endangered and 16 are unique. The surrounding area produces sugarcane and salt.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Higginson, Francis John; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Puerto Rico Campaign

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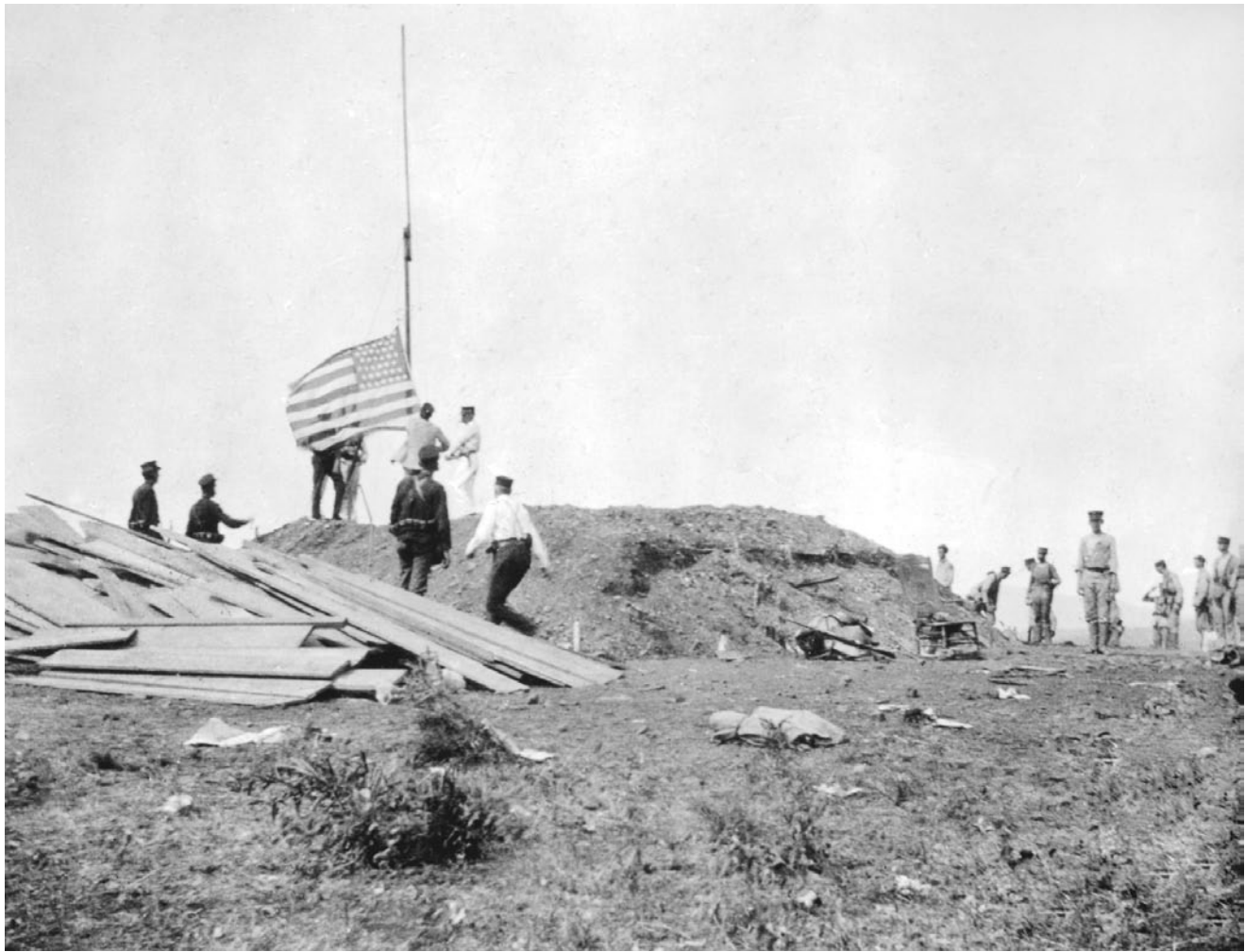
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Guantánamo, Battle of

Start Date: June 9, 1898

End Date: June 17, 1898

Battle between U.S. Marines and Spanish forces at Guantánamo, Cuba, that occurred on June 9–17, 1898. It was in fact the first significant land action in the Spanish-American War. Guantánamo, located about 45 miles east of Santiago de Cuba, is situated on one of several well-protected bays on the southeastern coast of Cuba. With a population of some 8,000 people at the start of the war, Guantánamo had a garrison of 5,992 men commanded by Spanish general Félix Pareja Mesa. After reinforcements were sent to Santiago, however, it dropped to 5,592 men and would later receive only minor reinforcements. Pareja believed that the United States would attempt a major landing at Guantánamo, so he had his men build extensive defenses around the town.



The U.S. flag being hoisted at Guantánamo, Cuba, on June 12, 1898. (Library of Congress)

On May 10, 1898, the U.S. auxiliary cruiser *St. Louis* and tug *Wompatuck* tried, without success, to cut the undersea cable to Haiti. A small field piece and aggressive action by the small Spanish gunboat *Sandoval* drove off both American ships. The *Sandoval* had been laying a small minefield when the two U.S. ships approached. Shore gunfire put 12 rifle holes in the *Wompatuck*'s funnel. Because the American ships could not cut the cable at Guantánamo, they steamed to Haiti and, in relatively shallow international waters, hauled up the cable and cut it.

Believing that Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron could possibly be in Santiago, on May 28 Secretary of the Navy John Davis Long ordered Commodore Winfield Scott Schley to seize Guantánamo as a protected anchorage for coaling and other naval operations. Sampson ordered a reconnaissance, and on June 7 the 1st Marine Battalion embarked at Key West, Florida, for Guantánamo with the plan of seizing the bay. That same day, the auxiliary cruisers *Marblehead* and *Yankee*, under the overall command of Commander Bowman H. McCalla, entered Guantánamo Bay, reduced the Spanish shore fortifications at the entrance of the bay, chased the *Sandoval* farther up the bay, and landed a small contin-

gent of marines who seized and destroyed the cable station before reembarking.

On June 9, McCalla returned to Guantánamo to prepare for the arrival of the 1st Marine Battalion. The next day, his two ships bombarded Spanish strong points guarding the harbor. Just a few hours later, 21 officers and 615 men of Lieutenant Colonel Robert W. Huntington's 1st Marine Battalion in five infantry companies, along with four attached sailors, landed on the east side of the outer harbor. In addition to rifles and pistols, the battalion had an artillery battery with four 3-inch rifles as well as a machine gun. The men were also supported by U.S. warships offshore, including the battleship *Oregon*. The marines advanced to a nearby hill and there established Camp McCalla. When the Spanish fired on the camp on June 11, the first land battle of the Spanish-American War began. On June 12, 60 Cuban insurgents joined the marines. In three days of fighting, the marines sustained casualties of three dead and three wounded. The Spanish suffered some 60 casualties, including 20 prisoners. Among those who witnessed the Guantánamo fighting was American journalist Stephen Crane, who wrote a gripping account of the battle for *McClure's Magazine*.

Following the Battle of Cuzco Hill on June 14 and as a consequence of U.S. naval gunfire support, by June 15 the Spanish had been driven from the eastern coast of the lower bay. Huntington ordered two companies of marines and 50 insurgents to attack a well supplying the Spanish with water. Supported by gunfire from the U.S. Navy gunboat *Dolphin*, Huntington's men destroyed the well and captured 20 Spanish soldiers.

In the meantime, the *Sandoval*, operating behind the safety of its minefield, ferried men and supplies across the bay. To counter this and to destroy a small Spanish fort, Rear Admiral William T. Sampson dispatched the *Texas* to join the *Marblehead* and gunboat *Suwanee* to shell the Spanish shore positions on June 15. Closing to 2,300 yards, the ships silenced the fort in about an hour of shelling. The American ships also located and swept two mines. The *Sandoval* then withdrew farther up the bay. Fighting essentially ended by June 17 with a total cost to the marines to that point of 6 dead and 16 wounded. General Pareja proceeded to fortify the interior, concerned that the Americans might launch a U.S. land offensive from Guantánamo Bay.

During June 21–22, the Americans removed 48 mines from Guantánamo Bay. Later it became an anchorage for coaling and re-supply operations. It also served as a staging point for the invasion of Puerto Rico. Major General Nelson A. Miles departed from Guantánamo Bay on July 21 for that island. Guantánamo officially capitulated on July 25. The marines remained at Guantánamo until August 5. The U.S. Navy was so enamored with Guantánamo and Guantánamo Bay that it insisted that the Cubans lease the area to the United States in perpetuity. The United States continues to maintain a sizable naval base at Guantánamo, and it also serves as a controversial detention center for enemy combatants during the War on Terror.

JACK GREENE

See also

Cables and Cable-Cutting Operations; Camp McCalla; Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Crane, Stephen; Cuzco Well, Battle of; Guantánamo Bay Naval Base; Huntington, Robert Watkinson; Long, John Davis; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Puerto Rico Campaign; Sampson, William Thomas; Schley, Winfield Scott; United States Marine Corps

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American War. Since 1959, the Guantánamo Bay Naval Base has maintained a hostile perimeter, surrounded and opposed by Cuban military forces. The Cuban government argues that the base is an illegal attack upon Cuban sovereignty and should be returned to Cuban control. Since the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in the United States, Guantánamo Bay Naval Base has played a controversial role in the War on Terror, housing hundreds of detainees captured in Afghanistan and Iraq. The detainees, suspected of membership in terrorist organizations, have become a divisive political issue within the United States because many of them have been held for four years or more without having been charged with a crime.

Guantánamo Bay first came under Spanish control in 1494, when the Italian explorer Christopher Columbus landed in the harbor and claimed the territory on behalf of the Spanish Crown. Guantánamo Bay remained under Spanish sovereignty for 400 years. In the latter half of the 19th century, Cuban citizens rebelled against Spanish control. Sympathy for the plight of the Cubans provided much of the impetus for calls that the United States intervene, which ultimately led to the Spanish-American War. The Teller Amendment to the U.S. declaration of war guaranteed that the United States would not annex Cuba during or after the war, but it was largely a political maneuver to deflect criticism that the William McKinley administration was bent on creating an overseas empire. This amendment was superseded by the Platt Amendment of 1901, which declared that the United States would use force in Cuba whenever it deemed necessary and gave the United States the right to establish a naval base in Cuba.

Guantánamo Bay, an excellent natural harbor close to the city of Santiago, provided a safe haven for U.S. naval vessels blockading the island in 1898. When the Treaty of Paris ending the war was signed on December 10, 1898, Spain agreed to evacuate Cuba and recognize its independence. At the time of the Spanish withdrawal, the U.S. Army was in almost complete possession of the island.

On February 23, 1903, Cuban president Tomás Estrada Palma, who was born an American citizen, agreed to lease the territory surrounding Guantánamo Bay to the U.S. Navy in perpetuity. The area would technically remain a Cuban territory but would be under complete American control. The United States saw it as a coaling station and naval base. In exchange for the lease, the U.S. government agreed to pay \$2,000 in gold coins annually. This amount doubled in 1934; in exchange, the lease became permanent unless both governments agreed to dissolve it. In effect, the United States could not be legally forced to leave the area.

When Fidel Castro seized power in Cuba in 1959 and went on to establish a communist dictatorship, he immediately called for the United States to abrogate the treaty and evacuate Cuban soil. The U.S. government ignored his demand. Although the United States continued to send payments for the lease in the form of a yearly government check, Castro refused to cash the payments. However, in more recent times, the Castro government has cashed the payment checks from the United States, leading American diplomats to conjecture that Castro had implicitly accepted the terms of the

Guantánamo Bay Naval Base

U.S. Naval Base located near the southeastern tip of Cuba and the only American military installation located in a communist country. Guantánamo Bay has been under direct U.S. control since the Spanish-

agreement. No doubt, Cuba's struggling and cash-strapped economy may have had more to do with this than Castro's acceptance of Guantánamo Bay Naval Base.

During the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, American residents of the naval base were ordered to evacuate the station. Relations between Cuba and the United States along the station's borders were tense then and remain so today. Both nations have planted massive minefields as well as other static defenses along the perimeter. The American minefield remained in place until President William J. Clinton ordered its removal in 1996. The Cuban military has made no effort to remove its mines surrounding the base, however. Almost 10,000 U.S. troops remain on active duty at Guantánamo Bay Naval Station.

Other points of contention between the United States and Cuba concerning the base have included water usage and the legality of the original treaty. Prior to 1964, the United States purchased water rights from Cuba to supply the base. In that year, Castro ordered the pipelines closed. The U.S. Navy responded by constructing desalination plants at the base. The 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties declared all treaties coerced by force or threat of force to be void. Since 1969, Castro has argued that Cuba was forced to lease the area to the U.S. government and thus should be released from the obligation.

In the last three decades of the 20th century, Guantánamo Bay Naval Station was used as a holding facility for Cuban and Haitian refugees intercepted at sea while attempting to enter the United States by boat. The refugees were placed in detention centers on the base, but the detention camps were shut down under a ruling by Judge Sterling Johnson Jr. that they were unconstitutional. By 1995, all of the inhabitants of the camps had been evacuated. The base is still used as a temporary facility for migrants interdicted along the U.S. coastline, however.

In 2002, the Department of Defense directed that certain individuals captured in the so-called War on Terror would be sent to Guantánamo Bay for detention and interrogation. By the end of the year, four facilities, specifically Camps Delta, Echo, Iguana, and X-Ray, were under construction to imprison suspected members of the Al Qaeda terrorist organization as well as their allies and supporters captured in Afghanistan and Iraq. The decision to hold terror suspects at Guantánamo Bay quickly became a controversial subject for the American public. Allegations of mistreatment of prisoners soon emerged from the camps. In particular, certain segments of the public objected to harsh interrogation techniques utilized in the camps.

The situation of detainees in Guantánamo has provoked harsh criticism both domestically and internationally. Although President George W. Bush has repeatedly asserted that the detainees do not fall under the protections of the Geneva Convention Relative to Prisoners of War (1949), he also announced that they would be voluntarily extended the protections of the convention. Detainees at the prison have been denied opportunities to speak with attorneys, and most have not been formally charged with any crimes.

Critics of this policy argue that the prisoners have been denied their rights to due process by the Bush administration, which created special military commissions to hear cases. In 2005, a federal district court agreed, arguing that because Guantánamo Bay is under complete U.S. control, constitutional protections apply to detainees on the base. Furthermore, the court announced that members of the Taliban, the deposed government of Afghanistan, were entitled to prisoner of war status, although such status was not extended to members of Al Qaeda. In 2006, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the district court's ruling in part, holding that detainees do not have a constitutional right to habeas corpus. The court did, however, rule that detainees must be tried in military courts-martial as provided by statutory law rather than by the special military commissions appointed by the Bush administration. In 2006, the United Nations General Assembly and the European Union formally requested the closure of the detainee camps at Guantánamo Bay Naval Station. As of early 2009, the prison remained open.

PAUL J. SPRINGER

See also

Coaling Stations; Cuba; McKinley, William; Platt Amendment; Teller Amendment

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Guayama, Battle of

Event Date: August 5, 1898

Battle of the Puerto Rico Campaign. Guayama, located in southeastern Puerto Rico some five miles inland from its seaport of Arroyo, had an 1898 population of some 14,000 people. At the end of May, the town was garrisoned by a single Spanish company of 123 men. However, following the U.S. landing at Guánica on July 25, the Spanish departed the town, and the mayor of Guayama sent word to Major General James H. Wilson at Ponce asking for U.S. protection against a possible Spanish return.

On August 4, U.S. troops under Brigadier General Peter C. Haines of Major General John R. Brooke's command at Arroyo were ordered to move on Guayama and secure it. Haines departed Arroyo early in the morning on August 5 with the 4th Ohio and the 3rd Illinois Infantry Regiments. At 11:00 a.m., the Americans encountered Spanish outposts outside Guayama and skirmished briefly with a 40-man Spanish guerrilla force commanded by Captain Salvador Acha.

In the brief fight, the Spanish side suffered 2 dead and 15 wounded. The Americans had only 4 or 5 wounded, all from the 4th Ohio. After the fight, the Americans entered the town of Guayama to a cheering populace. In a brief encounter north of Guayama on August 8, the Spanish were driven off with three shots from two of the American Sims-Dudley dynamite guns.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Arroyo, Puerto Rico; Brooke, John Rutter; Dynamite Gun; Guánica, Puerto Rico; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Ponce, Puerto Rico; Puerto Rico Campaign; Wilson, James Harrison

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Gullón y Iglesias, Pío

Birth Date: 1835

Death Date: 1916

Spanish politician and minister of state. Born in Astorga in 1835, Pío Gullón y Iglesias was editor of the progressive newspaper *El Día* and an author. A leader of the Liberal Party, he was elected as a deputy from Astorga and also served as a senator in the Spanish Cortes (parliament). Despite Gullón's limited experience in foreign affairs, Prime Minister Práxedes Mateo Sagasta appointed him as minister of foreign affairs on October 4, 1897. Gullón believed that Spain could not win a war with the United States and, although officially rejecting U.S. offers to mediate tensions over Cuba, unofficially sought the assistance of several European powers, including the French government and even the Vatican, to resolve the crisis short of war. When these efforts failed, he advocated making concessions to the United States to avert war.

When the war began, Gullón came under heavy criticism for suggesting concessions and was replaced as minister of foreign affairs by the Duke of Almodóvar del Río on May 15, 1898. Gullón died in Madrid in 1916.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Almodóvar del Río, Duque de; Origins of the War; Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo; Spain; Vatican, Role in War

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Gunboat Operations, Philippine Islands

Following the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, U.S. Navy ships blockaded Manila until army forces could arrive. In August, army troops captured the city. Over the next five months, gunboats helped U.S. troops seize key positions around the islands. When the Philippine-American War began in February 1899, naval gunfire helped repulse Filipino attacks on Manila. In the insurgency that followed, U.S. Navy gunboats provided essential mobility to American troops and played a vital role in winning the Philippine-American War. Indeed, gunboats were absolutely essential during an insurgency that theoretically spanned some 7,000 islands and 500,000 square miles of terrain.

Rear Admiral George C. Remey, who commanded the Asiatic Squadron, deployed its gunboats and other small warships to four patrol zones: one on the island of Luzon; the second on the islands of Panay, Mindoro, Palawan, and Occidental Negros; the third on the Moro country of the Sulu group and southern Mindanao; and the last one on the Visayas group composed of Cebu, Samar, Leyte, Bohol, Oriental Negros, and northern Mindanao from the Straits of Surigao to the Dapitan Peninsula. Some gunboats patrolled as far away as Borneo and China to cut off arms shipments to the Filipino guerrillas.

The gunboats patrolled Philippine waters to isolate Filipino forces on individual islands and interdict the flow of arms and supplies to them. The gunboats also supported ground operations with firepower, escorted troop transports, covered landings, and evacuated endangered garrisons. Ships, particularly the army's improvised troop transports, frequently ran aground, and gunboats then helped pull them free, frequently under hostile fire. At night, gunboats sailed deep behind insurgent lines, landing and retrieving scouts who reported on enemy positions and strength. The gunboats maintained communication with scattered army and marine garrisons and mobile columns and delivered their supplies, pay, and mail.

To supplement its meager forces, the navy seized 13 former Spanish gunboats and converted yachts and other small civilian craft to naval service. Most of these gunboats, particularly the converted yachts, were of small size. They averaged about 90 feet in length and carried a variety of weapons including 1-, 2-, and 3-pounder guns; 37-millimeter cannon; Colt and Gatling guns, and various small arms. Among them, however, were a few heavily armed warships such as the *Petrel*, an 892-ton, 176-foot gunboat armed with four 6-inch guns that earned it the nickname "Baby Battleship." A landing force from the *Petrel* seized the important port of Cebu in the first weeks of the war.

Despite the acquisition of Spanish and converted civilian ships, the navy could rarely deploy more than two dozen gunboats to patrol the thousands of islands and numerous navigable rivers of the Philippines. Dispersed across the islands, gunboats generally operated singly or in pairs.

Fairly typical of gunboat operations were the final campaigns to secure the island of Samar. Despite earlier campaigns there, including a celebrated effort by Major Littleton W. T. Waller and 300



The U.S. Navy gunboat *Petrel* operated in Philippine waters during the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War. (Naval Historical Center)

marines, Filipino insurgents continued to operate on Samar, eluding U.S. forces in its dense jungle and mountainous terrain. In January and February 1902, the gunboats *Frolic* and *Villalobos* carried soldiers on a series of raids on Samar that yielded valuable intelligence and led to the capture of Filipino commander Vicente Lukban. Four more gunboats arrived in March, and these allowed their commander, Lieutenant Commander Washington I. Chambers, to blockade the island, cutting off vital supplies to the insurgents, particularly food, which Samar imported from neighboring islands. In April, Chambers's squadron embarked the troops of Brigadier General Frederick D. Grant and carried them deep into the island along its rivers. These forces overran the insurgents' main camp and harried them across the island in a three-week campaign that forced their surrender, ending the war on Samar two months before the official proclamation of peace on July 4, 1902.

As the war wound down, the navy shifted gunboats to other operations. Some worked to suppress the slave trade among the Moros in the Sulu archipelago, southern Mindanao, and southern Palawan. Others hunted pirates in Philippine and Chinese waters. Gunboats thus played a vital role in the Philippine-American War. Without them, conquest of the Philippines might well have been impossible.

STEPHEN K. STEIN

See also

Asiatic Squadron; Grant, Frederick Dent; Lukban, Vicente; Philippine Islands; Remy, George Collier; Samar Campaigns; United States Navy; Waller, Littleton Tazewell

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Gussie, USS

An aging side-wheel steamer that gained notoriety when the U.S. Army used it during an ill-fated attempt to land arms and equip-

ment to Cuban rebels prior to the U.S. invasion of Cuba. The mission was undertaken in May 1898. Although unsuccessful, the expedition resulted in the first action in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. The *Gussie*, displacing 998 tons, was built in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1872.

On April 10, 1898, the U.S. Army chartered the *Gussie* from the Southern Pacific Company for use as a transport at the rate of \$350 per day. Shortly after the declaration of war, the army, unable at that time to land any significant numbers of troops in Cuba, concentrated on supplying arms to the Cuban insurgents who were fighting the Spanish forces on the island. On May 10, the *Gussie* departed from Tampa, Florida, commanded by Captain Joseph Dorst of the 4th U.S. Cavalry Regiment. The ship carried in its hold a load of arms and equipment, Companies E and G of the 1st U.S. Infantry, several officers of the Cuban insurgency, Cuban pilots, and mules and horses. There were also several newspaper reporters on board, including Rufus Zogbaum and Stephen Bonsal.

The mission became a comedy of errors. Both the expedition and its intended recipients and destination—the forces of General Pedro Diaz in the Pinar del Rio Province—were widely reported in American newspapers. The *Gussie*, gaily painted red and white, was towed out of port by the New York *World's* chartered tugboat in broad daylight, and Spanish authorities in Cuba quickly learned of the ship's departure. In attempting to pass through the U.S. Navy blockade of Cuba, U.S. Navy ships, not having been informed of the ship's mission, fired shots across the *Gussie's* bow and briefly stopped it.

Two days after its departure, the *Gussie* was easily spotted by residents and soldiers as it passed the Cuban port city of Havana, and its movements were communicated by Spanish signaling stations along the coast. At Mariel, the ship came under fire from Spanish cavalry, but the attack was quelled by the U.S. warships now accompanying the *Gussie*: the U.S. Revenue Service cutter *Manning* and the armed yacht *Wasp*. The *Gussie* continued westward to Cabañas Bay, where it sent in two of its boats with 40 men. Unfortunately, the landing point was within two miles of Fort Cabañas and its 2,000-man Spanish garrison. The Americans landed and penetrated into the jungle. The Cuban insurgents also landed but failed to make contact with local guerrilla forces. Shortly after landing, the Americans came under attack from a Spanish force. The actions of the American skirmish line and fire from the supporting troops on the *Gussie* repelled the Spanish assault, however.

Given the proximity of Spanish forces and the expedition's inability to contact the local insurgency, supplies were not landed, and the landing force withdrew to the beach and then returned to the *Gussie* under covering fire from the supporting warships. In the skirmish, only one member of the expedition was slightly wounded, a San Francisco *Post* correspondent. Reportedly, on the Spanish side, a colonel and several soldiers were killed. After spending another day off the Cuban coast and with the Americans unable to secure a suitable location to land its cargo, the *Gussie* returned to Tampa. Its failed expedition was widely reported in the newspapers.

In early June, the *Gussie* was employed in a second attempt to land arms to the Cuban insurgent forces, this time in the Bay of Caibarién. It was accompanied by the armed yacht *Suwanee* and gunboat *Newport*. Although the insurgents were present at the landing point, the shallowness of the water and the presence of a small Spanish gunboat caused the abandonment of the landing attempt. The *Gussie* returned to Key West, again unsuccessful. The army continued to employ the *Gussie* as a transport. Its official lifting capacity was 120 men and 300 horses. When Major General William Shafter's V Corps was convoyed to Cuba, the *Gussie*, designated as Transport Number 3, carried teamsters and packers accompanying the expedition. The ship continued to operate with the army until September 11, 1898. Perhaps the most significant outcome of the *Gussie's* first expedition was the imposition of stricter censorship of important military operations to avoid revealing these to the Spanish.

PATRICK MCSHERRY

See also

Bonsal, Stephen; Censorship; Cuban Revolutionary Army; Dorst, Joseph Haddox; V Corps; Journalism; Mariel, Cuba; Newspapers; Zogbaum, Rufus Fairchild

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H

Hanna, Mark

Birth Date: September 24, 1837

Death Date: February 15, 1904

U.S. businessman, Republican Party politician, and political adviser. Marcus Alonzo Hanna, better known as Mark Hanna, was the prototype of the modern political adviser and served brilliantly as President William McKinley's campaign manager in the critical election of 1896. Born on September 24, 1837, in New Lisbon, Ohio, Hanna briefly attended Western Reserve College before embarking on a career in business. After the American Civil War, Hanna, now based in Cleveland, Ohio, became wealthy as a transporter of goods and provider of services to the nascent steel and coal industries in western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio. During the 1880s, Hanna, a Republican, began his political career as an adviser to politicians and political candidates. His close association with prominent businessmen in Ohio and Pennsylvania proved quite beneficial in his attempts to raise money for political campaigns.

In 1888, Hanna orchestrated Ohio senator John Sherman's unsuccessful attempt to secure the Republican nomination for president. Not deterred by failure, Hanna helped William McKinley become governor of Ohio in 1891. Hanna then became McKinley's chief political adviser and helped with his reelection in 1893. Realizing McKinley's political appeal with voters, Hanna launched McKinley's successful bid for the presidency in 1896. As chairman of the Republican National Convention, Hanna raised \$3.5 million for McKinley's campaign fund, an enormous amount of money for the time. Wealthy industrialists, distrustful of Democratic candidate William Jennings Bryan's insistence on free silver and populist rhetoric, willingly contributed funds to McKinley, who championed the gold standard and protective tariffs.

During the 1896 campaign, McKinley outspent Bryan by a margin of 12 to 1. Democrats, Populists, and Free Silver Republicans accused Hanna of protecting big business. Nevertheless, Hanna's campaign strategy, which employed an unprecedented 1,400 people, inundated the public with pro-McKinley advertisements, concentrated on specific issues such as the gold standard, and capitalized on McKinley's considerable speech-making abilities. While Hanna collected funds from wealthy donors, McKinley met delegates on his front porch in Canton, Ohio. Hanna's campaign strategy became the prototype for American presidential campaigns during the 20th century.

After his election, McKinley appointed Ohio senator John Sherman to be his first secretary of state, and the Ohio state legislature chose Hanna to fill Sherman's position in the U.S. Senate. Hanna's power in Congress was naturally enhanced by his friendship with McKinley. Hanna consistently cautioned McKinley against war with Spain until public opinion, encouraged by yellow journalism, demanded it. This course of action caused friction with Republicans such as Theodore Roosevelt, who favored an early war, and Sherman, who was strongly opposed to U.S. expansionism. McKinley ultimately followed Hanna's advice and did not call for war until Spanish atrocities in Cuba, the infamous Dupuy de Lôme–Canalejas Letter, and the sinking of the *Maine* in February 1898 significantly outraged the majority of the American public.

Hanna, who did not favor the maverick Theodore Roosevelt, was unable to block the Progressive Republican effort to make Roosevelt the Republican vice presidential candidate in 1900. Following McKinley's assassination in 1901, Hanna's political power was sharply diminished, with the Republican Party dominated for a time by its progressive wing. Despite his antipathy toward Roosevelt, Hanna vigorously supported construction of an isthmian



Republican Party political operative Marcus Alonzo Hanna introduced innovative political campaign techniques and helped secure the election of President William McKinley. (Library of Congress)

canal in Panama. A potential contender for the Republican presidential nomination in 1904, Hanna died of typhoid fever in Washington, D.C., on February 15, 1904.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Bryan, William Jennings; Dupuy de Lôme, Enrique; Dupuy de Lôme-Canalejas Letter; *Maine*, USS; McKinley, William; Roosevelt, Theodore; Sherman, John; Yellow Journalism

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Harvard Incident

Event Date: July 4, 1898

The unintentional shooting of Spanish prisoners of war (POWs) on the U.S. Navy auxiliary cruiser *Harvard* on July 4, 1898, off the coast of Siboney, Cuba. Six Spaniards were killed and another 13 were wounded in the incident. The *Harvard* was launched in 1888 as the

civilian schooner-rigged steamship *City of New York* for the Inman line. In 1893, it was reregistered under the American line as the *New York*. It was designed chiefly as a transatlantic passenger ship. On April 26, 1898, the *New York* was pressed into service by the U.S. Navy as an auxiliary cruiser, renamed the *Harvard* and placed under a civilian crew. Sent to the Caribbean on April 30 to undertake scouting duties, it returned to the United States in early June, at which time its crew officially became part of the U.S. Navy at Newport News, Virginia. Arriving off the Cuban coast on July 1, 1898, the *Harvard* rescued more than 600 Spanish naval officers and seamen following the naval battle at Santiago de Cuba on July 3.

With some 600 Spanish prisoners aboard ship, the 9th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry was designated to help the *Harvard*'s crew guard the POWs. Between 10:30 p.m. and midnight on July 4, a Spanish prisoner stepped over a line that had been painted on the ship's deck. The POWs had been warned not to step over the line. A sentry ordered the prisoner to return to his former position, but he did not respond. The guard then fired his weapon, allegedly into the air, to get the POW's attention. This prompted the other POWs to rise. The commotion caused other members of the 9th Massachusetts to panic, believing that the prisoners were staging an uprising. Within a few seconds, the soldiers fired a volley into the crowd of POWs, resulting in 6 dead and 13 wounded.

The *Harvard Incident* was ruled a tragic mistake that had not resulted from premeditation or malfeasance. The language barrier and the inexperience of the U.S. soldiers were likely the cause of the shootings. The Spaniard who had been ordered to step away from the line had probably been attempting to get air on a torridly hot and humid night and had not heeded the sentry's warning because he did not speak English. Overall, U.S. forces treated Spanish POWs well, and the *Harvard Incident* was an exception.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Santiago de Cuba, Battle of

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Havana, Cuba

Principal city of Cuba and the center of Spanish colonial government. Havana (La Habana in Spanish) was not only the premier city in Cuba, but it served as the cultural and political center of the entire West Indies. Havana is located on Cuba's northwestern coast less than 100 miles south-southwest of Key West, Florida, and had an estimated population of about 200,000 people at the beginning of the Spanish-American War. In addition to its strategic location



Broad thoroughfare in the city of Havana, 1898. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

on the Florida Strait, the city also boasts an excellent natural harbor that facilitated great trade activity. At the time of the Spanish-American War, Havana and Havana Harbor were well fortified, as the Spanish hoped to safeguard its busy port and prevent would-be enemies from gaining egress to the island via the harbor.

An integral part of Havana's defense was Morro Castle (Castillo de los Tres Reyes Magos del Morro), a massive, medieval-appearing fortress that the Spanish first built in 1589 at the entrance to Havana Harbor. It sits on a promontory that gives it a commanding presence that may be seen for several miles in any direction. In 1845, the Spanish built a lighthouse at Morro Castle to aid in ship navigation.

Also part of the city's defenses was La Cabana, or La Fortaleza de San Carlos de la Cabana, situated at the eastern edge of Havana Harbor and built in 1763 by King Carlos III at the end of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). The fort sat on elevated ground that aided in defense and ship navigation.

Europeans were first evident in the area of Havana as early as 1509, when they first visited the area during Sebastián de Ocampo's expedition around the island. The following year, the first Spanish colonists arrived in the vicinity of what would become Havana, launching almost 400 years of Spanish rule over Cuba. Havana was formally established in August 1515 but not in its present location. The conquistador Diego Velázquez de Cuéllar established Havana

on the southern coast of Cuba. In 1519, Havana was relocated to its current location on the northern coast. With time, Havana became the principal port in the West Indies and an important center of trade, commerce, and Spanish cultural influence in the region.

From June 1762 to July 1763, Havana was occupied by the British during the Seven Years' War. Until the city fell to the United States in 1898, this brief period was the only time since the beginning of the 16th century that the Spanish had not controlled the city. By the early 19th century, Havana was one of the most prosperous and populous cities in all of the Americas. In addition to the millions of dollars of goods that entered and exited Havana from the world over, the city boasted one of the world's largest shipyards, El Arsenal.

Interestingly, during the Spanish-American War Havana saw little action and remained largely untouched. It certainly suffered the momentary effects of the American naval blockade, but little fighting occurred in Havana, and the city would not be occupied by American forces until December 1898, months after the conflict ended. Perhaps Havana's biggest contribution to the war was the fact that it played host to the scene of the destruction of the U.S. battleship *Maine* on the night of February 15, 1898. The *Maine* suffered two explosions, of then unknown origin, while it sat anchored in Havana Harbor. While the disaster did not in and of itself start the Spanish-American War, it certainly increased tensions significantly between Spain and the United States.

views were articulated by many newspaper editors, by congressional leaders, and even by U.S. presidents.

By the mid-19th century, European and American plantation owners had begun to acquire large swaths of land for the cultivation of cash crops throughout the islands. As such, they wielded considerable power, much to the consternation of the monarchy and native islanders. Before long, the planter class began to clash with the Hawaiian constitutional monarchy over using government funds to recruit cheap labor from the Cape Verde Islands, Puerto Rico, China, and Japan. This not only threatened the livelihoods of the island natives but also threatened a radical change in the social and cultural makeup of Hawaii.

In the final month of her short reign, Queen Liliuokalani asserted her authority over advisers who were linked to plantation interests. She did not prevail. On January 17, 1893, Liliuokalani was overthrown by a cabal of plantation owners and other businessmen in Honolulu. Almost all of them were white Europeans and Americans. Their rebellion received the immediate support of U.S. minister to Hawaii John Stevens, who sent for a contingent of U.S. Marines to secure the islands and prepare them for eventual annexation to the United States.

In the United States, lame-duck president Benjamin Harrison favored annexation. But his term expired only six and a half weeks after the overthrow of the queen in Hawaii. That interval was too short to effect annexation in the U.S. Congress. Harrison's successor, Democrat Grover Cleveland, officially repudiated the overthrow in a message to Congress on December 18, 1893, but did nothing to restore the status quo ante. Cleveland opposed U.S. imperial expansion and had no intention of supporting Hawaiian annexation. In 1894, resolutions criticizing the 1893 coup d'état were introduced in the House of Representatives and U.S. Senate. Although they were not adopted, these anticipated a congressional apology in 1993 for the American role in overthrowing a government that it had once recognized as sovereign.

The 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy also generated domestic Hawaiian opposition to annexation. Hawaiian-language documents in the U.S. National Archives testify to the antiannexation views held by 80 percent or more of native Hawaiians aged 16 and older who had signed petitions in 1897 and 1898. After 1893, Japanese foreign minister Ōkuma Shigenobu, contended that only a minority in the Hawaiian Islands favored annexation. He suggested that a plebiscite precede any annexation. With a concern for maintaining harmonious relations with Japan, the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee carefully considered Ōkuma's objections. But on August 14, 1897, Secretary of State John Sherman rebuffed Ōkuma.

Nevertheless, during 1897–1898, President William McKinley's annexation treaty languished, failing to attract sufficient support from U.S. senators whose votes would be needed to meet the constitutionally required two-thirds supermajority. In lieu of a full treaty, politicians desirous of taking the Hawaiian Islands also advocated passage of a bill or a joint resolution to be passed by both houses of Congress.

Commodore George Dewey's success in the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, only sharpened the context of congressional debates concerning Hawaii. Furthermore, U.S. involvement in the Philippine-American War (1899–1902) highlighted the military advantage of permanent U.S. naval access to a mid-Pacific coaling station in the Hawaiian Islands. During a secret session of the U.S. Senate on May 31, 1898, Massachusetts senator Henry Cabot Lodge, an inveterate expansionist, and a majority of senators expressed support for annexing the Hawaiian Islands as a coaling station and base for military operations in the Philippines. Senator John T. Morgan of Alabama also touted the climate of the Hawaiian Islands for what U.S. soldiers and sailors of later generations would call rest and recreation.

As an alternative to the deadlocked annexation treaty, legislators resurrected an earlier alternative of a bill introduced into both houses of Congress that was said to be equivalent to a treaty of annexation. Ultimately, a majority of the Senate supported what became the Newlands Resolution. Having received simple majorities in the House and Senate, it was signed by President McKinley on July 7, 1898. This act officially annexed Hawaii. On April 30, 1900, Congress declared the Hawaiian Islands a U.S. territory.

VINCENT KELLY POLLARD

See also

Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Expansionism; Hawaiian Islands; Imperialism; Lodge, Henry Cabot; McKinley, William; Philippine-American War; Sherman, John

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Hawkins, Hamilton Smith

Birth Date: 1834

Death Date: March 27, 1910

U.S. Army officer. Hamilton S. Hawkins was born in South Carolina in 1834, the son of an army surgeon who died during the Mexican-American War (1846–1848). Hawkins entered the United States Military Academy, West Point, with the class of 1856 but left the academy in 1855 when he was found deficient in academics. With the beginning of the American Civil War, despite his family's Southern roots he fought for the North and was commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry in 1861. He participated in numerous battles, including Gettysburg.

Hawkins remained in the army after the war and took part in several campaigns against the Plains Indians, including service as

a battalion commander of the 6th Infantry Regiment against the Utes in Colorado in 1880. From 1888 to 1892, he served as the commandant of cadets at West Point, becoming the only officer in the history of the United States Military Academy to return as commandant after having failed to graduate.

With the beginning of the Spanish-American War, on May 4, 1898, Hawkins was advanced to brigadier general of volunteers and took command of the 1st Brigade, 1st Division of V Corps, in the invasion of Cuba. The brigade consisted of the 71st New York Volunteer Regiment as well as the 6th and 16th Infantry Regiments of the regular army. Landing at Daiquirí in June, Hamilton's unit saw brief action in the Battle of Las Guásimas (June 24, 1898).

Hawkins's major action during the campaign to seize Santiago de Cuba came during the Battle of San Juan Hill (July 1, 1898). His brigade was tasked with the main attack on San Juan Hill itself, while Brigadier General Samuel Storrow Sumner's cavalry division assaulted the heights on the right of the brigade to capture nearby Kettle Hill. On the morning of July 1, Hawkins's brigade crossed the San Juan River and turned south to form up for the assault on the hill. The brigade was positioned in an open field of high grass below the hill. More than 500 Spanish troops defended the hill from trenches and a blockhouse. These defenses were supported by barbed-wire obstacles. Hawkins's two aides assisted the positioning of the brigade's regiments: Lieutenant Jules Ord positioned himself in a tree to observe the cavalry brigade positioning to the infantry's right flank, and Lieutenant Dennis Michie guided units on the ground. Michie was soon killed by Spanish rifle fire from the heights above the assembly position.

As the brigade formed below San Juan Hill, the 6th and 16th Infantry Regiments were in the lead, with the inexperienced volunteers of the 71st New York in reserve. In the ensuing confusion as units were positioned, the 71st took significant casualties and was prevented from withdrawing only through the intervention of Brigadier General Jacob Ford Kent. All of the regiments came under heavy and accurate rifle fire from the heights, which caused many casualties. Eventually, the order was given to begin the assault on the hill.

At that point, Lieutenant Ord requested permission to lead the assault on the hill. Hawkins, because of his experience commanding costly assaults during the Civil War, was doubtful of the brigade's chances for success and hesitated. Ord then indicated that as long as he was not denied permission, he would charge. Hawkins neither gave nor forbade the charge. The lieutenant then rallied the infantry and began the charge.

As Ord led, Hawkins followed behind, officially ordering charge sounded by the buglers. Hawkins positioned himself between the 6th and 16th Regiments and led the main body of the brigade up the hill behind Ord. Ord himself was the first to encounter the Spanish position and was killed by a Spanish rifleman. Hawkins was quite conspicuous leading the main body of the brigade, his thick white mane of hair making him an obvious target as the brigade advanced. He led the brigade throughout the

battle despite being wounded severely in the foot. Inspired by Ord's example, the brigade secured the heights as the Spanish survivors retreated.

The assault on San Juan Hill was the last major episode of Hawkins's military career. In October 1898, he returned to the United States after being promoted to major general of volunteers. Shortly thereafter, he retired. Hawkins died in General Springs, New York, on March 27, 1910.

LOUIS A. DiMARCO

See also

V Corps; Kent, Jacob Ford; Kettle Hill, Battle of; Las Guásimas, Battle of; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Sumner, Samuel Storrow

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Hay, John Milton

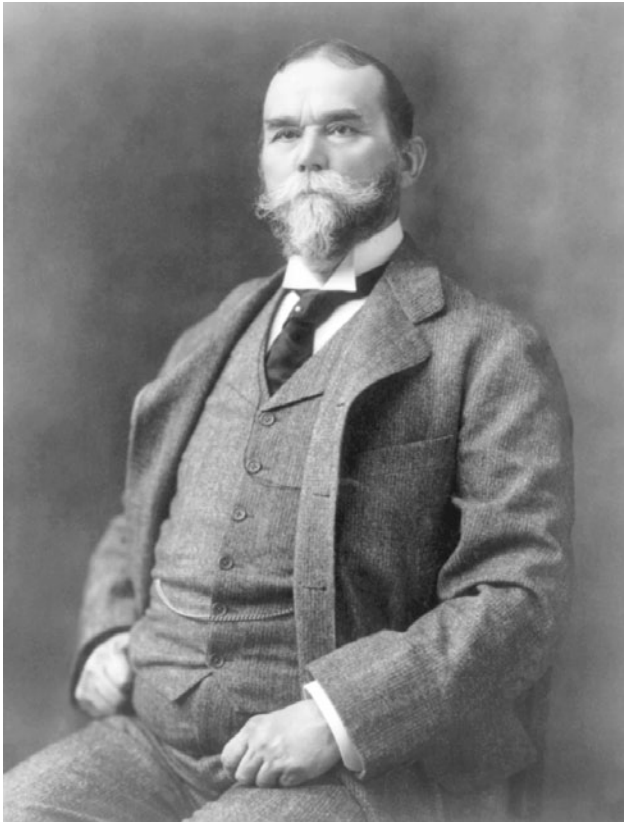
Birth Date: October 12, 1838

Death Date: July 1, 1905

U.S. diplomat, secretary of state (1898–1905), and principal architect and author of the Open Door Policy in the Far East. Born in Salem, Indiana, on October 12, 1838, John Milton Hay grew up in Springfield, Illinois. He graduated from Brown University in 1858 and read law while working in his uncle's Springfield office, which was adjacent to the office of Abraham Lincoln and William Herdon. During the American Civil War, President Lincoln appointed Hay one of his private secretaries. In March 1865, he was appointed secretary to the United States legation in Paris. From 1867 to 1868, he was chargé d'affaires in Vienna, and in 1869, he became secretary of the legation in Madrid.

Hay returned to the United States in 1870 and embarked on a career as a journalist and writer. Under the guidance of senior journalist Whitelaw Reid, Hay published editorials for the *New York Tribune* until 1875. He published a book of poems in 1871 and an unsigned antilabor union novel, *Bread Winners*, in 1884. In 1890, along with John C. Nicolay, Hay completed the ten-volume *Abraham Lincoln: A History*.

Astute investing and marriage to a wealthy heiress enabled Hay to acquire a modest fortune. Except for a brief period in 1878 as assistant secretary of state, he remained out of government circles. He did, however, manage to meet and establish friendships with a number of influential people including Henry Adams, Henry Cabot Lodge, William McKinley, and Theodore Roosevelt.



John Milton Hay was a poet, novelist, and historian as well as U.S. secretary of state under Presidents William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt, when he helped introduce the Open Door Policy in the Far East. (Library of Congress)

In 1897, Hay was coaxed back to diplomacy and accepted appointment as ambassador to Great Britain. He was a staunch advocate of Anglo-Saxon cooperation and favored U.S. overseas expansion. As ambassador, he kept President McKinley informed of European attitudes regarding U.S. diplomatic policies. During the Spanish-American War, Hay arranged for the British government to handle U.S. consular affairs in Spain. On July 27, 1898, Hay wrote a letter to Roosevelt describing the conflict as “a splendid little war,” a moniker that has been used to the present day.

In August 1898, McKinley appointed Hay secretary of state. Hay helped negotiate the Treaty of Paris leading to the important acquisition of the Philippine Islands, which Hay favored, along with taking Puerto Rico. When the treaty was signed on December 10, 1898, the United States paid Spain \$20 million for possession of the Philippines, while both Puerto Rico and Guam were ceded to the United States. Spain also relinquished its claim to Cuba, which became independent, although the United States secured a strategic naval base there in Guantánamo Bay.

Diplomatic initiatives in the Far East and the pursuit of overseas economic markets ultimately resulted in Hay’s Open Door Policy. In the 1890s, tensions had mounted in China as European nations established their own spheres of influence in the region. In

1899, Hay circulated the Open Door Notes to the major imperial powers in an effort to keep China open for trade to all. On September 6, 1899, he sent the first of his notes to Berlin, London, and St. Petersburg. A subsequent missive was delivered to Tokyo, Rome, and Paris. Hay’s notes did not insist upon the territorial integrity of China; they applied only to the “relatively small foreign leaseholds and spheres of influence” that had recently been established there. In reality, Hay’s Open Door was designed to promote increased American trade and not China’s rights. Most important, his diplomatic efforts prevented the possible outbreak of war among the competing nations in China.

Hay’s careful diplomacy also helped ease tensions in the 1900 Boxer Rebellion. A group of fanatical Chinese opponents of Western influence, known to the West as Boxers, killed a number of foreigners and trapped members of the foreign legations in the besieged city of Beijing (Peking). Hay was instrumental in securing the addition of some 2,500 U.S. troops from the Philippines to the 18,000-man international rescue expedition that broke the siege of the foreign embassies and ended the uprising. He also supported U.S. participation in the First International Peace Conference at The Hague in 1899 in an effort to promote world peace through international arbitration and disarmament.

In 1901, Hay was successful in replacing the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 with the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. This treaty, negotiated with the British, provided that the United States could construct, own, and fortify a waterway across Central America. The treaty opened the way for U.S. control of a canal linking the Caribbean to the Pacific Ocean. Hay’s final diplomatic effort, though largely undertaken by President Theodore Roosevelt, was the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty (1903). This agreement replaced the Hay-Herran Treaty that had been signed with Colombia. In November 1903, after a successful revolt and secession from Colombia, Panama’s new leader, Philippe-Jean Bunau-Varrilla, accepted a payment of \$10 million down and \$250,000 a year in exchange for a 10-mile zone permitting the U.S. extraordinary sovereignty to construct and control what later became the Panama Canal.

Hay remained in office until the year he died. His most significant achievement, the Open Door Policy, was never a legally binding concept. Yet it did reflect American efforts to continue its Manifest Destiny—this time outside North America—and economic imperatives that required expanded overseas markets to absorb U.S. goods and prevent economic stagnation. Hay died in Falls, New Hampshire, on July 1, 1905.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

See also

Boxer Rebellion; Guantánamo Bay Naval Base; Hay-Pauncefote Treaty; Manifest Destiny; McKinley, William; Open Door Policy; Paris, Treaty of; Roosevelt, Theodore

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Hay–Bunau-Varilla Treaty

Treaty between the United States and Panama, signed on November 18, 1903, that provided for the U.S. lease of a canal zone in Panama. Following the Colombian Senate's rejection of the Hay-Herrán Treaty, which had provided for a 99-year renewable lease of a canal zone across Panama, then a Colombian province, in exchange for a payment of \$10 million and \$250,000 a year, President Theodore Roosevelt was determined to overcome what he deemed Colombian obstruction and to secure the canal zone prior to the 1904 election.

He secretly worked with banker John Pierpont Morgan and former French associate of the New Panama Canal Company and now Panamanian businessman Philippe Bunau-Varilla to orchestrate a revolution in Panama. On November 3, 1903, Panama rose in revolt and declared itself independent of Colombia. The U.S. Navy then prevented Colombia from landing troops in Panama. Roosevelt recognized the independence of Panama on November 6, and the Hay–Bunau-Varilla Treaty between U.S. secretary of state John M. Hay and Bunau-Varilla was ratified on November 18.

The Hay–Bunau-Varilla Treaty provided that the United States would secure a lease of a zone 10 miles wide across the Isthmus of Panama in perpetuity. The United States secured full sovereignty of the zone as well as the right to fortify it. The treaty also gave the United States control of the holdings of the New Panama Canal Company and the Panama Railroad Company. In exchange, the United States guaranteed the independence of Panama and agreed to pay \$10 million initially and \$250,000 per year beginning 9 years



A political cartoon showing President Theodore Roosevelt digging a canal across Panama and throwing dirt in the direction of Bogotá, Colombia. The United States made possible the independence of Panama from Colombia, and the treaty with Panama enabled the United States to begin construction of the Panama Canal. (Library of Congress)

after ratifications of the treaty. The treaty was ratified by the U.S. Senate on February 23, 1903.

Construction on the canal began in 1904 and was completed in 1914. In 1977, President Jimmy Carter signed a treaty providing for the gradual transfer of the Panama Canal to Panama, which assumed total control in December 1999.

JUSTIN D. MURPHY

See also

Clayton-Bulwer Treaty; Hay, John Milton; Hay-Herrán Treaty; Hay-Pauncefote Treaty; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Morgan, John Pierpont, Sr.; *Oregon*, USS, Voyage of; Panama Canal; Roosevelt, Theodore

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Hay-Herrán Treaty

Treaty between the United States and Colombia signed on January 22, 1903, that provided for the U.S. lease of a canal zone in Panama and that was subsequently rejected by the Colombian Senate. The idea of building a canal across the Isthmus of Panama dates back to the Spanish colonial period. The California Gold Rush of 1849 created a tremendous economic incentive for the United States to build such a canal. Although the 1850 Clayton-Bulwer Treaty between the United States and Great Britain provided for a joint venture, the completion of the first transcontinental railroad temporarily removed the necessity of a canal. French promoter Ferdinand de Lesseps, who in 1869 had successfully completed the Suez Canal linking the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, attempted to build a canal across Panama in the 1880s but failed miserably. Despite de Lesseps's failure, as the United States began building a modern navy in the 1880s, expansionists such as Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan renewed the push for an isthmian canal so that the navy could shift naval assets from the Atlantic to the Pacific and vice versa as needed.

The need for a canal was demonstrated during the Spanish-American War when the battleship *Oregon* had to embark on a 14,500-nautical mile voyage around South America in order to reach the Caribbean in time to participate in the conflict. Although Nicaragua was considered as a possible site, a volcanic eruption there shifted debate in Congress to Panama. To ensure that the canal would be controlled by the United States, Secretary of State John Hay negotiated the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901 with Great Britain, replacing the previous Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. Meanwhile, a syndicate headed by John Pierpont Morgan purchased the assets of the defunct French Panama Canal Company. In 1902, Congress passed the Spooner Act, which approved \$40 million for the purchase of Morgan's Panama Canal Company on the condition that Colombia agreed to a long-term lease.

Following the passage of the Spooner Act, Hay negotiated a treaty with Colombia. Signed on January 22, 1903, between Hay and Dr. Tomás Herrán, the treaty provided for the United States to receive a 99-year lease (with option of renewal) of a 6-mile-wide canal zone in Panama, then a province of Colombia, in exchange for \$10 million up front and \$250,000 per year. Although the treaty was accepted by the U.S. Senate after considerable debate, the Colombian Senate rejected it on August 12, 1903, seeking at least \$25 million, especially since the United States was prepared to pay the Panama Canal Company \$40 million.

Angered at what he deemed Colombian obstruction and determined to secure the canal zone prior to the 1904 election, President Theodore Roosevelt helped orchestrate the controversial Panamanian Revolution in November 1903. After promptly recognizing the independence of Panama, the United States secured the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty, which provided the same terms as the Hay-Herrán Treaty. In 1921, the United States agreed to pay Colombia \$25 million to settle its claims over the controversy.

JUSTIN D. MURPHY

See also

Clayton-Bulwer Treaty; Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty; Hay-Pauncefote Treaty; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Morgan, John Pierpont, Sr.; *Oregon*, USS, Voyage of; Panama Canal; Roosevelt, Theodore

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Hay-Pauncefote Treaty

Treaty signed between Great Britain and the United States on November 18, 1901, that superseded the 1850 Clayton-Bulwer Treaty concerning rights to an isthmian canal in Central America. The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty paved the way for the construction of the Panama Canal, which began in 1904 and was completed in 1914. Negotiations concerning a Central American canal linking the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were undertaken in 1899 by U.S. secretary of state John Hay and Julian Pauncefote, 1st Baron Pauncefote, who was the British ambassador to the United States from 1893 to 1902.

The negotiations that resulted in the 1901 agreement were torturous, and there were actually two Hay-Pauncefote Treaties: one negotiated in 1899 but never implemented and a second one signed in November 1901. Each involved a separate set of talks. The main objective was to amend the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. Finalized in the winter of 1899, the first treaty gave the United States the sole right to construct a canal in Central America, relieving it of the burden of having to share the project with the British. The treaty stipulated that any canal built would be in a neutral zone (similar to the Suez

Canal, which was already in existence) and could not be militarized or otherwise fortified. Finally, the agreement called for equal access to all ships regardless of the nation of origin, including during times of war.

The negotiations and resultant treaty engendered much criticism in the United States, even among the Republican Party. Its critics claimed that the treaty did not go far enough and placed too many restrictions on the American operation of an isthmian canal. Not until February 1900 did the treaty make its way to the U.S. Senate, whose job it was to ratify or amend the agreement. Quite concerned over establishment of a neutral zone and the inability of the United States to fortify a canal zone, many senators had grave reservations about the negotiations, and so the treaty languished in the Senate. After nearly 10 months of hand wringing and deal making, the Senate ratified the treaty on December 20, 1900. However, the senators had attached to it three amended articles. First, there was to be a complete abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty; second, fortification of a canal zone had to be permitted; and third, no other nations would be permitted to enter into the treaty.

The Senate's amendments all but nixed the deal in London, which was less than happy with the American's tinkering with the agreement. This forced the recommencement of negotiations, again between Hay and Pauncefote, to arrive at a settlement that both nations could accept. On November 18, 1901, the second set of negotiations resulted in the signing of a second Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. This time, the agreement sailed through the Senate, which ratified it without reservations or amendments on December 16, 1901.

The new treaty entirely abrogated the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty so long as the United States built the canal and managed it. Neutral rights were to be respected but under the lone guarantee of the United States, and the nonfortification clause was struck from the treaty. This last compromise had been the greatest bone of contention for many Americans. The remainder of the treaty echoed that of the 1899 version.

It had been the Spanish-American War and the rise of the United States as a major power in the Atlantic and Pacific after 1898 that spurred renewed interest in the construction of a Central American canal. The rationale for this rested on military and economic exigencies. Prior to the Panama Canal's construction, a ship traveling from San Francisco to New York had to travel approximately 14,000 miles through the Drake Passage and around Cape Horn, whose waters were often treacherous. After the canal opened in 1914, a ship traveling between the same two cities traveled only about 6,000 miles, a tremendous savings in time traveled, fuel, and manpower. Not only was this a boon to international commerce and trade, but the U.S. Navy recognized an isthmian canal as an absolutely essential ingredient to national security and the ability to shift naval assets between the Atlantic and the Pacific. The size of the navy could now be somewhat smaller, as the canal largely obviated the need for a large Pacific and Atlantic fleet. A Central American canal also allowed the United States better access to Central

and South America in case of war and significantly strengthened American command of the Caribbean.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Clayton-Bulwer Treaty; Hay, John Milton; Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty; Hay-Herrán Treaty; Panama Canal

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Hayes, Webb

Birth Date: March 20, 1856

Death Date: July 26, 1934

American soldier and businessman who contributed to the establishment of Union Carbide, one of the largest and most advanced chemical companies in the world. James Webb Cook Hayes was born on March 20, 1856, in Cincinnati, Ohio, the second son of U.S. president Rutherford B. Hayes and Lucy Webb Hayes. During the American Civil War, the younger Hayes spent extended periods with his father, who had been assigned to U.S. Army captain George Crook in Clarksburg, West Virginia. Crook, a fellow Ohioan who eventually became the U.S. Army's most skilled Indian fighter, enjoyed the young boy's company and became his godfather.

Although Hayes enrolled at Cornell University in 1873, he abandoned his university studies in 1875 to work as his father's secretary during his third term as governor of Ohio. After his father won the controversial presidential election of 1876, Hayes moved to Washington, D.C., to serve as his father's secretary and personal bodyguard.

In 1881, after his father left the White House, Hayes moved to Cleveland, Ohio, to be the treasurer of the Whipple Manufacturing Company. In this capacity he amassed a fortune during the Industrial Revolution of the late 19th century. In 1887, Hayes and three associates formed the National Carbon Company, located in Cleveland. Hayes served as the vice president of the company, which supplied America with carbon-arc electrodes, motor brushes, and rods used in carbon-zinc batteries.

The National Carbon Company eventually merged with Linde Air Products, Prest-O-Lite, and the Union Carbide Company, which produced ferro-galvanized metal for armor plating during the Spanish-American War, to form the Union Carbide and Carbon Corporation in 1917. In 1920, Union Carbide developed an economical way to make ethylene from natural gas, giving birth to the modern petrochemicals industry. In 2001, Union Carbide became a wholly owned subsidiary of the Dow Chemical Company.



Webb Hayes, the son of President Rutherford B. Hayes, volunteered for service in the Spanish-American War and distinguished himself in the fighting in Cuba as a major in the 1st Ohio Cavalry Regiment. (Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center)

While working for the National Carbon Company, Hayes joined the Ohio National Guard. After the 1896 election of fellow Ohioan William McKinley to the presidency, Hayes served as an unofficial adviser to McKinley. At the outset of the Spanish-American War, Hayes volunteered for military duty and was commissioned at the rank of major in the 1st Ohio Cavalry. He fought in the Santiago Campaign and was wounded during the Battle of San Juan Hill. He subsequently participated in the invasion of Puerto Rico and was promoted to lieutenant colonel before being sent to the Philippines. There he coordinated a successful mission to reinforce U.S. soldiers besieged by Filipino rebels on Vigan Island on December 4, 1898. He was awarded the Medal of Honor for his heroism.

Hayes remained in the U.S. Army after the conclusion of the Spanish-American War. He served in the China Relief Expedition

during the Boxer Rebellion and was an official observer during the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). Retiring from the military, he went on to serve in the Ohio House of Representatives.

In 1916, he donated his father's papers and the family estate at Spiegel Grove to the State of Ohio to establish the Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center. By establishing the first presidential library, he set a valuable precedent for subsequent chief executives. Hayes died in Fremont, Ohio, on July 26, 1934.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Boxer Rebellion; McKinley, William; Russo-Japanese War; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign

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Hearst, William Randolph

Birth Date: April 29, 1863

Death Date: August 14, 1951

Newspaper and publishing magnate who helped pioneer yellow journalism just prior to and during the Spanish-American War. William Randolph Hearst was born in San Francisco, California, on April 29, 1863, the heir to a mining fortune and the only child of Senator George Hearst. As a student at Harvard University (class of 1885), Hearst first acquired a taste for the newspaper business while working on the *Lampoon*, a student periodical. After expulsion from Harvard for a series of sophomoric capers prior to graduation, he joined the staff of Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* from which he launched his career as one of the legendary giants of American journalism.

Given the *San Francisco Examiner* by his father in 1887, Hearst used his penchant for journalism as a springboard from which to develop the colorful, theatrical style that was to become his trademark. His brand of journalism concentrated on the flashy and dramatic, sometimes at the expense of facts. In 1895, he moved into the New York market, buying the *New York Journal*. Using the vast family fortune, he proceeded to hire the best newspaper people he could find, including some from his competitor, Pulitzer.

Hearst arrived on the New York scene just as the Cuban War of Independence was getting under way. Attracted to the high-profile story potential of the Cuban cause, he focused the *Journal's* efforts in support of the Cubans. His stories invariably portrayed the Spanish officials, especially newly appointed military commander General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau (dubbed "the Butcher" by Hearst), as ruthless tyrants. Although the *Journal* was not the only U.S. paper to take up the Cuban cause, it was the flashiest and arguably the most vocal. And it had a large readership, which added to its impact.



As head of a vast newspaper empire in the United States, William Randolph Hearst helped introduce yellow journalism and bring on the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

Late in 1896, Hearst sent artist Frederic Remington to Cuba to sketch scenes depicting the inhumane treatment of Cubans. After only two weeks, however, Remington grew tired of the assignment and cabled his publisher that he wished to come home. Remington also stated that there would be no war. Hearst is alleged to have told Remington to provide the sketches, and he (Hearst) would provide the war.

Hearst never missed an opportunity to undertake a scheme that promised an attractive return in publicity or readership. One such plot was to rescue political captive Evangelina Cisneros from a Cuban prison on the Isle of Pines. Cisneros had been jailed by the Spanish for helping her father, a revolutionary, escape from captivity. Calling her a Cuban Joan of Arc, Hearst launched a major campaign on her behalf. Meanwhile, he dispatched reporter Karl Decker to rescue Cisneros, which the enterprising reporter managed to do. Hearst himself traveled to Cuba as a war correspondent in June 1898. He personally witnessed the fighting there and wrote accounts of the war for his own papers. He was particularly critical of the War Department for being so ill-prepared to conduct a war.

Along with Pulitzer, Hearst created what came to be known as yellow journalism. The term came about because two comic strips from the competing *World* and *Journal* featured characters garbed in bright yellow. As competition between the two papers intensified, with one vying to outdo the other, the brand of journalism spawned by this competition was referred to as yellow journalism, which lent itself to sensationalist stories, often embellished with

sketchy details, in order to sell more newspapers. Following the war, Hearst acquired numerous newspapers and periodicals, building an unrivaled publishing empire. At the zenith of his power, he owned 18 newspapers in a dozen cities and 9 periodicals, including *Harper's Bazaar* and *Good Housekeeping*. He did not limit himself to the printed word, however; he also acquired a motion picture studio, Cosmopolitan Productions. There can be little doubt that Hearst's newspapers kept the public eye on events in Cuba and fanned the flames of prowar sentiments in the United States.

In 1919, Hearst began construction of his famous castlelike home at San Simeon, California. This structure, which was completed in 1925, was given to the State of California in 1959, eight years after Hearst's death. Hearst died in Beverly Hills, California, on August 14, 1951. Orson Welles's *Citizen Kane*, considered one of the best films ever produced, is based loosely on Hearst's career.

JERRY KEENAN

See also

Artists and Illustrators; Cosío y Cisneros, Evangelina; Journalism; Pulitzer, Joseph; Remington, Frederic Sackrider; Yellow Journalism

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Hellings, Martin Luther

Birth Date: 1841

Death Date: 1908

Businessman and telegrapher who aided in military intelligence operations during the Spanish-American War. Martin Luther Hellings was born in Jenkinstown, Pennsylvania, in 1841 and served in the American Civil War. He saw action in numerous engagements and was wounded severely at the September 17, 1862, Battle of Antietam. During the war, he became interested in telegraphy, which ultimately led to a successful career in the field. Soon after the war ended, he joined the Western Union Telegraph Company. By the time of the Spanish-American War, he was managing the Ocean Telegraph Company, a subsidiary of Western Union located in Key West, Florida. He also had connections in high places and was a personal friend of Captain Charles Sigsbee, the commander of the ill-fated U.S. battleship *Maine*.

Hellings used his contacts and his knack for telegraphy to assist the war effort. In recognition of his abilities and contribution, the War Department commissioned him a captain in the U.S. (Volun-

teer) Army Signal Corps in May 1898. In fact, Hellings had already been involved with gathering intelligence on Spanish activities on the island of Cuba before the conflict began.

Hellings passed intelligence to the U.S. government in two ways. First, he arranged for the transmittal of secret messages from the U.S. consul in Cuba utilizing steamships owned and operated by the Plant Railroad and Steamship Company. This was especially the case prior to the beginning of armed hostilities. In this instance, Hellings's connections paid off handsomely. His wife came from a prominent and wealthy Florida family who had introduced him to Henry Bender Plant, the head of Plant Railroad and Steamship Company. It was through Sigsbee's initiative that Hellings first began collecting and passing intelligence to the U.S. government. This began as early as late 1897.

Hellings also used his long-standing contacts in Cuba to gather and transmit useful military intelligence. Working with Domingo Villaverde, a Western Union telegrapher in Havana who sympathized with the Cuban rebels, Hellings received many transmissions regarding Spanish activities and troop deployments in Cuba. Most notably, Hellings was the first person to alert Washington that Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron had arrived at Santiago de Cuba, information that Hellings had received from Villaverde. These operations were so secret that Secretary of War Russell A. Alger did not know about them until the war had ended.

Hellings remained with Western Union after the war and died in 1908.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; Military Intelligence; Plant Railroad and Steamship Company; Sigsbee, Charles Dwight

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Henry, Guy Vernor

Birth Date: March 9, 1839

Death Date: October 17, 1899

U.S. Army general. Born near Fort Smith, Arkansas, on March 9, 1839, Guy Vernor Henry graduated from the United States Military Academy, West Point, on May 5, 1861, and was commissioned a second lieutenant. He served throughout the American Civil War and in 1893 was belatedly awarded the Medal of Honor for his actions in the Battle of Cold Harbor on June 1, 1864, when he was a colonel of volunteers and commander of the 40th Massachusetts Regiment. Leading his brigade in an assault on the Confederate position during the battle, he had two horses shot from under him.

Following the Civil War, Henry fought in the Indian Wars of the American West and was breveted a brigadier general in the U.S. Army for his valor in the Battle of the Rosebud in Montana in 1876 in which he was shot in the face. As a major he served in the all-black 9th U.S. Cavalry Regiment during 1881–1894 and, as a colonel, commanded the all-black 10th U.S. Cavalry Regiment.

Henry was commanding Fort Assiniboine in north-central Montana when the Spanish-American War began. Appointed brigadier general of volunteers on May 4, 1898, he took command of the 1st Division of VII Corps at Tampa, Florida. Ordered to Cuba to participate in the Santiago Campaign to capture that city, he arrived in Cuba with his 3,300 men aboard the transport *St. Paul*. Following the surrender of Santiago on July 17, he was assigned to Major General Henry A. Miles's expeditionary force that invaded Puerto Rico. Henry's division departed Guantánamo on July 21 in the *Comanche* and landed at Guánica, Puerto Rico, on July 25. His force then moved through Yauco to Ponce. On August 6, he led his division from Ponce to Arecibo, where he was to rendezvous with forces under Brigadier General Theodore Schwan arriving from Mayagüez. Held up by heavy rains, Henry's men had only reached Utuado before the war was ended by the Protocol of Peace of August 12, 1898. Advanced to brigadier general in the regular army in October 1898, Henry commanded the military district of Ponce. On December 9, 1898, he succeeded Major General John R. Brooke as military governor of Puerto Rico and was promoted to major general of volunteers. Among Henry's actions, he eliminated taxes on basic food items. He served until May 9, 1899, when he was replaced by Brigadier General George W. Davis. Henry died in Washington, D.C., on October 17, 1899.

A son, Guy V. Henry Jr., also graduated from West Point, served in the Spanish-American War, and attained the rank of major general in the army.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Brooke, John Rutter; Guánica, Puerto Rico; Guantánamo, Battle of; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Peace, Protocol of; Ponce, Puerto Rico; Puerto Rico Campaign; Schwan, Theodore; Yauco, Battle of

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Higginson, Francis John

Birth Date: 1843

Death Date: September 13, 1931

U.S. Navy officer. Francis John Higginson was born in Deerfield, Massachusetts, in 1843. He joined the navy as an acting midshipman on September 21, 1857. After graduating from the United



U.S. Navy captain Francis J. Higginson commanded the battleship *Massachusetts* during the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

States Naval Academy, Annapolis, in July 1862, he served in the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron off Charleston during the American Civil War. He was the executive officer of the screw sloop *Housatonic* when that ship was sunk by a spar torpedo on the Confederate submarine *H. L. Hunley* on February 17, 1864. Higginson was promoted to lieutenant on August 1, 1862; to lieutenant commander on July 25, 1866; to commander on June 10, 1876; and to captain on September 27, 1891. Captain Higginson commanded the Brooklyn Navy Yard before taking command of the battleship *Massachusetts* in 1897.

During the Spanish-American War, Higginson's battleship took part in the naval blockade of Cuba. Higginson then commanded the naval escort for Major General Nelson A. Miles's expeditionary force to Puerto Rico that landed on the island at Guánica on July 25, 1898. Higginson was advanced to commodore on August 10, 1898. Following the war, he chaired the Lighthouse Board. Advanced to rear admiral on March 3, 1899, he subsequently commanded the North Atlantic Fleet during 1901–1903. In September 1902, Higginson participated in war games that pitted 16 of his ships in a simulated attack on Atlantic army coastal forts. He retired from the navy on July 19, 1905. Higginson died in Kingston, New York, on September 13, 1931.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Guánica, Puerto Rico; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Puerto Rico Campaign

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Hines, John Leonard

Birth Date: May 21, 1868

Death Date: October 13, 1968

American soldier, quartermaster in Cuba in 1898, and participant in the Philippine-American War beginning in 1900. John Leonard Hines went on to fight in France during World War I and become chief of staff of the U.S. Army from 1924 to 1926. Born in White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, on May 21, 1868, he graduated from the United States Military Academy, West Point, and was commissioned a second lieutenant. He then served with the 2nd Infantry Regiment in Nebraska and Montana until the outbreak of the Spanish-American War.

In April 1898, prior to the departure of the 2nd Infantry for Cuba, Hines was promoted to first lieutenant. He was acting quartermaster of the 2nd Infantry during the Cuban expedition and participated in the Battle of San Juan Hill (July 1, 1898). For his Cuban service, he was awarded the Silver Star. He remained on active duty in Cuba until 1900, when he was sent to the Philippines to assist in fighting Filipino insurgents there. In December 1900, he was promoted to captain and assigned to the 23rd Infantry.

With the end of the Philippine-American War, Hines served as an army quartermaster in the United States, Japan, and the Philippines during 1901–1912. In May 1912, he was promoted to major and reassigned to the 6th Infantry Regiment. From 1913 to 1914, he was adjutant of the U.S. Army's Western Department. From 1914 to 1916, he was adjutant of the 8th Infantry and the El Paso District. During 1916–1917, he served as adjutant to Brigadier General John J. Pershing in the Punitive Expedition into Mexico, which sought to capture Francisco "Pancho" Villa. At this time Hines and Pershing established a lasting friendship. In 1917, Hines became assistant adjutant of the Eastern Department. Promoted to lieutenant colonel in May 1917, he became adjutant of that department.

Following U.S. entry into World War I, Hines served as assistant to the adjutant of the American Expeditionary Forces from May to October 1917. In October 1917, he was promoted to colonel and assigned to the 16th Infantry, which fought under French command in France. In April 1918, he was promoted to brigadier general and given command of the 1st Brigade of the 1st Division, which fought at the Second Battle of the Marne in July 1918. In August 1918, Hines was advanced to major general and took command of the 4th Division of V Corps. He had gone from a quartermaster staff officer to a corps commander in 18 months and was the only American officer to consecutively command a regiment, a brigade, a division, and a corps during World War I.

From 1918 to 1919, Hines commanded III Corps in occupation duties in the German Rhineland. He then reverted to the peacetime rank of brigadier general and, from 1919 to 1921, commanded the 2nd, the 4th, and then the 5th Divisions.

In March 1921, Hines was advanced to regular army major general. He commanded VIII Corps from 1921 to 1922 and subsequently served as deputy chief of staff of the U.S. Army from December 1922 to September 1924. Pershing was instrumental in securing Hines's appointment to succeed him as chief of staff of the army, a post Hines held from September 1924 to November 1926. He then commanded IX Corps and, during 1930–1932, the Philippine Department. Hines retired from the military in May 1932. He died in Washington, D.C., on October 13, 1968. In 2000, as part of the Distinguished Soldiers series, he was honored on a U.S. postage stamp.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Pershing, John Joseph; San Juan Heights, Battle of

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Hist, USS

U.S. Navy armed yacht that saw significant action in Cuban waters during the Spanish-American War. Originally built as the civilian yacht *Thespia*, the ship was purchased by the U.S. Navy in April 1898 for wartime service. Armed with a single 3-pounder and four 1-pounder guns, the *Hist* was commissioned on May 13, 1898, at New York. The ship served as a dispatch vessel between Santiago and Guantánamo and saw action several times during the war. In company with the gunboat *Hornet* and armed tug *Wompatuck* on June 30, 1898, the *Hist* captured a Spanish-crewed schooner; engaged the Spanish gunboat *Centenila*, which it helped sink; and fired upon Spanish troops at Niguero. The actions occurred near Manzanillo, Cuba.

Later that same day, June 30, the *Hist* engaged a flotilla of Spanish combatants (eight gunboats and a torpedo boat) and shore batteries at Manzanillo. During the brief engagement, the *Hist* was hit 11 times but suffered no casualties while covering the withdrawal of the more heavily damaged *Hornet*. In this particular engagement, the U.S. ships managed to sink one of the Spanish gunboats and disable the torpedo boat.

Although the *Hist* was not engaged in the actual naval battle at Santiago de Cuba on July 3, 1898, the ship rescued 142 Spaniards from the disabled cruiser *Viscaya* following the battle. On July 11, members of the *Hist*'s crew helped cut the telegraph cable between

Media Luna and the Quizaro Islands. The *Hist* returned to Manzanillo on July 15, sinking 10 small Spanish ships. Five days later, it bombarded Santa Cruz and cut the Punta Carapacho–Cayo Obispo cable. When hostilities ended in August, the *Hist* had just completed another mission in the Manzanillo area.

The *Hist* remained in the postwar navy, going in and out of commission several times. Active service involved tours as a dispatch and supply vessel in the Caribbean and service as a tender to submarines and the frigate *Constitution*. The *Hist* was decommissioned for the last time on July 24, 1911, and then sold.

STEPEN SVONAVEC

See also

Cables and Cable-Cutting Operations; Manzanillo, Cuba, Actions at; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; United States Navy

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Hoar, George Frisbie

Birth Date: August 29, 1826

Death Date: September 30, 1904

U.S. politician, charter member of the Republican Party, U.S. congressman (1869–1877), and U.S. senator (1877–1904). Born on August 29, 1826, in Concord, Massachusetts, George Frisbie Hoar was the grandson, son, and brother of prominent lawyers and politicians. He attended Concord Academy before graduating from Harvard College in 1846 and from Harvard Law School in 1849. He then entered private law practice in Worcester, Massachusetts.

Hoar was initially a supporter of the Free Soil Party in Massachusetts but then became one of the leading organizers of the Republican Party along with his brother E. Rockwood Hoar and his father Samuel Hoar. George Hoar was elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1852 and to the Massachusetts Senate in 1857. He went on to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1869 to 1877. While in the House, he was a member of the Electoral Commission for the bitterly contested presidential election of 1876 and was also involved in pursuing the successful impeachment proceedings against Secretary of War William W. Belknap, who served in the Ulysses S. Grant administration from 1869 to 1876. In 1877, Hoar was elected to the U.S. Senate, where he served until his death in 1904.

Although he was a prominent figure in the Republican Party, Hoar rejected much of the party partisanship that was common at the time. He did not hesitate to criticize even his own party members when they were involved in political corruption or other scandals. He championed many reforms, including women's suffrage



Republican U.S. representative and senator from Massachusetts George Frisbie Hoar was a staunch advocate of American imperialism. (Chaiba Media)

and the rights of African Americans and Native Americans. He was also an outspoken opponent of the anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant American Protective Association.

During the Spanish-American War, Hoar became one of the leading adversaries of President William McKinley's expansionist foreign policy. Hoar especially condemned the administration's involvement in the Philippines and the Philippine-American War as a waste of lives on both sides. He strongly believed that the conflict would inflict more harm than good because the image of the United States as the beacon of democracy and freedom would suffer in a war that smacked of Old World colonialism.

By early 1902, some of the darker aspects of the Philippine-American War were becoming clear to the American public with increasingly frequent reportage of atrocities committed by both sides. Brigadier General Jacob Hurd Smith's orders during the Samar Campaign for his men to "kill everyone over the age of ten" and make the island "a howling wilderness" became a cause for great concern in Congress. Hoar, who was only one of two anti-imperialist Republican members of the Committee on the Philippines, demanded an investigation. The Committee on the Philippines, under the chairmanship of Republican senator Henry Cabot Lodge, was entrusted with the investigation, which was not open to the public. Between January 31 and June 28, 1902, the committee, which was also called the Lodge Committee, held several closed hearings regarding alleged cruelties inflicted upon Filipino

prisoners by American servicemen. The hearings became a forum for Lodge (a proponent of imperialism) and Hoar to present their opposing positions regarding U.S. imperialist policies.

In addition to his political career, Hoar was active in other endeavors. In 1865, he was one of the founders of the Worcester County Free Institute of Industrial Science (now the Worcester Polytechnic Institute). He was an overseer of Harvard University during 1874–1880 and again from 1896 until his death. In 1880, he served as a regent of the Smithsonian Institution, and he was also a trustee of the Peabody Museum. He chaired the National Unitarian Conference in 1899 following his brother's death and served terms as president of the American Historical Association and the American Antiquarian Society. His *Autobiography of Seventy Years* was published in 1903. Hoar died on September 30, 1904, in Worcester, Massachusetts.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Atrocities; Committee on the Philippines; Lodge, Henry Cabot; McKinley, William; Philippine-American War, U.S. Reaction to; Smith, Jacob Hurd

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Hobart, Garret Augustus

Birth Date: June 3, 1844

Death Date: November 21, 1899

Vice president of the United States (1897–1899). Garret Augustus Hobart was born in Long Branch, New Jersey, on June 3, 1844. He graduated at the top of his class from Rutgers College, New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 1863. He did not see American Civil War service but taught school and then was a clerk for the grand jury of Passaic County, New Jersey, in 1865. He then read for the law. Admitted to the bar in 1866, he opened a legal practice in Patterson, New Jersey. He was elected a judge in Patterson in 1868.

In 1871, after his father-in-law Socrates Tuttle was elected mayor of Patterson, Hobart was appointed as the city counsel. The next year, he was elected as counsel for the board of freeholders. He was then a member of the New Jersey General Assembly from 1872 to 1876, serving as its Speaker in 1874, and the State Senate from 1876 to 1882 and was its president during 1881–1882. He was the first individual to have held the leadership positions in both houses of the New Jersey legislature.



Vice President Garret Augustus Hobart favored U.S. territorial expansion overseas and played a key role in the acquisition of the Philippine Islands. (Library of Congress)

Hobart acquired considerable personal wealth as a corporate attorney and was also involved in the banking industry. He was a member of the Republican National Committee during 1884–1896. Seen as an ideal choice to unite business interests behind William McKinley and as an easterner who would balance McKinley, who was from the Midwest, Hobart was nominated by the Republican Party in 1896 for vice president on the ticket headed by McKinley. The Republican ticket won the election of November 1896, and Hobart served as vice president of the United States from March 4, 1897.

As vice president, Hobart completely agreed with McKinley's conservatism and enjoyed a close relationship with the president. Although Hobart did not attend cabinet meetings, the president consulted with him on a regular basis and considered Hobart a trusted adviser. The Hobarts acquired a house on Lafayette Square that soon became known as the "Little Cream White House." There the Hobarts entertained lavishly. McKinley's wife was an epileptic, and Jennie Hobart fulfilled many of the functions of First Lady.

Hobart presided over the Senate during the debate on belligerent rights that followed the sinking of the battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor in February 1898. In early April 1898, he informed

McKinley that he could no longer hold back the Senate on this issue and that if McKinley did not act soon, the Senate would declare war on its own. McKinley then called on Congress to declare war, which Hobart strongly supported.

Hobart played a key role in the U.S. acquisition of the Philippine Islands. Following the Senate ratification of the Treaty of Paris, on February 14, 1899, Hobart cast the deciding vote that rejected the Bacon Amendment. It disclaimed any intention by the United States to exercise permanent sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the Philippines. The Bacon Amendment also advocated early recognition of Philippine independence.

Beginning in early 1899, Hobart suffered fainting spells brought on by heart problems. He died of heart failure in Patterson, New Jersey, on November 21, 1899. This created the opening for Progressive Republicans to nominate Spanish-American War hero and New York governor Theodore Roosevelt as McKinley's running mate in 1900. Roosevelt went on to become president in 1901 after McKinley was assassinated.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Bacon Amendment; *Maine*, USS, Inquiries into the Loss of; McKinley, William; Philippine Islands, U.S. Acquisition of; Roosevelt, Theodore

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Hobson, Richmond Pearson

Birth Date: August 17, 1870

Death Date: March 16, 1937

U.S. Navy officer and politician. Richmond Pearson Hobson was born on his mother's plantation in Greensboro, Alabama, on August 17, 1870. After completing private school, he attended Southern University in his hometown before enrolling in the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, at age 14. He graduated first in his class in 1889 despite being ostracized by his fellow cadets for his devout religious beliefs and strict observance of the honor code. He then studied naval architecture in France from 1890 to 1893.

Returning to the United States, Hobson was appointed a naval constructor at the Navy Department in Washington, D.C., traveling to various naval shipyards along the East Coast. In 1897, he taught at Annapolis before being assigned to Key West, Florida, on the eve of the Spanish-American War.

In May 1898, Admiral William T. Sampson ordered Lieutenant Hobson to scuttle the *Merrimac*, a collier (coal-transporting ship), at the entrance of the harbor at Santiago de Cuba in order to try to trap the Spanish squadron moored there. Under darkness in the early morning hours of June 3, 1898, Hobson and a crew of seven volunteers were nearing the harbor entrance when they were discovered.



U.S. Navy lieutenant Richmond Pearson Hobson commanded the collier *Merrimac* in an unsuccessful effort on June 3, 1898, to block the entrance to Santiago Harbor, Cuba, and bottle up the Spanish squadron there. He was then taken prisoner. (John Clark Ridpath, *Ridpath's History of the World*, 1901)

The Spanish shore batteries then opened fire on the *Merrimac* and disabled its steering as Hobson attempted unsuccessfully to turn the ship to starboard and detonate charges to sink the vessel in the appropriate location. The ship went down in Santiago Harbor well past the entrance, its upper deck still above water. All crew members escaped unharmed but were taken prisoner by the Spanish, who praised them for their brave deed. Hobson and his crew were held in Morro Castle, located on a high bluff overlooking the harbor. For their action, the members of the crew were awarded the Medal of Honor in 1899, all except Hobson who, as an officer, was not then eligible for the award.

The Spanish exchanged Hobson on July 6, 1898. He found himself a hero and celebrity and made numerous appearances across the United States. Following the war, the navy appointed him to determine if any Spanish warships could be raised and salvaged in Cuba and the Philippines. In all, five ships were salvaged. Because of eye problems, Hobson requested a medical discharge from the navy, which was denied in 1900. In 1901, the U.S. Congress issued a joint resolution praising Hobson for the *Merrimac* mission and promoted him to captain. The navy appointed him as its representative to both the Buffalo Exposition and the Charleston Exposition (1901 and 1902, respectively). He resigned from the navy in 1903.

After leaving the navy, Hobson became a sought-after speaker and lectured across the country. The following year, in 1904, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, where he served until 1916. In Congress, he was regarded as a leading authority on naval affairs, working closely with President Theodore Roosevelt, a former assistant secretary of the navy, to improve the navy while warning of the threat posed by Japan and Russia. Hobson also championed women's suffrage and prohibition, views that helped end his political career. After leaving politics, he continued to press for national prohibition and fought against drug abuse, leading several national and international antidrug and antialcohol organizations.

In 1933, Hobson received the Medal of Honor for his exploits aboard the *Merrimac*. The next year, he was promoted to rear admiral (retired) and received a pension by special act of Congress. Hobson died in New York City on March 16, 1937, and was buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

GREGORY C. FERENCE

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Morro Castle; Roosevelt, Theodore; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of

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Holguín, Cuba

Major inland city of southeastern Cuba. Holguín is located northwest of Santiago de Cuba and played a small role during the Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign (June 22–July 17, 1898). Founded in 1545, Holguín was named for its founder, Spanish military officer García de Holguín, and was originally called San Isidoro de Holguín. The city was industrialized at the time of the Spanish-American War and featured sugar-processing plants and mining and smelting operations. It was also a rail terminus for eastern Cuba. Cuban revolutionary General Calixto García y Iñiguez hailed from the area, as would Fidel and Raul Castro.

Until 1905, Holguín was located in Santiago de Cuba Province, serving as its capital city. In that year Holguín was incorporated into a new province, known as Oriente (East). In 1976, Oriente Province would be broken up into five smaller provinces: Las Tunas, Granma, Holguín, Santiago de Cuba, and Guantánamo. The city is now the capital of Holguín Province.

On July 3, 1898, when the Spanish squadron was decisively defeated in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba, Major General William Shafter, commanding V Corps, contacted Spanish general José Toral y Vázquez, commander of the Spanish garrison at Santiago de Cuba, requesting that he surrender the city. Shafter threatened to shell the city if Toral refused. Nevertheless, Toral did not surrender

but instead pursued additional negotiations. In a counterproposal, he suggested that the Spanish be allowed to leave their garrison, surrender the city, and march unimpeded to Holguín while retaining their arms. Shafter viewed the counteroffer in a positive light, but Washington insisted on unconditional surrender. After a brief and light battle on July 10 and 11, Toral agreed to Shafter's conditions on July 13. The surrender went into effect on July 17 upon the agreement of Governor-General Ramón Blanco y Erenas.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Blanco y Erenas, Ramón; García y Iníguez, Calixto; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Shafter, William Rufus; Toral y Vázquez, José

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Homestead Steel Strike

Start Date: June 30, 1892

End Date: November 20, 1892

Labor strike at the Homestead steel mill, part of the giant Carnegie Steel Company in western Pennsylvania located along the Monongahela River about seven miles southeast of Pittsburgh. The strike began with a lockout of striking employees on June 30, 1892; escalated to armed conflict on July 6 that killed 10 and injured dozens more; and ended on November 20 in a humiliating defeat for the strikers. The Homestead Steel Strike was one of the worst labor-management conflicts in U.S. history and was an ill omen of more labor unrest to come during the turbulent decade of the 1890s.

The conflict pitted the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers (AA) against the management of Carnegie Steel, in

particular Henry Clay Frick who headed most of the company's operations. Although Andrew Carnegie, the company's founder, had variously voiced his support for unions, Frick was a rabid union basher. Carnegie knew this but nevertheless left for a vacation in Scotland in the late spring of 1892. This left Frick, a ruthlessly cruel man, in sole control of contract negotiations with the union. It was his hope to crush the steel union by issuing it an ultimatum and then locking workers out if they refused to accept his conditions.

During new contract negotiations that had commenced in February 1892, AA negotiators had requested a general wage increase in light of cost-of-living increases. Complaining about the falling prices for steel, Frick countered with a 22-cent decrease in wages for nearly half of the company's AA workers. The union balked, and Frick asserted on April 30 that if the union did not come to an agreement within 30 days, the company would no longer negotiate with the union, with the tacit understanding that AA workers would be terminated. Meanwhile, Carnegie had clandestinely encouraged Frick to take any means necessary to crush the union. To reinforce his message, Frick began slashing the wages of nonunionized employees. Then, on June 25, he declared a permanent end to the stalled negotiations and prepared for a lockout.

On June 28, Frick began locking out selected union workers, and on June 29, all of the AA workers were locked out. Many of the nonunion workers voted to strike in sympathy, with the total number of workers locked out climbing to 3,000, far more than Frick had anticipated. To show that he meant business, he ordered the construction of a 3-mile-long fence, 12 feet in height, that surrounded the closed plant. The fence even had a barbed-wire top and holes for rifles. The striking workers quickly dubbed the Homestead mill "Fort Frick." When local police authorities proved unable to handle the massive strike, Frick called in a small army of Pinkerton detectives, essentially a private police force, to guard the mill's perimeter and keep the strikers out. This precipitated a melee that became one of the most infamous labor-management battles in U.S. history.

Hoping to reopen the plant with nonunion workers, Frick was determined to break through the strike lines to allow new workers in.

Work Stoppages in the United States, 1881–1903

Year	Total Stoppages	Total Workers Involved	Major Motivating Issue		
			Wages and Hours	Union Organization	Other
1881	477	130,000	80%	7%	13%
1883	506	170,000	74%	11%	15%
1885	695	253,000	70%	10%	20%
1887	1,503	439,000	36%	20%	44%
1889	1,111	260,000	60%	16%	24%
1891	1,786	330,000	49%	19%	32%
1893	1,375	288,000	57%	19%	24%
1895	1,255	407,000	65%	17%	18%
1897	1,110	416,000	61%	17%	22%
1899	1,838	432,000	55%	26%	19%
1901	3,012	564,000	47%	34%	19%
1903	3,648	788,000	49%	33%	18%



Illustration from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, July 14, 1892, of Homestead Steel strikers attacking Pinkerton men. During the Homestead Strike in July 1892, union strikers drove the Pinkerton agents from the plant site. State militia, however, allowed nonunion labor, or scabs, to enter the factory. (Library of Congress)

Because the plant was surrounded by strikers, the only way in was by river barge. On the night of July 5, 1892, some 300 Pinkerton detectives armed with Winchester rifles took to the Monongahela River in two barges to take back the steel mill. The workers had gained knowledge of the Pinkerton assault and stood in wait, determined not to allow the small army to land. Around 3:00 a.m. on July 6, workers sounded the plant's whistles, rousing the workers as the barges approached. They dashed toward the plant, and as the barges came into view, several workers opened fire. The Pinkertons returned fire as the throng of workers closed ranks to form a human shield against an attempted landing. At 4:00 a.m., the Pinkertons prepared to land and wade ashore. It is unclear who fired first, but a hail of gunfire ensued, and the Pinkertons were forced to retreat onto the barges. As the Pinkertons sat in the middle of the river, the strikers tried desperately to sink the barges with gunfire, homemade incendiary devices, and even an old 20-pounder cannon.

At 8:00 a.m., the Pinkertons attempted another landing but were forced back by gunfire. One striker even lobbed dynamite sticks at

the barges, hoping to set them afire. Meanwhile, the strikers were being reinforced by steelworkers from neighboring areas, including Pittsburgh. Sporadic fighting occurred all through the day until the Pinkertons were forced to surrender at around 5:00 p.m. When the carnage was over, 3 Pinkertons and 7 strikers lay dead, while perhaps 150 or more were injured.

On July 7, the Pennsylvania State Militia was mobilized. The soldiers took the strikers by surprise, dispersed them, and managed to reopen the plant. Within a few days, the management staff was back in their offices in the Homestead mill, and a steady stream of nonunion workers began pouring into the plant while the militia held the strikers at bay. The standoff continued until November 20, 1892, when AA members voted to end the strike. They had lost the war. The union had been nearly bankrupted by the strike as it struggled to pay its members who had been locked out, and it had lost much of its support after the fight with the Pinkertons. After the strike, the AA had only negligible influence in Carnegie Steel, and Frick had ultimately won by emasculating the union. The Homestead Steel Strike was a clear harbinger of more labor unrest to come as the Panic of 1893 and the economic depression of 1893–1897 settled in.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Carnegie, Andrew; Frick, Henry Clay; Gilded Age; Labor Union Movement; Robber Barons

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Hong Kong

Key port city in southeastern China and the center of Filipino expatriate activity, intelligence, and diplomatic communications during the Philippine Revolution and the Philippine-American War. Hong Kong Island is located on the eastern side of the Pearl River Delta in China. Hong Kong, meaning “fragrant island,” borders the Guangdong (Canton) Province to the north and the South China Sea to the east, south, and west. Initially occupied by the British in January 1841 during the Opium Wars between Britain and China, Britain secured Hong Kong from China in the Treaty of Nanjing (Nanking) of 1842. Hong Kong then became a crown colony and remained so until 1997, at which time the British turned the city over to the People's Republic of China. Today, Hong Kong is one of the world's greatest and most diverse cities, a city of old and new, East and West. Approximately 6.86 million people now call the city home.

Hong Kong's close proximity to Manila and the protection granted to political refugees there by the British colonial govern-

ment made the city an ideal location for the Filipino resistance. Working from this center of international trade, the Filipino revolutionaries could easily contact other foreign agents, facilitating both diplomatic exchanges and the purchase of weapons and military supplies.

Beginning in 1872, persecuted Filipinos fled to Hong Kong, seeking a haven for their anticolonial activities. José Rizal, who later formed the Liga Filipina, lived in that city before the Philippine Revolution of 1896. During that revolution, Filipino ilustrados and resistance leaders, such as Felipe Agoncillo, built intelligence networks and diplomatic contacts while in exile in Hong Kong. They also formed the Hong Kong Junta to organize resistance activities against Spain and later the United States.

In 1897, the Pact of Biak-na-Bato exiled Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy and other revolutionaries to Hong Kong. Aguinaldo and his compatriots quickly established a base of operations there to smuggle arms, food, clothing, and medicine back to the Philippines. During this time, the Filipino leaders also worked to establish diplomatic ties with the United States, Japan, and Australia.

At the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Aguinaldo and the junta negotiated with the U.S. Navy in Hong Kong for a return to the islands. In May 1898, the U.S. Navy returned Aguinaldo to the Philippines; he believed that he had the support of the United States against Spain. The Hong Kong Junta became the Filipino Central Committee, an arm of the Philippine Department of Foreign Affairs, that sent diplomatic representatives to Paris, Tokyo, Madrid, London, and Washington, D.C.

The Philippine-American War began in February 1899, and Hong Kong became a de facto center of government and operations for the First Philippine Republic. Filipinos abroad sent news to the committee in Hong Kong, which distributed it to the Philippines informing the Filipino populace of American anti-imperialist debates, U.S. elections, and party platforms. American anti-imperialists often communicated with the Hong Kong Junta, pledging support and offering updates on U.S. public reaction to the war. Indeed, the Hong Kong Junta employed the American anti-imperialists as a conduit for their propaganda in the United States, sending war reports and pleas for independence through these channels in an attempt to stir public sympathy in their favor.

Intelligence and diplomatic operations continued in Hong Kong until the end of the Philippine-American War in 1902. The U.S. State Department formally assumed diplomatic control of the Philippines from 1902 to 1941, delegitimizing the Filipino Central Committee in Hong Kong. However, Agoncillo and Filipino expatriates continued their propaganda campaigns and communications in support of Philippine independence until July 31, 1903, when they officially disbanded the Filipino Central Committee.

DAWN OTTEVAERE

See also

Agoncillo, Felipe; Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Anti-Imperialist League; Biak-na-Bato, Pact of; Liga Filipina; Philippine-American War, U.S. Reaction to; Rizal, José; Spain

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Hormigueros, Battle of

Event Date: August 10, 1898

The site of a brief skirmish on August 10, 1898, between U.S. troops under the command of Brigadier General Thomas Schwan and Spanish troops under Captain José Torrecillas during Major General Nelson A. Miles’s Puerto Rico Campaign. The town of Hormigueros, Puerto Rico, is located seven miles south of Mayagüez. The Battle of Hormigueros was the first engagement involving Schwan’s troops during the campaign.

Schwan’s column of 1,447 men departed Yauco on August 9 and had moved through Sabana Grande and San Germán to Mayagüez before they encountered Torrecillas’s 6th Company of the Alfonso XIII Battalion and a company of guerrillas at Hormigueros. The engagement between the two sides lasted for about two hours, after which the Spanish withdrew. In the skirmish, the Spanish lost 1 dead and 9 wounded according to Spanish reports and about 50 casualties according to U.S. reports. The Americans lost 1 killed and 16 wounded. The rapid withdrawal of the Spanish forces following the engagement allowed Schwan to occupy Mayagüez the next day.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Miles, Nelson Appleton; Puerto Rico Campaign; Schwan, Theodore; Yauco, Battle of

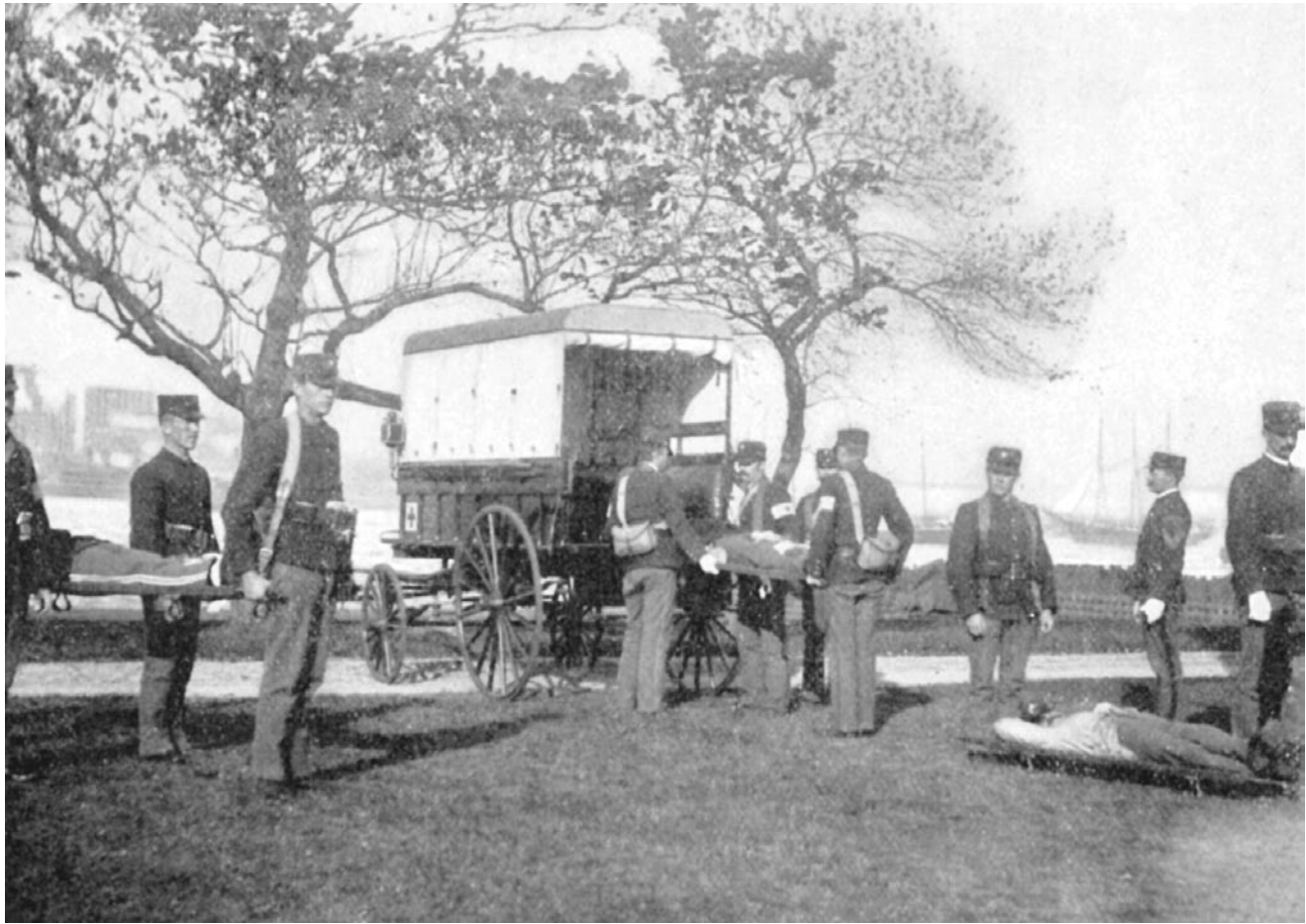
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Hospital Corps

Organization established in August 1886 for hospital attendants. Since the first women’s nursing school in the United States was not established until 1873, there was no supply of female hospital nurses, and in 1898, the corps was entirely male. The Hospital Corps was divided into three classes—steward, acting steward, and private—and in time of war was charged with providing patient care in military hospitals as well as with running the military ambulance service.

Each regiment had four litter bearers, and it was intended that those men, after serving for a year and passing an examination,



Litter bearers of the Hospital Corps load wounded soldiers into a horse-drawn ambulance. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War, 1898*)

could be promoted into the Hospital Corps. A private in the Hospital Corps, after serving a year and passing another examination, could be promoted to acting steward. Initial rules called for another year of service and yet another examination for promotion to steward, but personnel shortages led to reducing the service requirement to three months during the Spanish-American War. The minimal pay differential between the Hospital Corps and line regiments coupled with physically demanding work and the risk of infection led to the corps being quite unpopular and chronically understaffed.

As of May 1, 1898, the Hospital Corps comprised 99 hospital stewards, 100 acting stewards, and 592 privates, but these men served in the regular army and thus did not address the needs of the rapid volunteer expansion. The April act of Congress that established the volunteer force authorized 1 steward for each regular army battalion, 25 hospital privates for each regiment, and an additional 50 privates for each division. These men were, however, attached to the line units, and no formal hospital corps was authorized for the new volunteer units. Even those National Guard units that already had hospital corps were forced to disband them. As a result, regimental nursing was regularly done by farm boys and city dwellers who typically had neither training nor enthusi-

asm for their jobs. Most had been assigned to hospital duty because they were either poor soldiers or were physically unable to function as combat soldiers.

The obvious deficiency led to a change in the law allowing transfer of 25 men from each regiment and an additional 50 men from each division to a hospital corps. In spite of the change, the hospital nursing in the volunteer units remained inadequate. Line commanders often simply refused to give up men to the Hospital Corps. Those who did get posted were of wildly variable ability. At the top end were men who had been pharmacists, medical students, and even practicing physicians in civilian life. At the bottom were what historian Mary Gillett has referred to as “drunkards, epileptics, and other worthless men,” shunted off from units that did not want them. A course in hospital nursing had been developed at Washington Barracks, but the rapid expansion of the volunteer force left no time for training new corpsmen, and most were simply given the *Handbook for the Hospital Corps* and trained on the job.

By June, the Hospital Corps numbered 133 stewards, 172 acting stewards, and 2,940 privates, and by November, the corps had grown to more than 6,000. However, the greatest improvement in hospital care came as a result of Surgeon General George Stern-

berg's authorization to contract with 1,700 female nurses. After the war, the Dodge Commission recommended retention of a permanent Hospital Corps for volunteer units to be supplemented by a reserve corps of trained female nurses.

JACK MCCALLUM

See also

Dodge Commission; Medicine, Military

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Howell, John Adams

Birth Date: March 6, 1840

Death Date: January 10, 1918

U.S. naval officer. Born in Bath, New York, on March 6, 1840, John Adams Howell entered the U.S. Navy as an acting midshipman in September 1854, becoming a midshipman in June 1858. During the American Civil War, he saw duty in the blockade of the Confederacy and participated in the Battle of Mobile Bay in August 1864. Promoted to lieutenant in April 1861, he became a lieutenant commander in March 1865. Following the Civil War, he interspersed tours with the North Atlantic Squadron and coast survey duty. He was also assigned shore duty at the United States Naval Academy, being promoted to commander in April 1872 while with the Coast Survey.

Howell was a scientifically inclined officer known for his work on gyroscopes and other inventions, and while serving at the Naval Academy in 1870 he conceived the Howell Torpedo. His first command at sea was with the screw steamer *Adams* on the Pacific Station from 1879 to 1881. During the 1880s, he held a series of ordnance-related postings, continuing to aid in the development of torpedo technology even though the Howell Torpedo never overcame its design flaws and ultimately lost out to an improved version of the Whitehead Torpedo. Howell also invented a disappearing gun carriage.

Howell was promoted to captain in March 1884 and, in December 1888, assumed command of the cruiser *Atlanta*, one of the navy's first steel warships. In the early 1890s, he served as president of the navy's Steel Board with responsibility for ensuring the quality of steel being used to build the rapidly expanding modern navy. From 1893 to 1896, he served as commandant of the Washington Navy Yard, being promoted to commodore in May 1895. In June 1896, he assumed the position of commandant at the League Island Navy Yard in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, remaining in this position until January 1898.

When it came time to select a new commander of the U.S. Asiatic Squadron in late 1897, Howell was one of three candidates for the position. Although he had political backing from Senator

William Chandler of New Hampshire, a former secretary of the navy, in the end Howell lost out to Commodore George Dewey. Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt perceived Dewey to be the more aggressive officer and pushed him for the post.

Instead, Howell relieved Rear Admiral Thomas O. Selfridge Jr. in command of the European Squadron, then concentrated at Lisbon, Portugal, in early February 1898. As war loomed with Spain, this squadron, including the cruiser *San Francisco* (flagship) and the recently purchased cruiser *New Orleans*, returned to the United States in mid-April. Later that month, Howell was assigned command of the Northern Patrol Squadron, a small force intended to assuage public fears of a possible Spanish attack by patrolling the East Coast between Delaware and Maine. Employing the *San Francisco* as his flagship, Howell never had more than six ships under his command, almost all of them recently purchased converted cruisers. As expected, his squadron never had to face a Spanish attack.

On June 25, 1898, with only a remote potential Spanish threat and with Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron blockaded at Santiago de Cuba, Howell was ordered to Key West, Florida, to assume command of the 1st Squadron of the North Atlantic Fleet. He relieved Commodore John Watson on July 1 and assumed command of the American blockade of Cuba's northern coast for the rest of the war.

Promoted to rear admiral on August 10, 1898, Howell briefly commanded the North Atlantic Fleet later that month before going ashore that fall for the remainder of his naval career. He served as president of the Naval Examining Board from November 1898 to October 1900 and president of the Naval Retiring Board from November 1898 to March 1902. He retired in March 1902 upon reaching the statutory age limit. Howell resided in Atlantic City, New Jersey, for a time and died on January 10, 1918, in Warrenton, Virginia.

STEPHEN SVONAVEC

See also

Cuba, U.S. Naval Blockade of; Dewey, George; North Atlantic Squadron; Northern Patrol Squadron; Roosevelt, Theodore; Watson, John Crittenden

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Hubbard, Elbert

Birth Date: June 19, 1856

Death Date: May 7, 1915

American writer, editor, and publisher and author of the wildly popular "A Message to Garcia," an essay extolling the virtues of



Elbert Hubbard wrote the popular inspirational essay “A Message to Garcia” during the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

American initiative and ingenuity. Born on June 19, 1856, in Bloomington, Illinois, Elbert Hubbard was raised in Hudson, Illinois. His father was a country doctor.

Hubbard’s first job was selling soap door-to-door for the Chicago-based firm of J. Weller & Company. In 1875, his brother-in-law John Durrant Larkin established J. D. Larkin Manufacturer of Plain and Fancy Soaps in Buffalo, New York. Larkin hired Hubbard as his first salesman. With Hubbard’s assistance, the company grew rapidly. Hubbard introduced the tactic of visiting homes, leaving a sample of Larkin’s soap for the family to try and returning a few days later to sell soap to the pleased family. Hubbard also pioneered the concept of mail order merchandising. In 1878, Hubbard and Larkin formed a partnership and incorporated the company as the Larkin Soap Company.

Hubbard published his first of many novels in 1891. He sold his share of the soap company in 1892 for \$75,000 in order to pursue a full-time literary career. He then enrolled at Harvard University but quickly became disillusioned with formal academic studies and set out on an extended tour of Britain. English socialist William Morris introduced Hubbard to the arts and crafts movement. Influenced by Morris’s success with Kelmscott Press, on his return to the United States in 1895 Hubbard founded an arts and crafts community in East Aurora, New York.

Hubbard’s reformist community of artists and craft workers grew rapidly. Members of the community, known as Roycrofters, established their own factory, printing press, blacksmith shop, farm, and bank. They even built an inn for visitors and marketed a line of gifts that included handcrafts, candy, jam, and furniture. The self-sufficient community grew to more than 500 people by the end of the 19th century and had a strong influence on American design and architecture during the early decades of the 20th century. The Roycroft Press printed books on handmade paper bound in tooled leather.

Hubbard was the editor and publisher of the *Philistine* in the late 1890s. In June 1895, he published the first edition of *Philistine*, which continued until his death. The magazine provided Hubbard with a venue for transmitting his opinions and philosophy. He published thousands of inspirational essays supporting rugged individualism. The essays were intended to help Americans cope with the emergent forces of industrialization and urbanization. His most famous and influential essay, “A Message to Garcia,” was written in one hour on February 22, 1899. The essay was first published in the March 1899 issue of the *Philistine* and recounted the actions of Andrew Summers Rowan, an American soldier who was ordered to carry a message to Cuban revolutionary Calixto García y Iñiguez just prior to the Spanish-American War. In the essay, Hubbard praised the soldier for his initiative, fortitude, and ingenuity. For the rest of his life, Hubbard was one of the most popular lecturers in the United States. His success enabled him to launch another magazine, *The Fra*, in 1908.

Hubbard turned East Aurora into an intellectual gathering point and was frequently called “the sage of East Aurora.” In 1907, he gave the American poet Carl Sandburg the chance to speak publicly, launching him on his career. In 1908, Hubbard published four of Sandburg’s poems in *The Fra*. In 1912, Hubbard eloquently wrote about Ida Straus, the wife of Macy’s department store co-owner Isidor Straus, who refused to abandon her husband while the British passenger liner *Titanic* sank in the North Atlantic in 1912. Rather ironically, Hubbard and his wife perished on May 7, 1915, when a German submarine sank the *Lusitania*, the British luxury passenger ship on which they were passengers. The ship went down just eight miles off the Irish coast. Hubbard’s son Bert continued to run the Roycroft community until it closed in 1938.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

“Message to Garcia, A”

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Hull, John Albert Tiffin

Birth Date: May 1, 1841

Death Date: September 26, 1928

Businessman, attorney, Republican Party politician, and U.S. congressman from Iowa (1891–1911). John Albert Tiffin Hull was born in Sabina, Ohio, on May 1, 1841, but moved to Iowa with his family in 1849. He attended the public schools there and then pursued studies at Indiana Asbury College (now Depauw University) and Iowa Wesleyan College before taking up the study of law at Cincinnati Law School in Ohio. In the spring of 1862, he received his law degree and was then admitted to the bar later that same year. Anxious to begin his practice, he made his way to Iowa's capital city of Des Moines.

Before Hull began his practice, however, he decided to enlist in the Iowa 23rd Volunteer Infantry Regiment. Commissioned a lieutenant, he rose to the rank of captain before he was wounded in combat in October 1863. He then resigned his commission and returned home to take up his law practice.

In addition to law, Hull was involved in farming and banking, which made him a wealthy man at a relatively young age. By the early 1870s, he had also become interested in Republican Party politics, which led him to elective office in his native state. In 1872, he became the secretary of the Iowa State Senate, a post to which he was reelected in 1874, 1876, and 1878. In 1878, he was elected as Iowa's secretary of state and was reelected in 1880 and 1882. Continuing his political ascendancy, he secured election to lieutenant governor in 1885, a post he held until 1889.

Hull decided to move into national politics and campaigned for a congressional seat representing Iowa in 1890. Winning the election, he was sworn into office on March 4, 1891. He rose in seniority to become the chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee. It was in this capacity that he became a lightning rod of controversy between the U.S. Army and the National Guard.

In March 1898, just weeks before the war declaration against Spain, Hull introduced a bill designed to streamline U.S. defenses and build up the U.S. Army so that there would be a ready reserve of men in case of war. He helped write the legislation, which became known as the Hull Bill, with the aid of the U.S. War Department, and as such it had the support of both President William McKinley and Secretary of War Russell Alger. It was Hull's intention to address deficiencies in mobilization and reserve forces for the long haul rather than simply react to the likely conflict with Spain. What Hull and Alger envisioned was a ready reserve force within the U.S. Army that could quickly swing into action at the first sign of war.

Hull now found himself in the middle of an ugly tug-of-war between the U.S. Army and the National Guard. When a vote was taken on the Hull Bill on April 7, 1898, the measure was defeated by a large margin of 155 to 61. Hull abandoned the bill altogether, and the nation mobilized for the Spanish-American War based upon old systems that dated to the American Civil War and before. Un-

fortunately, the defeat of the bill compelled the McKinley administration to pursue an enlistment program during the war that was rife with political influence. The net result was a highly decentralized mobilization apparatus that brought with it great waste and inefficiency. Many saw the failure of the bill as a rebuke of Secretary Alger and, to a smaller degree, Representative Hull.

Hull left office in March 1911 after losing a renomination bid and returned to the practice of law, this time in Washington, D.C. He retired in 1916 and died in Clarendon, Virginia, on September 26, 1928.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; Hull Bill; McKinley, William; National Guard, U.S.; United States Army

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Hull Bill

Congressional bill sponsored by Republican U.S. representative John A. T. Hull designed to restructure manpower mobilization for U.S. ground forces. The bill was introduced in March 1898 but was defeated by a wide margin on April 7, 1898.

The Hull Bill called for the creation of three battalions in each U.S. Army regiment, the third battalion being essentially a reserve force that would be a skeleton battalion during peacetime. By structuring U.S. forces in this manner, the War Department believed that it could deflect criticism that the bill was creating a large peacetime standing army, at that time anathema to most Americans. Despite this shell game, however, the size of the army would still have nearly quadrupled to almost 105,000 men. The Hull Bill would have virtually eliminated the practice of relying on the states for manpower. The National Guard would have been relegated chiefly to coastal defense and as a reserve pool of soldiers, which the U.S. Army could tap when necessary.

The bill, which was fully supported by the William McKinley administration, was not without precedent. In 1818, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun had urged a mobilization act that would provide for an expandable army in time of war by keeping in place a permanent peacetime staff. Implicit in the Calhoun and Hull approach was the idea that effective planning and staffing in peacetime would provide for smoother mobilizations in times of war.

By creating a reserve force structure and reducing reliance on the National Guard, the Hull Bill drew the ire of the National Guard. Not surprisingly, the National Guard and its supporters mounted a quick and vociferous campaign designed to torpedo the bill. Much of the resistance to the Hull Bill came from a cabal that included

Populists, southern Democrats, and National Guardsmen. Within the National Guard, the bill ran into the most trouble with guardsmen from the Midwest and the interior South. They apparently feared that the bill would marginalize them even more than guardsmen from the East Coast and that they would play third fiddle to the U.S. Army during wartime. Many also believed that they would have no say in manpower mobilization if the War Department and the U.S. Army were running the show exclusively.

On April 7, 1898, the Hull Bill was defeated by a lopsided margin of 155 to 61. Hull did not alter the bill or attempt to reintroduce another. For Secretary of War Russell A. Alger, the defeat was seen as a rebuke of his leadership. Within a week, however, the McKinley administration had written an entirely new manpower mobilization bill that did not slight the National Guard. The act, passed on April 22, empowered the president to create a volunteer army and allowed him to limit the first call-up of volunteers to National Guard members. The quota from each state was based on population. This allayed the fears of many guardsmen, who did not oppose a second bill passed on April 26 that created a regular army force of 65,700 men. Any new recruits to the army would merely be added to existing units and would be compelled to muster out at war's end.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; Hull, John Albert Tiffin; National Guard, U.S.; United States Army

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Huntington, Robert Watkinson

Birth Date: December 2, 1840

Death Date: November 17, 1917

U.S. Marine Corps officer who led the 1st Marine Battalion at the Battle of Guantánamo, Cuba (June 3–15, 1898). Robert Watkinson Huntington was born in Hartford, Connecticut, on December 2, 1840. In 1860, he undertook studies at Trinity College in Hartford but left school in April 1861 at the beginning of the American Civil War to enlist in the 1st Connecticut Volunteer Regiment. That June he received a commission as a second lieutenant in the U.S. Marine Corps. The marine battalion to which he was assigned was attached to the 1st Brigade of the U.S. Army's 2nd Division. As such, Huntington saw

considerable action, beginning with the First Battle of Bull Run on July 21, 1861. In June 1864, he was promoted to captain.

After the Civil War, Huntington remained in the Marine Corps. He served during a number of sea and land tours, rising to the rank of major in 1889 and lieutenant colonel in 1897. When the United States declared war on Spain in April 1898, he was commanding the Marine Barracks at the New York Navy Yard (Brooklyn). He was immediately reassigned to command the 1st Marine Battalion, which accompanied Rear Admiral William T. Sampson's North Atlantic Squadron to Cuba.

On June 10, 1898, Huntington's force, which had been augmented by five infantry companies and a small artillery battery numbering 650 men, made an amphibious landing on the eastern edge of Guantánamo Bay. There Huntington hastily established Camp McCalla, with jungle on one side and the ocean on the other. After coming under Spanish sniper fire on the evening of the landing and much heavier fire beginning on June 11, Huntington's men endured almost constant action over a span of nearly 100 hours. On June 13, Huntington decided to mount an offensive against the Spanish, which began the next day. In the meantime, he ordered the vulnerable Camp McCalla relocated closer to the shore and within sight of U.S. warships in the harbor.

On June 14, Huntington's men assaulted and defeated the Spanish in the Battle of Cuzco Well. The Spanish then withdrew, which secured both the marine beachhead and Camp McCalla from further attacks. It also helped to secure the lower bay for the United States. On August 5, Huntington was ordered to break camp and board the U.S. auxiliary cruiser *Resolute*. From there he led his men to Manzanillo, where on August 12 his men helped secure that city as the armistice went into effect.

By early September, Huntington and his 1st Marine Battalion had arrived back in the United States, and on September 16 he disbanded the unit. Meanwhile, he had been promoted to colonel on August 10, 1898, as a reward for his performance in the Battle of Guantánamo. After disbanding his outfit, he returned to the Marine Barracks at the New York Navy Yard as commandant. In 1900, he retired from active service. Upon retirement, Huntington resided in Charlottesville, Virginia, where he died on November 17, 1917.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Camp McCalla; Cuzco Well, Battle of; 1st Marine Battalion; Guantánamo, Battle of; Manzanillo, Cuba, Actions at; Sampson, William Thomas

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Illustrators

See Artists and Illustrators

Ilustrados

Filipino elite who contributed to the development of Philippine nationalism. The *ilustrados*, defined as “enlightened ones,” appeared during the 19th century and stemmed mainly from the Chinese mestizo community and partly from the *principalía*, or landowning families, in the Philippines. Some Spanish mestizos and creoles, or Spaniards native to the Philippines, participated in the movement as well. Soon to displace the *principalía*, this new upper-class influence originated from wealth in land and money.

The *ilustrados* were a close-knit clique, with many engaged in the law and medical professions. The circle disparaged parochial issues and fostered numerous interprovincial ties. Its members’ higher education, extensive travel, and contacts with American and European entrepreneurs instilled in them an affinity for liberal, worldly, and Occidental worldviews. By the late 19th century, the *ilustrados* emerged as the principal spokesmen for Philippine nationalist sympathies.

In general, most *ilustrados* believed that the Filipino nationalist spirit could best be nourished by increasing education and educational opportunities and by developing a unique sense of Filipino identity. They criticized Spain’s discriminatory appointments in the church, the army, and the government of the Philippines. Once the group became more Westernized, it sought equal treatment between Filipinos and Spaniards as well as between the Philippines and Spain, pressing for progressive changes such as those that were evolving in Europe at the time. The *ilustrados* tar-

geted the Catholic Church in particular. For some 300 years, its monastic orders had dominated much of the political and economic life of the colony. These orders also owned substantial property, much of it useful farmland, desired by the Filipino elite. Strong *ilustrados* protests were frequently registered in Cavite Province, where the religious orders owned considerable real estate.

The Philippine nationalist crusade began in earnest with an uprising at the Cavite armory in 1872 by the garrison’s soldiers and laborers. It was quickly crushed by the Spanish authorities. A number of *ilustrados* were apprehended, three clergymen were put to death, and a number of *ilustrados* fled or were exiled. The 1872 episode, however, converted many formerly reluctant fellow travelers to the nationalist cause.

Opposition to Spanish colonialism, at first moderate, developed in Spain and other countries as well. Emigré propagandists such as José Rizal, Marcelo del Pilar, and Graciano López Jaena protested Philippine conditions and advocated changes in the colonial order. The talented Rizal’s two books, *Noli Me Tangere* (Touch Me Not), published in 1887, and *El Filibusterismo* (The Reign of Greed), published in 1891, contributed to a maturing patriotic sentiment. This overseas campaign, identified as the Propaganda Movement, issued the biweekly *La Solidaridad* (Solidarity) in Barcelona by 1889. Many *ilustrados* were involved in Rizal’s abortive Liga Filipina, founded in 1892.

When a rebellion against Spanish rule broke out in 1896, many *ilustrados*, including Ant3nio Narciso Luna de St. Pedro, Apolinario Mabini, and the exiled Rizal, refused to support the revolutionary Katipunan. Moreover, when the Spanish-American War began two years later, the elite backed Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy but at the same time urged the insurgents to tone down their war aims. When the Philippine-American War (1899–1902) began, several *ilustrados*

endorsed Aguinaldo, but many others collaborated with the United States and served on its seven-panel governing body.

RODNEY J. ROSS

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Filipino Revolutionary Movement; Katipunan; Liga Filipina; Luna de St. Pedro, Antonio Narciso; Mabini, Apolinario; Philippine-American War; Philippine Islands; Rizal, José

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Immigration

At the time of the Spanish-American War, the United States was in the midst of the longest sustained period of mass immigration in its history. In the 1880s and 1890s especially, immigrants arrived in the United States in numbers never seen before or since. In those two decades alone, 9.5 million people immigrated to the United States. Indeed, the United States saw unprecedented numbers of immigrants reaching its shores from about 1840 to 1920, accounting for the largest single migration of people in modern history.

Immigrants came to the United States in two principal waves between 1840 and 1920. During the first period, roughly from 1840 to 1880, most came from Ireland, Britain, France, Germany, and Scandinavia. Sometimes referred to as “old immigrants,” these individuals hailed from Northern and Western Europe and were more attuned with Anglo-Saxon culture. Many were also able to speak English. A sizable number of them were Protestant. The second wave of immigration, however, beginning around 1880 and lasting until 1920 or so, was comprised of immigrants mainly from Southern and Eastern Europe and Asia (principally China). The largest concentrations came from Italy, Greece, Russia, Poland, southern Germany, and other places in Central and Eastern Europe. Unlike the first wave of immigrants, most were Roman Catholic, Eastern

Orthodox, or Jewish and had little knowledge of Anglo-Saxon culture and even less ability to speak English upon arrival.

While there were some immigrants who served in the U.S. armed forces during the Spanish-American War, their numbers were quite small. Many newly arrived immigrants were not citizens and therefore were poor candidates for military service. Furthermore, their inability to speak or properly understand English also served as a roadblock for service in the armed forces. And because few of the newly arrived immigrants were literate or well-educated, the War Department saw little use for them. Finally, the persistent stereotyping of and discrimination toward immigrants—particularly those from Eastern and Southern Europe—would not have allowed their inclusion in the ranks in any significant numbers. Nevertheless, immigrants played a key role in American society at the time because they were providing the cheap labor necessary to power the nation’s industrial colossus, which had allowed it to take its place among the world’s great powers by the 1890s.

The impact of mass immigration on the United States is difficult to overemphasize. Not only did it provide the human resources for the American Industrial Revolution, but it also fundamentally altered the demographic and ethnic makeup of the nation. It was immigration—far more than internal migration—that turned the United States from a rural, agrarian nation to an urbanized, industrial nation between 1860 and 1900. Indeed, the growth of American cities was without parallel. During those 40 years, New York’s population ballooned from 850,000 to 4 million, while Philadelphia’s rose from 650,000 to 1.5 million. The fastest-growing big city, however, was Chicago, which saw a stunning 1,800 percent increase in its population (from 110,000 to 2 million). Other cities underwent similarly explosive growth, which transformed the country into a nation of big cities and swelling urban populations. Predictably, this same growth ensured that the United States went from being a predominantly Protestant Anglo nation to a polyglot country of many ethnic groups practicing Judaism and Catholicism in great numbers.

Immigrant settlement patterns were not hard to figure out. Scandinavians and immigrants from northern Germany and Holland tended to locate in the upper Midwest (Minnesota, Wisconsin,

Percentage of Native- and Foreign-Born Populations by U.S. Region, 1880–1910

	Northeast		Midwest		South		West	
	Native-Born	Foreign-Born	Native-Born	Foreign-Born	Native-Born	Foreign-Born	Native-Born	Foreign-Born
1880	80.6%	19.4%	83.2%	16.8%	87.3%	2.7%	71.5%	28.5%
1890	77.7%	22.3%	81.8%	18.2%	87.3%	2.7%	74.5%	25.5%
1900	87.4%	22.6%	84.2%	15.8%	87.7%	2.3%	79.3%	20.7%
1910	74.2%	25.8%	84.3%	15.7%	87.5%	2.5%	79.4%	20.6%

Northeast: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont. Midwest: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin. South: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia. West: Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming.



Jews praying in a New York synagogue, circa 1900. (Isadore Singer, ed., *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 1901)

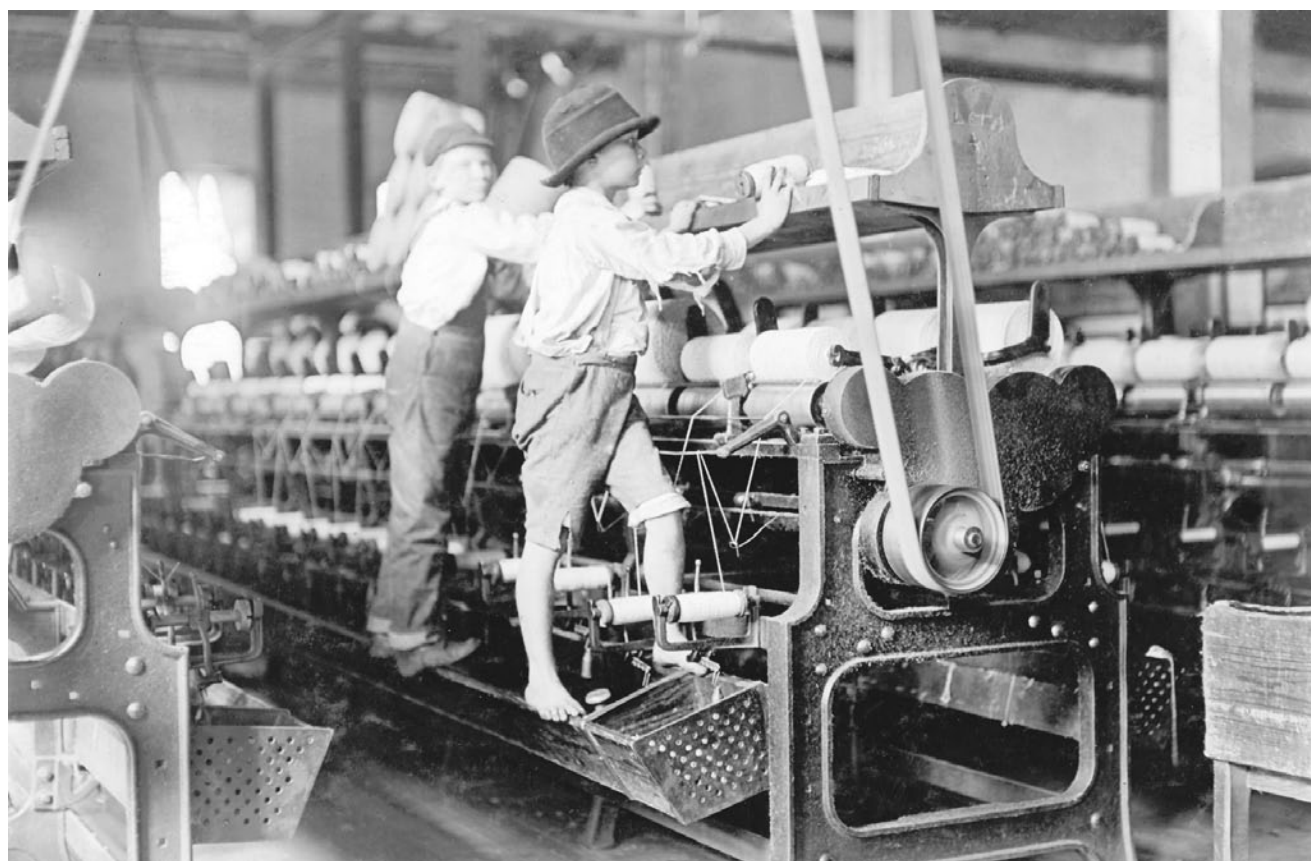
sin, Michigan), where they established farms in good soil and in climactic conditions that were not very different from the lands they left behind. These immigrants generally had more money than the later-arriving immigrants and thus were often able to purchase inexpensive land and continue their agrarian ways. Most of the immigrants from Ireland, Italy, Poland, Russia, etc., tended to settle in the growing big cities, where economic opportunities in industrial production were most prevalent. Many of these groups settled in homogenous enclaves, where they felt more comfortable living with people who spoke the same language or practiced the same religion. Before long, however, these immigrant enclaves became festering slums riddled with crime, substandard housing, disease, and the like.

American slums presented government officials and reformers alike with major challenges. While most city governments were unable or unwilling to ease such conditions, social reformers saw in the slums a perfect opportunity to bring progressive-style reforms to the nation's teeming immigrant population. Indeed, settlement houses, patterned after Jane Addams's Hull House in Chicago, became a common phenomenon in many big cities toward the end of the 19th century. The settlement houses provided badly needed resources for immigrants, including language instruction, education, work placement programs, vocational training, child and health care, and the like. Nevertheless, conditions for many immigrants in U.S. slums were appalling. Many lived in dark, dank apartments and tenements, sometimes with more than one family living in just one or two small rooms, with no running water or electricity. Many such places had no sewage disposal systems, using communal out-houses behind the buildings; such areas also had little or no fire

protection (and the tenements themselves were wooden tinder-boxes). As late as 1900 and even after slum conditions had markedly improved, New York City's Lower East Side had 50,000 inhabitants but just 500 bathtubs.

Still, however, in less than a generation, most immigrants had left such conditions behind them as they became upwardly mobile. They did so almost exclusively by beginning their new lives as unskilled or semiskilled day laborers in American factories, mines, ports, railroads, etc. Although the need for such unskilled labor skyrocketed in the last third of the 19th century, the influx of immigrant workers was so immense that there was often a labor surplus, which was a great boon to the industrialists but a bitter pill for most workers. Because labor competition was so keen, employers could usually get away with paying their workers pitifully low wages. They could also get away with allowing them to work in dangerous situations, which caused the deaths of thousands of workers each year. Efforts to organize immigrant and unskilled laborers were only partially successful. Many unions did not want to admit immigrants to their ranks, and the American Federation of Labor (AFL) went out of its way to draw up policies that excluded most immigrants, African Americans, and women. Only the Knights of Labor actively sought to organize immigrants, but the organization itself was not terribly effective in attaining its goals.

Another problem engendered by immigration was the meteoric rise of child labor and the exploitation of women. Many children, some as young as 6 years old, were put to work in factories because their parents could not afford to support them. Others were kidnapped and forced to work or were entered into a form of slavery by unscrupulous padrones (an older immigrant who took money



Two young boys climb on a spinning frame to mend broken threads and put back empty bobbins at a Macon, Georgia, textile mill in 1909. (Library of Congress)

from newly arrived immigrants in exchange for jobs, housing, etc.). In 1880, an estimated 1.118 million children under the age of 16 were in the workforce, or about one out of every six U.S. children. Many immigrant women worked outside the home, usually in menial service jobs or in dangerous factory employment. They were usually paid one-third to one-half the compensation men received for the same job. The influx of children and women into the workplace served to further drive down wages and increase joblessness among immigrants.

During the Spanish-American War, many immigrants were ambivalent about the conflict and American imperialism. As immigrants, most did not speak out against the war or its aftermath for fear of being punished. Indeed, a good many seemed to support the war (at least in public). The Knights of Labor supported the Cuba rebels but did not support U.S. expansionism and denounced President William McKinley's attempt to annex Hawaii in 1897. When the USS *Maine* exploded in February 1898, the International Association of Machinists lamented the tragedy but was quick to note that no such public outcry accompanied the deaths of thousands of workers in U.S. factories. In the end, the Spanish-American War and its aftermath provided many Americans with a diversion from the social and economic ills that beset the nation at the time, many of which were derived directly or indirectly from immigration.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Addams, Jane; American Federation of Labor; Gilded Age; Labor Union Movement; Progressivism; Slums; United States

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Immunes

Name given to 10 regiments of the U.S. Army supposedly immune to tropical diseases. On May 11, 1898, Congress authorized recruitment of 10,000 men from southern states who were supposedly immune to diseases incident to the tropics. The impetus for the creation of these regiments came from the high incidence of disease, especially yellow fever, prevalent in the tropics. The Immunes were the 1st through 10th U.S. Volunteer Infantry Regiments.

The effort largely fell apart, however, as these regiments included men from mountainous areas of the South as well as recruits as far removed as New Jersey. Four of the regiments, the 7th through the 10th, were made up African Americans, as it was as-

sumed—fallaciously as it turned out—that they possessed general immunity to tropical diseases.

As V Corps commander Major General William R. Shafter in Cuba reported increasing cases of yellow fever among U.S. troops there, in mid-July 1898 Secretary of the Army Russell A. Alger informed Shafter that he was ordering two of the Immunes regiments to Santiago de Cuba. Indeed, the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 9th Regiments served in occupation duties in Cuba, while the 6th Regiment performed the same duty in Puerto Rico.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

African American Soldiers; Cuba Campaign; V Corps; Shafter, William Rufus; Yellow Fever

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Imperialism

The United States was a relative latecomer to a wave of expansionism in which the industrialized Western nations (along with Japan and tsarist Russia) came to dominate most of the underdeveloped world and its nonwhite peoples in the last third of the 19th century. The arguments that American imperialists advanced to justify American overseas expansion and the war with Spain in 1898 had already been heard in Europe over the previous century. Western imperialism and expansionism was grounded in a set of cultural, political, economic, and racial assumptions that postulated the superiority of the white Western nations of Europe and America and the obligation of white civilization to carry the benefits of Western civilization to the nonwhite peoples of Asia and Africa.

These ideas were perhaps best embodied in Rudyard Kipling's poem "The White Man's Burden," first published in 1899. The primary tenants of what became this so-called new imperialism had been developed in Great Britain beginning in the 1820s and 1830s by British historians Thomas Carlyle and Thomas Macaulay, both of whom postulated that Great Britain, through the development of its democracy, had a special place in history and a special mission in the world. The ideal of the special mission of the Anglo-Saxon peoples was further developed in the middle of the 19th century by intellectuals such as Sir Charles Dilke, Sir John Seely, and Joseph Chamberlain. The work of these individuals influenced a generation of proimperialist thinkers throughout the United States and Europe between 1870 and 1900, including Jules Ferry in France and Americans Theodore Roosevelt and William Graham Sumner.

Arguments for imperialism often complemented those of other ideologies, such as nationalism, capitalism, and racism. The pe-



Stereograph distributed by Keystone View Company captioned "The Philippines, Porto Rico and Cuba—Uncle Sam's burden. (With apologies to Mr. Kipling)," 1899. (Library of Congress)

ripheral relationship of imperialism to other ideologies is partly because empire was external to, but dependent upon, the domestic politics and economies of the imperial powers. To provide imperialist ideology with coherence and relevance, its advocates related overseas expansion to those issues that directly affected the public as national interests. Thus, imperialism, in the form it took in the late 19th century, evolved from intellectual currents that dated from the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. These modes of thought were strengthened by economic and industrial growth, the spread of literacy and the print media, and intensified nationalist feelings. This form of nationalism, which had been stimulated by total social mobilization during the wars of 1792 to 1815, was combined by imperialists with religious fervor to assure the peoples of Great Britain and France (to be joined after 1870 by Germany, Italy, Russia, Japan, and the United States) of the rightness of their cause and their duty to carry the fruits of Western civilization to the lesser peoples of the world.

The rise of the new imperialism also corresponded to the opening of new areas of exploration in subequatorial Africa and Southeast Asia and new opportunities for the expansion of Western political influence in the Middle East. These new opportunities were the products of technological change and medical advances that reinforced notions of cultural and racial superiority. The opening of Southeast Asia in the 1850s and 1860s and of equatorial Africa in the 1870s resulted from the development of shallow-draft steamers and gunboats that could negotiate inland rivers such as the Niger in

Africa and the Mekong and Red rivers in Indochina. Even more significant were medical advances such as the development of quinine and other preventive measures that enabled Westerners to contain malaria and enabled Europeans to penetrate into the interiors of Africa and Asia without fear of death from that disease.

All imperialist thinking throughout the 19th century grew from an assumption of cultural superiority that pervaded Western society. Whether humanitarian or racist (or often both), this assumption was seldom questioned and was often viewed as a historical (or divinely inspired) given. Imperialism was grounded in a strain of Western nationalism that glorified the European and North American nation-state and saw industrial growth and the development of the modern nation-state as a process that would inherently lead to goodness. The general objective of this ideology was the glorification of the nation through both the extension of its territory (continental and overseas) and the elevation of its responsibilities. The combination of possession and control of territories and peoples along with the moral purpose of uplifting subject peoples gave empires their grandeur.

Ideas of white Western racial and moral superiority were reinforced in the late 19th century by the ideology of social Darwinism, a transliteration of Charles Darwin's principles of evolution and natural selection from the world of plants and animals to that of man. Social Darwinism, first propounded by Herbert Spencer, suggested that certain races—namely those with Anglo-Saxon ancestry—were better fitted to survive, flourish, and rule than others. This conclusion could be justified in terms of material, scientific, and intellectual progress and superiority. The corollary to this argument was that those white nations that did not seek overseas colonies to strengthen their power and influence would be eclipsed by those that did. This perspective added fuel to colonial rivalries that intensified in the years after 1870 when newly unified Germany and a more aggressive and self-confident United States began to assert their right to a slice of the colonial pie.

The perception of moral and cultural superiority was reinforced by more tangible considerations of power such as national security and domestic stability. Imperialism was viewed as more than a moral imperative. Colonial expansion was considered a practical necessity. The roots of late 19th-century expansionism lay in the Industrial Revolution and economic growth. The period from 1870 to 1900 was a time in which rapid industrialization was disrupting older, more traditional social relationships and pressing on foreign affairs in new and disturbing ways. Many advocates of imperialism considered colonial policy as a safety valve for the steam-driven industrial machine. The domestic dislocation that industrialization produced, especially population shifts from country to city, raised fears of social discontent if not revolution.

These fears intensified during the period of general economic stagnation of the 1880s and 1890s, known as the Long Depression. Imperialists argued that this impending internal crisis could be averted only through overseas expansion. Settlement colonies could absorb surplus population, not to mention excess goods.

Tropical possessions could provide raw materials and become markets for manufactured goods. Markets in colonial possessions could stimulate domestic production and head off unemployment at home. This notion of colonies as sources of strength was most pronounced in Britain, where its overseas colonies (particularly India and the white Dominions of Australia and Canada) were viewed as the main source of British power. Their expansion would ensure that Britain would be able to match its main rivals—Germany, France, and Russia—in economic and military strength and prestige. Likewise, French officials and observers viewed France's revival in the wake of its defeat by Germany in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871 as being linked to France's expansion in Indochina and equatorial Africa. German expansionists, meanwhile, viewed Germany's acquisition of colonies as essential to match Britain and France.

Finally, the far ends of empire might shelter malcontents who threatened revolution in their home countries and would provide opportunities for a generation of young men seeking opportunities for adventure and a chance to prove their masculinity. Two generations of peace in Europe after 1815 had created a restless generation of young men educated in the public schools of England and the universities of continental Europe and anxious to prove themselves in the same manner in which their forebears had done in the Napoleonic Wars or, in the case of the United States, the Civil War.

The imperialism of the late 19th and early 20th centuries was thus driven by intellectual currents that fed on intensifying rivalries among the great powers of Europe that extended into Africa, the Middle East, and Asia as those nations sought colonies to strengthen themselves. The faces of imperialism abounded. The imperialism of prestige was joined by the imperialism of geopolitics in which global strategy played a decisive role. Prestige and strategic considerations were joined by the imperialism of trade in which the possession of colonies could be justified as outlets for home manufactures. There was social imperialism in which domestic social problems could be alleviated or diverted through the use of colonies as outlets for surplus populations and for young men seeking to prove themselves. There was no single theory of imperialism or expansionism suitable for all conditions and all climes. Indeed, there was no single purpose animating the thinking of high-minded idealists, profit seekers, adventurers, or political manipulators. Imperialism was a convenience of the age. That reality would prove equally true for the United States as it emerged as a global power in 1898.

WALTER F. BELL

See also

Colonial Policies, U.S.; Expansionism; France; Germany; Great Britain; Japan; Kipling, Rudyard; Manifest Destiny; Roosevelt, Theodore; Social Darwinism; Spanish-American War, International Reaction to; White Man's Burden

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Imus River, Battle of

Event Date: September 3, 1896

Filipino insurgent victory over the Spanish at the town of Imus in Cavite Province of the Philippines on September 3, 1896. In Cavite, the Katipunan (the secret Filipino revolutionary organization) was split into two factions. The Magdaló's provincial council was directed by Baldomero Aguinaldo (first cousin to insurgent leader Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy) and headquartered at Kawit (formerly Cavite Viejo). The Magdiwang's provincial body was headed by Mariano Alvarez and based at Noveleta. On August 31, 1896, the Cavite Katipuneros rose up and assaulted the Spaniards in the municipal office at San Francisco de Malabon. At Kawit the Magdaló's Candido Tirona took the Spanish outpost with little trouble. In the meantime, Emilio Aguinaldo advanced on Bacoar to intercept Spanish troops dispatched from Manila and was routed.

Aguinaldo then withdrew and prepared to engage the Spaniards stationed at Imus. Runners circulated throughout Cavite urging natives to rise in support of the rebellion. Baldomero Aguinaldo and insurgents departed for Imus but were repulsed there by a Spanish force. On September 1, 1896, Emilio Aguinaldo united with his cousin and with 2,000 men compelled the Imus defenders to withdraw into the town's abbey. The Spanish, although trapped, fended off insurgent efforts to drive them out. Even friars took up weapons to fire at the attackers. The battle became a stalemate until Emilio Aguinaldo ordered an adjacent grain storehouse torched. The smoke from the flames overcame the Spaniards, and they laid down their arms.

The next night, the insurgents made ready to do battle with Spanish troops marching on Imus. Aguinaldo oversaw the construction of fortifications and elaborate trench works, and a bridge leading to Imus was dismantled so that the Spaniards would not see the cut until they had traversed part of the span. Furthermore, a captured artillery piece was concealed with foliage and positioned to be able to fire directly on the bridge. Finally, early on September 3, Aguinaldo deployed his poorly armed followers in well-hidden entrenchments or prone behind sheltered posts.

Some 500 Spanish troops approached and, observing no insurgents about Imus, tramped toward the partly razed span. By the time the vanguard realized that they had walked into an ambush and that the bridge was impassible, Aguinaldo's entrenched rebels were pouring fire into their ranks. The insurgent leader then ordered a detachment to ford the waterway and give chase, but the

rebels wallowed in the shoulder-deep current, and some were swept away. Thereafter, Aguinaldo personally led a detachment across the river, telling his men to link arms. As a consequence, the insurgents gained the distant bank, assaulted the Spanish flank, and prompted a number of the Spanish soldiers to flee. Many became mired in mud, and the Filipinos cut down a number of them with edged weapons.

In addition to killing a number of Spanish soldiers, the insurgents captured 70 rifles and additional military gear. Among the weapons recovered was the Spanish commander's sword. The inscription read: "Made in Toldeo, Spain, 1869." Because this was his birth year, Aguinaldo decided to carry the sword in future engagements.

Within seven days of the battle, most of Cavite's towns were freed of Spanish forces. Hailed as a great military leader, Aguinaldo solidified his position at the forefront of the revolutionary movement.

RODNEY J. ROSS

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Cavite, Philippines; Filipino Revolutionary Movement; Katipunan; Philippine Islands

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Insular Affairs, Bureau of

U.S. government agency responsible for administering certain U.S. territories, including the Philippines. The Bureau of Insular Affairs was created in 1902 and endured until 1939. The bureau effectively superseded the Division of Customs and Insular Affairs, created in 1898 to administer civil affairs and customs in Cuba and the Philippines. In 1900, that agency was renamed the Division of Insular Affairs. When the Bureau of Insular Affairs was created it operated under the aegis of the War Department. It continued to be run by the War Department until 1939, at which point the agency was reorganized and moved to the Department of the Interior. Because the bureau fell within the purview of the War Department, its head was always a U.S. Army general.

Although the Bureau of Insular Affairs administered civil government, it came under the direction of the War Department chiefly because the United States had created a military-style occupation in the newly acquired territories secured as a result of the Spanish-American War. Military planners also hoped to keep territorial affairs within the War Department because of the strategic significance of the Philippines. The bureau did not at first exercise control over Puerto Rico. That island was administered via a civilian government with limited popular sovereignty per the Foraker Amendment of 1899 (also known as the Organic Act of 1900). Included in this government was a governor and executive council appointed by the U.S. president, a 35-member representative body,

and a judiciary system. Beginning in 1909, the civilian government of Puerto Rico was administered through the Bureau of Insular Affairs. In 1934, the bureau's supervision of Puerto Rico was moved to the Division of Territories and Island Possessions under the aegis of the Department of the Interior.

Other regions also fell under the supervision of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, including for a time customs in Cuba, the Panama Canal Zone from 1904 to 1905, and the supervision of customs in Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Guam, Hawaii, American Samoa, and the U.S. Virgin Islands were not within the bureau's domain. Instead, they were supervised by the U.S. Department of the Navy according to the dictates of the Organic Act of 1900.

In the Philippines, the Bureau of Insular Affairs maintained a necessarily high profile and oversaw all civilian government functions, including public works, educational activities, medical care, tax and customs collections, police and fire protection, and military defenses. The bureau's legacy was generally a positive one in that it maintained order and improved the lot of many Filipinos.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cuba, U.S. Occupation of

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Insular Cases

Series of cases after the Spanish-American War that defined the status of the territories acquired from Spain as well as the constitutional rights of subjects in the territories. Although the United States had expanded across the continent of North America during the 19th century, the territories acquired had been adjacent to existing states, were intended for settlement by U.S. citizens, and were set on a path for future admission to the union as states. In the case of the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, the treaty acquiring the territory guaranteed citizenship for the existing European population. The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo with Mexico in 1848 also provided U.S. citizenship to former Mexican citizens in the territories acquired as a result of the Mexican-American War. It is important to note, however, that citizenship was not extended to Native Americans in either treaty.

The acquisition of Hawaii, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines as a consequence of the Spanish-American War raised a number of constitutional issues, since these territories were outside the continental United States and were not intended for eventual statehood. The central issue was whether the Constitution followed the

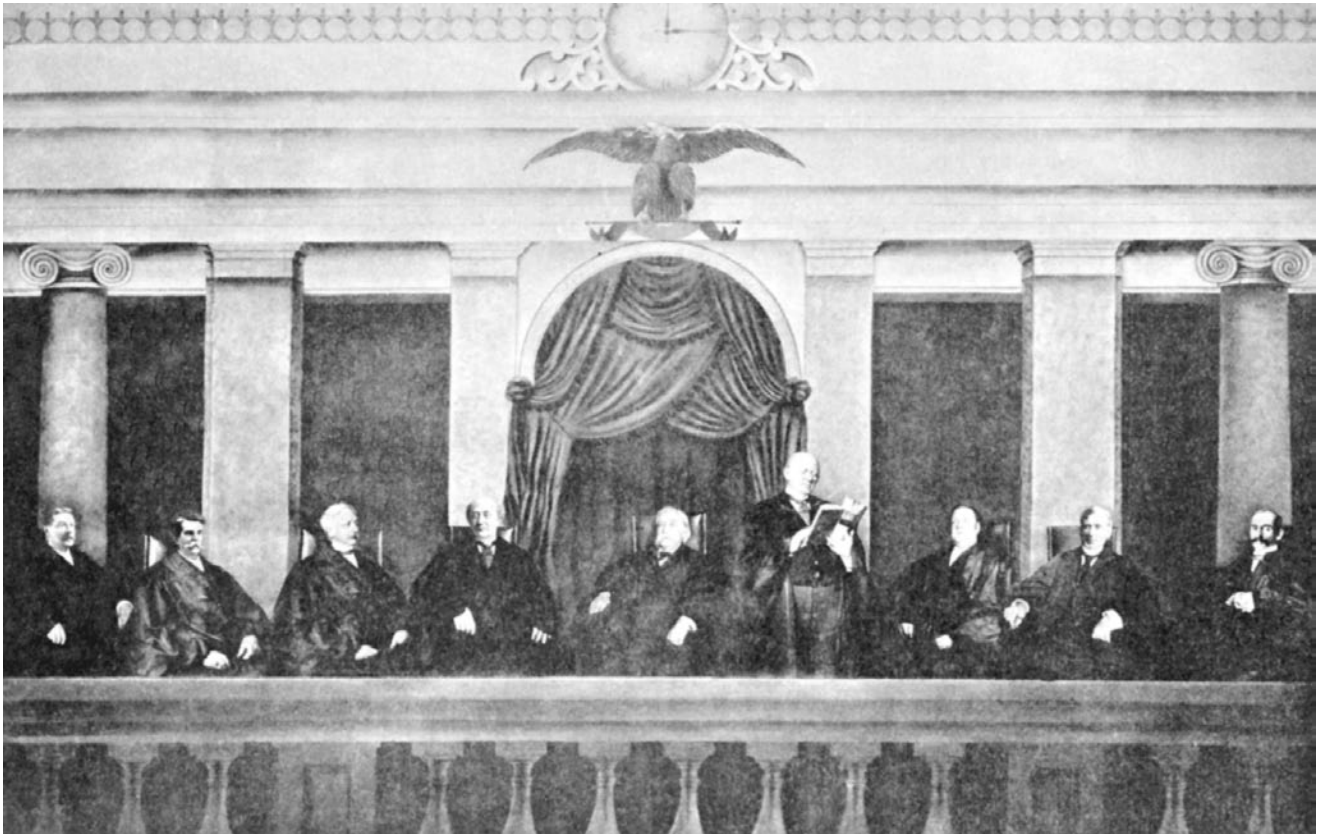
flag. Anti-imperialists argued that the residents of the newly acquired territories were entitled to the same constitutional protections that had previously been afforded to the inhabitants of territories. Imperialists asserted that Congress had the authority to define how these territories would be governed and the rights that would be extended to the subjects residing in them. The conflict between these two arguments would ultimately be decided by the U.S. Supreme Court in a series of cases collectively known as the Insular Cases.

In 1901, the Supreme Court ruled on two cases involving Puerto Rico that set important precedents on the status of the newly acquired territories. In *DeLima v. Bidwell*, the Court ruled in a 5–4 decision that the port collector in New York had wrongly accessed tariff duties on sugar imported from Puerto Rico. The majority held that the Treaty of Paris had not made Puerto Rico a foreign country as had been the case with Cuba and that in the absence of congressional regulation taxes could not be imposed on goods imported from Puerto Rico. In *Downes v. Bidwell*, the Court ruled on the constitutionality of the Foraker Amendment, which had established a civil government in Puerto Rico and imposed import duties on goods from the islands. Although the Court upheld the Foraker Amendment, including the provision on tariff duties, in a 5–4 decision, the majority did not agree on a common doctrine on the status of territories. In a concurring opinion, however, Justice Edward Douglass White developed the incorporation doctrine, which emphasized the power of Congress to define the status of the territories and, more importantly, the rights and privileges enjoyed of the inhabitants. In short, White asserted that the territories were in a subordinate position and that the Constitution applied only to the extent that Congress chose to apply it.

The majority opinion and White's concurring opinion in *Downes* was challenged by Justice John Marshall Harlan in a stinging dissent: "The idea that this country may acquire territories anywhere upon the earth, by conquest or treaty, and hold them as mere colonies or provinces—the people inhabiting them to enjoy only such rights as Congress chooses to accord them—is wholly inconsistent with the spirit and genius as well as with the words of the Constitution." Despite Harlan's vigorous dissent, which reflected the political debate within the country, the Court would soon adopt White's incorporation doctrine as the constitutional law of the land.

In 1904, the case of *Dorr v. United States* came before the Court. Convicted for libel under a law passed by the Philippine Commission, Fred L. Dorr sought to overthrow his conviction on the grounds that his Sixth Amendment rights had been violated because he had not been tried by a jury. In an 8–1 decision in which two justices concurred and Harlan dissented, the Court applied White's incorporation theory, upholding Dorr's conviction on the grounds that the Philippine Commission operated on the guidelines established by Congress and that a trial by jury was not required because Congress had not required it.

The Court did make one significant departure from the incorporation doctrine in *Weems v. United States* in 1910. This case in-



The U.S. Supreme Court, 1906. The justices, pictured from left to right are William H. Moody, Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr., Rufus W. Peckham, David J. Brewer, Melville Weston Fuller (chief justice), John Marshall Harlan, Edward Douglass White, Joseph McKenna, and William R. Day. (Library of Congress)

volved a Coast Guard officer in the Philippines who had been sentenced to 15 years' hard labor after being convicted under a preexisting Spanish law. In a 6–2 decision in which White and Justice Oliver Wendall Holmes Jr. dissented, the Court set aside the conviction and sentence on the grounds that the punishment did not fit the crime. Indeed, Justice Joseph McKenna's majority opinion marked the first time that the Supreme Court invoked the Eighth Amendment's ban on cruel and unusual punishment to overturn a conviction.

Despite the decision in *Weems v. United States*, the Supreme Court consistently applied the incorporation doctrine in subsequent decisions. In *Dowdell v. United States* (1911), the Court ruled 8–1, with Harlan dissenting, that criminal trials in the Philippines did not require 12-person juries because Congress had not required them. As a result, the Insular Cases clearly established the principle that territories were firmly under the jurisdiction of Congress and that the Constitution applied only as Congress saw fit to apply it with the exception of extreme circumstances, as in the *Weems* case.

JUSTIN D. MURPHY

See also

Anti-Imperialist League; Imperialism; Philippine Commission; Philippine Islands, U.S. Occupation of

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Intelligence

See Military Intelligence

Isidro y Castañeda, Pio

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Japan

Japan, although not directly involved in the Spanish-American War, demonstrated in the late 19th century appreciable interest in the Philippines as a potential trading partner, a destination for Japanese emigrants, and perhaps a colony. At both the official and nonofficial level, the Japanese maintained contacts with Philippine independence movements against Spanish rule and kept a close watch on their development. Although the Japanese government acquiesced in U.S. annexation of the Philippines in 1898, throughout the early decades of the 20th century Japanese nationalists continued to hope that the Philippines could be included in a Japanese sphere of influence in East Asia.

Early Japanese interest in the Philippines dated back before the Spanish took control of the islands in the 1560s, when Spanish officials noted the existence of significant trade between the northern Philippines and Japan. In 1570, 20 Japanese settlers were already living in Manila. From then until the early 17th century, Japanese merchants traded wheat flour, weapons, and other goods to Manila in exchange for Chinese silk, and from 1584 onward Spanish commercial vessels likewise visited Japan. Roman Catholic missionaries based in the Philippines also launched proselytizing ventures in Japan.

In 1592, the expansionist Japanese shogun Hideyoshi demanded that Spain acknowledge his suzerainty over the Philippines, a request that the Spanish ignored but one that foreshadowed subsequent Japanese ambitions to rule the islands. By the early 1620s,

the population of the Japanese quarter in Manila sometimes surpassed 3,000 people. From 1611 onward, however, the Tokugawa shogunate subjected foreign missionaries and Japanese Christians to intensifying persecution, and in 1624 all Spaniards were expelled from Japan. After a major Christian uprising in Japan in 1638, the Japanese authorities responded by ending all outside contacts, the beginning of more than three centuries of Japanese isolation from the Western world. The relatively small number of Japanese who remained in the Philippines gradually intermarried with and assimilated into the indigenous population. During Japan's isolation, shipwrecked Japanese fishermen were occasionally cast up on Philippine shores, some settling where the seas had brought them, others returning to Japan.

More significant contacts between Japan and the Philippines, still under Spanish rule, resumed in the 1860s after the forcible opening of Japan to Western commerce and dealings the previous decade. In 1868, Spain and Japan signed a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, and thereafter the two governments remained on courteous terms. Although handicapped at first by arbitrary Spanish customs duties and procedures in Manila, over the next two decades trade between Japan and the Philippines grew substantially. By the 1880s, Japan was exporting coal and rice to the Philippines and importing Philippine-grown tobacco and sugar. Spanish and Japanese officials both sought to encourage trade in these and other commodities. Some Japanese officials also viewed the Philippines, like many other territories throughout Asia, as a potential destination that might absorb Japan's surplus population as immigrants, although attempts by Spain and Japan to reach an agreement allowing and regulating such immigration proved fruitless. In 1888, Japan opened a consulate in the Philippines to protect the interests of its citizens in the islands. Japanese-Philippine trade



Satiric depiction of Japanese surgeons operating on a human figure with a Russian battleship for a head, 1904. The illustration is credited to Kokunimasa Utagawa and was created during the Russo-Japanese War, in which Japan defeated Russia and dramatically changed the balance of power in the Far East. (Library of Congress)

grew substantially in the subsequent decade due largely to growing Japanese imports of Philippine goods.

From the 1880s onward, the growing number of Japanese nationalists viewed the Philippines, together with Korea, Manchuria, and other island territories in the western Pacific and beyond, not just as valuable trading partners but also as potential targets for Japanese annexation. During the 1880s and 1890s, the Japanese Meiji government was eager to revise the so-called unequal treaties that Japan had concluded with Western governments in the 1850s so as to rescind their provisions granting foreign extraterritoriality and gain Japanese tariff autonomy. The Japanese government, therefore, never officially endorsed such territorial ambitions, which might have obstructed its pursuit of these more immediate goals. Japanese leaders preferred to pursue cautious expansion within a framework of cooperation with Western powers.

Nationalist objectives were expressed by such leading figures as educator Yoshida Shoin, teacher to several prominent Meiji leaders, who urged the extension of Japanese control over Manchuria,

Korea, Formosa, and the Philippines, arguing that these would serve as bases from which Japan could repel Western imperialists in Asia, including Britain, Russia, France, and the United States. From the early 1880s onward, several scholarly societies, the Tokyo Chigaku Kyokai (Tokyo Geographical Society), the Tokyo Keizaigaku Kyokai (East Asian Society), and the Shokumin Kyokai (Immigration Society), likewise demonstrated considerable interest in the Philippines. In newspaper articles and other popular writings, their members suggested that Japanese should settle the Philippines and other island territories in Pacific Oceania and encourage the development of trade and industry there.

Some authors also advocated Japanese support for the burgeoning Philippine independence movement against Spanish rule, suggesting that Japan might assist the still backward indigenous Philippine people in efforts to expel all Western influences from Asia. The implication was that benign Japanese leadership would then replace harsh and alien Spanish rule, bringing a new era of strength and prosperity to the islands, while an influx of Japanese immigrants would boost the skills and competitive capabilities of the existing native population.

In the early 1890s, some Japanese military officers suggested that given growing Spanish weakness, as opposition to Spanish colonial rule grew not just in the Philippines but also in Cuba, Morocco, and the Marianas and Caroline islands, Japan might be forced to take over the Philippines in order to save them from annexation by the rising power of Germany, whose imperial ambitions for foreign colonies had developed rapidly throughout the 1880s. Despite the existence of such grand designs, in November 1893 the Japanese Foreign Office closed its Manila consulate on the grounds that the unsettled state of the Philippines, where nationalist opposition was already provoking harsh repression by Spanish officials, made the islands inhospitable and unattractive to Japanese settlement. The consulate did not reopen until October 1896.

Throughout the 1890s, Spanish officials in the Philippines and Madrid were outwardly cordial but privately suspicious of Japanese intentions toward the Philippines and other Spanish holdings in the Pacific, including Guam and the Caroline Islands. Prominent Japanese, meanwhile, maintained close contacts with Philippine independence activists, and the Japanese consulates in Manila, Hong Kong, and Washington painstakingly monitored the actions of Philippine nationalists.

After Japan's victory over China in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and its annexation of the island of Taiwan, some Philippine rebels, notably Jose Ramos, looked to Japan for leadership in a Pan-Asian struggle against Western domination. In August 1895, Ramos fled to Japan, settling there, taking a Japanese wife, and unsuccessfully attempting to purchase Japanese armaments for a projected revolt against Spanish rule. Other prominent Philippine activists followed Ramos to Japan, where they met frequently with Japanese military officers and civilians sympathetic to their cause. From 1896 onward, when the Philippine rebellion began, the Japanese government at the request of Spain likewise kept both Philippine and Spanish support-

ers of independence in Japan under close surveillance. In particular, Japan took no actions likely to compromise the negotiation of a new Treaty of Friendship and General Intercourse between Spain and Japan, concluded in January 1897, that provided for the revision of tariffs in Japan's favor.

When the United States declared war on Spain in April 1898, Japan proclaimed a policy of official neutrality. With the permission of the Spanish government, Japan sent military officers to the Philippines as observers. It also blocked purchases of arms in Japan by indigenous rebels. Throughout the war, Japan joined Germany, Britain, and France in maintaining a naval presence in Manila Harbor, observing the formalities of neutrality with great correctness. Following the American naval victory in the Battle of Manila Bay (May 1, 1898) and the blockade of the Philippines, Japan pursued a policy of watchful waiting, quietly indicating its willingness to take over the Philippine Islands should the United States be reluctant to annex the archipelago or, alternatively, to assume a condominium there in conjunction with the United States and perhaps Great Britain.

Whatever their private regrets, when U.S. president William McKinley announced in late 1898 that his country intended to retain the Philippines indefinitely, Japanese leaders acquiesced in the American decision. Fears that either Japan or Germany might otherwise rapidly seize the Philippines were indeed one factor impelling American officials in their decision to keep their new acquisition.

While reluctant to alienate the powerful United States, Japanese expansionists continued to cherish wistful and covetous dreams of the Philippines. In the early 20th century, many American military officials administering the islands emulated their Spanish predecessors in demonstrating strong suspicions of Japanese ambitions. American military intelligence personnel invariably paid close and watchful attention to visiting Japanese pearl fishermen and merchants, suspecting that their ostensible activities were mere cover for espionage missions to assess the state of American defenses and the islands' potential for colonization by Japan. From 1902 onward, Japanese businessmen established branches of major trading companies in Manila, and the number of Japanese residents also grew dramatically, reaching 9,874 by 1919. In 1918, 375 Japanese trading vessels visited the Philippines. In 1919, the Japanese consulate in Manila was promoted to a consulate general, and in 1920 it established a branch in Davao.

The growing assertiveness of Western powers, especially the United States, in the Pacific at the turn of the century was probably one reason why Japan, especially after concluding an alliance with Great Britain in 1902, began to pursue its own territorial objectives more aggressively than in the past. In 1904, Japan went to war with Russia, seeking to take over Russia's special rights in the northeastern Chinese provinces of Manchuria and also control of the Korean Peninsula. During World War I, Japan declared itself one of the Allies and promptly took the opportunity to attack and annex several German-owned islands in the northwestern Pacific. In December 1914, Japanese forces besieged and captured

the German treaty port of Tsingtao in Shandong Province, a concession that Japanese officials likewise sought to retain. During World War I, Japan also demanded special rights and privileges in China that would have effectively reduced that nation to a Japanese protectorate. Throughout the 1920s, the Washington treaty system effectively maintained the status quo in the Pacific. During the 1930s, however, Japanese nationalists came to power and began to pursue the expansionist goals of a Pan-Asian and Japanese dominion of the Pacific first articulated by their intellectual forebears during the 1880s. In December 1941, Japanese forces launched an invasion of the Philippines, and from then until 1945 the islands experienced harsh Japanese military occupation, a practical demonstration that domination by an Asian power was no less oppressive than Western imperialism.

PRISCILLA ROBERTS

See also

China; Philippine Islands; Russo-Japanese War; Sino-Japanese War; Spheres of Influence

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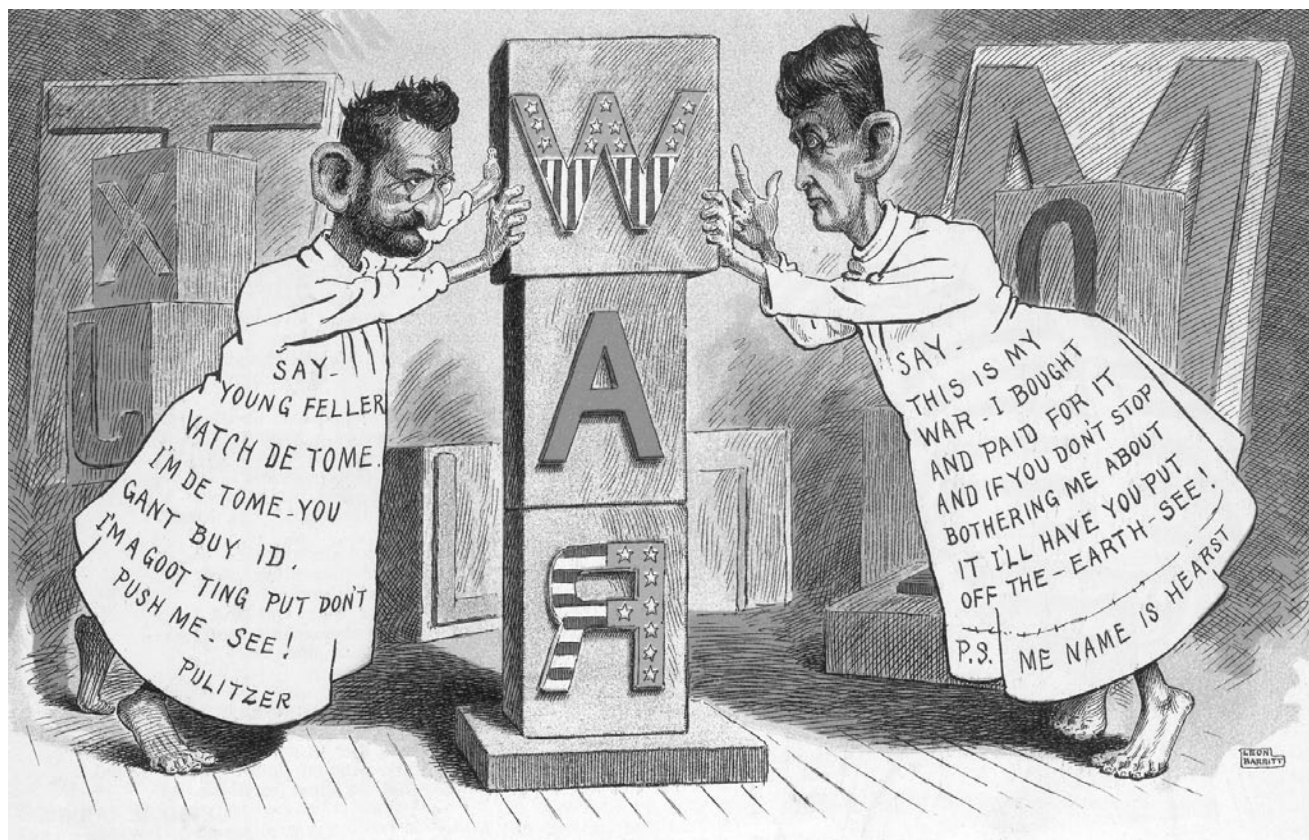
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Jingoism

Term that refers to excessive or chauvinistic patriotism or nationalism. Jingoism is usually associated with going to war or having warlike attitudes. The origin of the word “jingo” probably dates back to the 17th century and seems to have been a catchphrase used by magicians. It was also used as an interjection indicating surprise or to add emphasis to a subject. However, the association of the word with extreme patriotic or nationalistic feelings did not occur until the late 19th century.

The terms “jingo” and “jingoism” date to the late 1870s and were a result of the Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878), which brought about a Russian victory. The Treaty of San Stefano, which formally ended the hostilities, required the Ottoman Empire to cede territory south of the Caucasus Mountains to Russia, provided independence



Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst dressed as the Yellow Kid, each pushing against opposite sides of a pillar of wooden blocks that spells “WAR,” 1898. Both Pulitzer and Hearst published sensational accounts of Spanish atrocities in Cuba, leading to widespread sentiment in support of war with Spain. This illustration by Leon Barritt appeared in *Vim*, June 1898. (Library of Congress)

to Serbia and Romania, promised reforms in Bosnia, and indicated that Bulgaria would become autonomous. The Russian victory and occupation of Istanbul along with the treaty aroused much concern in Great Britain, which, along with France, had worked to prevent a Russian incursion into the eastern Mediterranean Sea and into the Middle East. War talk flared in Britain as public opinion began to call for a confrontation with Russia to protect British interests in the region. Reflecting the attitudes of many, a song written for a popular entertainer of the time, Gilbert MacDermott, contained the lyric that gave rise to the term jingoism: “We don’t want to fight, but by jingo if we do, We’ve got the men, we’ve got the ships, we’ve got the money too!” London war hawks latched on to the song and were first referred to as “Jingoes” in the London *Daily News* in March 1878. The British government dispatched naval units to the Mediterranean, and a general Anglo-Russian war seemed likely.

Diplomacy saved the day, however, as the crisis was defused by the 1878 Treaty of Berlin, which reworked the San Stefano agreement. Russia kept the territory south of the Caucasus Mountains, Serbia and Romania remained independent, and Istanbul was restored to the Ottomans. Great Britain acquired the island of Cyprus, which was of great strategic value to Britain’s position in Egypt and the Suez Canal, while France expanded from Algeria into Tunisia. By 1880 or so, “jingoism” became a fixed word in the English language.

The term was often applied to American expansionists in the 1890s and early 1900s, most notably among them Theodore Roosevelt, John Hay, Alfred Thayer Mahan, Henry Cabot Lodge, and William Randolph Hearst, to name but a few. American jingoism at the turn of the century reflected a revived sense of Manifest Destiny tied together with a strong sense of extracontinental imperialism. Many Americans, including numerous business leaders such as the railroad tycoon E. H. Harriman, believed that the United States was destined to expand beyond its borders. These influential men argued that America should extend its authority over other lands by political, economic, or military means.

American jingoism is probably best illustrated by the events leading up to the nation’s declaration of war against Spain in April 1898. The American public had closely followed the events in Cuba since the outbreak of revolution there in 1895. Most favored Spain’s removal from the island and its replacement by American influence if not outright acquisition. Fueling this growing American sentiment for war with Spain in the late 1890s were business interests, certain expansionist politicians, and the sensationalist yellow press. Indeed, the circulation war waged for readers by newspaper magnates Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer played a significant role in the shaping of jingoist attitudes among Americans. Both newspaper empires sent correspondents to Cuba to cover the fighting between

Cuban rebels and the Spanish forces there. The exaggeration of events, sensationalist writing, and graphic reporting of Spanish atrocities helped arouse the sentiments of Americans in support of the Cuban revolution. Ultimately, this led to increasing pressure on the William McKinley administration to go to war with Spain.

Screaming headlines in the press asked how long the United States would sit idly by while the Spanish committed atrocity after atrocity in Cuba, suggesting that the nation had a moral obligation to intervene. Tied to this was the growing fear raised by business interests that American property in Cuba would be lost or destroyed unless the United States intervened. Adding to the increasing pressure for war were Democratic charges that the McKinley administration was cowardly and unwilling to safeguard American interests. Even jingoist members of McKinley's own party, Roosevelt in particular, were frustrated by the president's reluctance to go to war. Eventually, however, the president would bow to public and political pressure, and the United States would declare war on Spain. The rationale for war emphasized a variety of concerns: the need to protect American property and citizens overseas, the defense of U.S. interests abroad, and the moral obligation to intervene for humanitarian reasons. Clearly, the American war with Spain was jingoism in action.

Nor was the United States the only nation that felt the effects of jingoist sentiments. Other examples include Japan's war with China in 1894–1895 and especially Japan's war with Russia in 1904–1905. Competition with Russia for influence in and control of Korea and the northeastern region of China energized strong public sentiments for war in Japan on both occasions. Jingoist sentiments might also be attributed to the outbreak of almost any war in the 20th century as well.

Jingoism is probably best thought of in a pejorative context. Critics of wars that are perceived as unnecessary or imperialist in nature may accuse national leaders of jingoism. Those opposed to or critical of the Iraq War (2003–) have labeled President George W. Bush and other members of his administration, particularly Vice President Richard Cheney and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, for example, as jingoists. Jingoists are unlikely to brand themselves as such when pressing for an aggressive foreign policy or arguing for war. Critics and opponents of excessive patriotic or nationalist zeal and their role in bringing about war are most likely to accuse those who favor such attitudes or policies as jingoists.

GREGORY MOORE

See also

Hay, John Milton; Hearst, William Randolph; Journalism; Lodge, Henry Cabot; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Manifest Destiny; McKinley, William; Pulitzer, Joseph; Roosevelt, Theodore; Russo-Japanese War; Yellow Journalism

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Journal Commission

See Anita Expedition

Journalism

Journalism played a critical part in U.S. involvement in the Spanish-American War. Moreover, it had a distinct impact on the decision to go to war in April 1898. The jingoistic, nationalistic, and sensationalistic press at the time stimulated and enhanced the American spirit of national assertiveness, American sympathy for the Cuban revolutionaries, and American disenchantment with autocratic Spanish colonial rule in Cuba. Although the American press did not create the hostile American public opinion that led to the Spanish-American War, it did report the growing hysteria in the United States, magnify those sentiments, and bring them to the forefront of public awareness.

Two major newspaper magnates, William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer, engaged in a fierce competition with each other, perceiving in the growing tensions with Spain a chance to increase readership. In the months leading up to the Spanish-American War, Hearst and Pulitzer employed journalists to write vivid anti-Spanish articles, which were augmented with graphic illustrations from some of the nation's foremost artists. The newspaper articles, known as yellow journalism, enraged an American public already predisposed to forcibly ending Spanish colonial rule in Cuba. Thus, by the time the USS *Maine* exploded in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, national sentiment was clearly against continued Spanish domination in Cuba. Given the role of journalists in the months leading up to the Spanish-American War as well as during the war, historian Charles H. Brown's interpretation of the Spanish-American War as "the correspondents' war" seems plausible.

Hearst, owner of the *New York Herald*, took great interest in the plight of the Cuban revolutionaries and saw the uprising in Cuba as a chance to boost the circulation of his newspaper over his chief rival, Pulitzer, owner of the *New York World*. When Hearst arrived in New York City in 1896, Pulitzer was already employing yellow journalism techniques successfully. To surpass Pulitzer's financial success, Hearst used sensationalist journalism, headlines set in large black letters, full-page editorials, graphic illustrations, and controversial cartoons to increase readership. He also lured journalists and illustrators away from Pulitzer's newspaper by offering them much larger salaries. Hearst was even successful in enticing internationally known authors such as Mark Twain to write for his paper.

Hearst and Pulitzer purposely ordered their writers to distort their reports of the situation in Cuba and to emphasize the most violent aspects of Spanish attempts to quell the Cuban insurrection. Rather than reporting events objectively, editors presented their opinions as fact. Lacking other sources of information, most Americans had no other news source to determine the veracity of newspaper reports. Although Pulitzer was the first to practice yellow



People in front of the *New York Journal* building reading newspaper bulletins during the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

journalism on a large scale, Hearst's journalistic activities prior to and during the Spanish-American War have made his name synonymous with yellow journalism.

In 1896, in an attempt to quell the Cuban rebellion, the Spanish government appointed General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau as governor of Cuba and ordered him to crush the revolutionaries there and restore order to the island. Weyler's draconian *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) policy, which brought the deaths of thousands of Cubans, was vividly portrayed in a negative light by the American press. Nicknaming Weyler "the Butcher," Hearst bombarded the American public with hair-raising tales of Weyler's alleged atrocities. American newspapers claimed that more than 400,000 Cubans had died during the Cuban War of Independence. Although this number was grossly exaggerated, Americans were nonetheless outraged. *New York Journal* reporter Richard Harding Davis and *New York World* reporter Stephen Crane provided numerous stories depicting Spanish atrocities.

After the Spanish government replaced Weyler with a less controversial general in late 1897, Hearst searched for new grist to justify U.S. intervention in Cuba. To boost readership and further his agenda, he sent famed artist Frederic Remington to Cuba to provide drawings of new Spanish atrocities.

Two events in February 1898—the Dupuy de Lôme–Canalejas Letter and the sinking of the U.S. battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor—further increased newspaper coverage of events in Cuba and ratcheted up tensions between the United States and Spain. On Feb-

ruary 9, 1898, the *New York Journal* and the *San Francisco Examiner* published Spanish minister to the United States Enrique Dupuy de Lôme's letter to José Canalejas in which Dupuy de Lôme bitterly criticized President William McKinley. Canalejas, a personal friend of the minister, was at the time serving in an official capacity in Havana. Hearst termed it—rather dramatically—as the “worst insult to the United States in its history.” The explosion of the *Maine* in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, allowed U.S. newspapers to increase their pressure on McKinley and Congress to declare war on Spain.

Most American newspapers, without any evidence, began asserting that the sinking of the *Maine* was a deliberate act on the part of Spanish officials. On February 16, 1898, the *New York Journal* carried the headline “The War Ship *Maine* Was Split in Two by an Enemy's Secret Infernal Machine.” Americans across the country, fueled by the persuasiveness of yellow journalism, felt justified in demanding that McKinley force the Spanish government to relinquish control of Cuba. Although Spanish culpability in the explosion has never been proven, the majority of the American public, chanting “Remember the *Maine*,” clamored for retribution.

On April 4, 1898, the *New York Journal* issued a million-copy press run dedicated to the war in Cuba. American war sentiment, fueled by yellow journalism, convinced McKinley to ask Congress for a war declaration later that month. During the war, American journalists frequently accompanied American troops into battle. Journalists highlighted the exploits of American heroes such as George Dewey and Theodore Roosevelt. Richard Harding Davis, one of only three men granted honorary membership in the Rough Riders, provided newspaper readers with one of the best firsthand narratives of Roosevelt's charge up San Juan Hill. According to Davis, the American victory at the Battle of San Juan Hill was “as inevitable as the rising tide.” The Spanish-American War, therefore, can justifiably be called the first media war in American history.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Artists and Illustrators; Cuban War of Independence; Dupuy de Lôme–Canalejas Letter; Hearst, William Randolph; *Maine*, USS; McKinley, William; Pulitzer, Joseph; *Reconcentrado* System; “Remember the *Maine*”; Remington, Frederic Sackrider; Rough Riders; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano; Yellow Journalism

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Katipunan

Revolutionary Filipino nationalist association founded by Andrés Bonifacio in 1892 that agitated for Philippine independence from Spain. Bonifacio and his followers had summarily dismissed the reform agenda of the Spanish colonial system and instead advocated armed rebellion to rid the Philippine archipelago of Spanish rule. Unlike the Liga Filipina, also established in 1892 and dedicated to Filipino independence through gradual, nonviolent means, the Katipunan advocated immediate and violent measures against the Spanish.

On July 7, 1892, Bonifacio, Valentín Díaz, Teodoro Plata, Ladislao Diwa, and Deodato Arellano met in Tondo, a section of Manila, and created the Kataastaasan Kagalang-galang na Katipunan nang manga Anak nang Bayan (Highest and Most Respected Association of the Sons of the Country), or Katipunan. Bonifacio and his comrades bonded by marking their membership certificates in blood. The Katipunan was a highly secretive organization with ceremonial rites akin to the Masonic Order.

The founders established a triangular scheme for recruitment to the Katipunan. Original members enlisted two new members unknown to each other but acquainted with the person who enrolled them. Those two individuals would then follow suit. When the triangular method proved insufficient by October 1892 it was dropped, and members were encouraged to recruit as many newcomers as possible. The association also settled on entrance fees and monthly dues.

The Katipunan, like the Liga Filipina, organized three sovereign assemblies. The Supreme Council, the association's top-reigning body, included a president, a treasurer, a fiscal affairs officer, and a controller. The Provincial Council spoke for the provinces, while the Popular Council represented the municipalities. The presidents of the latter bodies and the Supreme Council comprised the

Katipunan Assembly. A Judicial Council passed on rules violations and resolved members' differences.

The Katipunan proclaimed three objectives. Politically, it sought Philippine independence. Morally, it sought to further good manners, basic health, and upright ethics while denouncing religious extremism and unsound character. Civilly, the association emphasized self-reliance. Protection of the indigent and the persecuted fell under its jurisdiction, as did aid to ill members and their kin, including the funding of funerals. Following unsuccessful terms of Arellano in 1892 and Roman Basa in 1893, Bonifacio was elected president (*supremo*) in 1895 and again in 1896.

The Katipunan possessed a three-graded membership and established a women's branch. The organization utilized a secret code for communications, celebrated annually on February 17 in memory of three martyred Filipino priests, and published the newspaper *Kalayaan*, which Spanish authorities shut down in March 1896. Despite its failure to receive the endorsement of José Rizal, founder of the Liga Filipina, the association boasted a membership of 30,000 people by 1896. The Tagalog-speaking population of central Luzon strongly supported the Katipunan, with that island's Cavite Province being a stronghold of the organization.

In August 1896, the Katipunan launched a series of offensives against Spanish forces in and around Manila. The Spanish authorities brutally beat these back. Mass arrests of Filipino revolutionaries followed, with the imprisonment and execution of many, including members of the Katipunan. In 1897, an internal power struggle between Bonifacio and Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy and their differences concerning land and agricultural reforms led Aguinaldo to order Bonifacio's detention. Stripped of power, Bonifacio was executed on Aguinaldo's orders on May 10, 1897. Thus, by June 1897, Aguinaldo and his faction had taken control of the

Katipunan as well as the ongoing revolt against the Spanish colonial government.

RODNEY J. ROSS

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Bonifacio, Andrés; Filipino Revolutionary Movement; Liga Filipina; Philippine Islands; Philippine Islands, Spanish Colonial Policies toward; Rizal, José

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Kent, Jacob Ford

Birth Date: September 14, 1835

Death Date: December 22, 1918

U.S. Army officer. Jacob Ford Kent was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on September 14, 1835. He entered the United States Military Academy, West Point, and was commissioned a second lieutenant and assigned to the 3rd U.S. Infantry Regiment after graduation in 1861. During the American Civil War (1861–1865), he received three brevets for gallantry and meritorious service. He remained in the army after the Civil War, spending almost 30 years on garrison duty in the South and in the American West, rising to the rank of colonel.

When war with Spain began in April 1898, Kent was appointed brigadier general of volunteers and given command of the 1st Division in V Corps. The division sailed for Cuba from Tampa, Florida, arriving off the coast on June 22. One of Kent's brigades then conducted a feint landing at Cabañas to divert Spanish attention from the real U.S. landing at Daiquirí. V Corps commander Major General William R. Shafter seems to have forgotten about Kent's division, for it was not recalled for three days.

Kent's men came ashore at Siboney on June 25. The division took part in the Battle of San Juan Hill (July 1, 1898). Charged with securing the main road to Santiago, the division entered the battle with a strength of 235 officers and 4,869 enlisted men. During the fighting, it suffered 14 officers and 87 men killed, 37 officers and 563 men wounded, and 59 missing in action. After the fall of Santiago de Cuba, Kent signed the Round-Robin Letter of late July 1898 urging the immediate evacuation of American troops from Cuba to avert an epidemic of yellow fever among U.S. servicemen.

Shortly thereafter, Kent left Cuba. He served for only a few weeks in the Philippines and was advanced to major general of volunteers. He returned to the United States in October 1898, was promoted to the permanent rank of brigadier general, and on November 30, 1898, retired after 40 years of army service. Kent retired to Troy, New York, and died there on December 22, 1918.

R. RAY ORTENSIE



U.S. Army brigadier general Jacob Ford Kent commanded the 1st Division of V Corps in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

See also

Balloons, U.S. Signal Corps; El Pozo, Cuba; V Corps; Round-Robin Letter; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Shafter, William Rufus; Yellow Fever

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Kettle Hill, Battle of

Event Date: July 1, 1898

The Battle of Kettle Hill on July 1, 1898, was part of the general U.S. Army assault on San Juan Heights, the last major natural barrier to the port of Santiago, Cuba. Kettle Hill was a smaller elevation, located just before the northern extension of San Juan Heights. U.S. Army V Corps troops, commanded by Major General William R. Shafter, had disembarked some 16 miles east of Santiago at Daiquirí on June 22, 1898. Kettle Hill, held by some 750 Spanish troops, was the first objective before San Juan Heights.

While Brigadier General Henry W. Lawton's 2nd Infantry Division attacked Spanish troops at the nearby town of El Caney,

Brigadier General Jacob F. Kent's 1st Infantry Division and Major General Joseph Wheeler's Dismounted Cavalry Division advanced toward San Juan Heights. With Wheeler ill, Brigadier General Samuel S. Sumner had charge of the Dismounted Cavalry Division. Shafter, situated at El Pozo two miles away, had envisioned Lawton's troops defeating the Spanish troops at El Caney in two hours and then moving south to join Kent's and Sumner's divisions for a combined assault on San Juan Heights.

The American attack on San Juan Heights, however, was delayed when Lawton's troops took longer than the anticipated two hours to quell Spanish resistance at El Caney. The men of the 2nd Infantry Division and the Dismounted Cavalry Division were meanwhile coming under fire from Spanish troops on the heights. After waiting for several hours and taking casualties from Spanish fire from the heights, many of the American officers grew impatient waiting for new orders from Shafter. At 1:00 p.m., three hours after the planned time for the assault and on his own responsibility, Sumner ordered an attack. On the left, Brigadier General Hamilton S. Hawkins's 1st Brigade of Kent's division moved up the western slope of San Juan Heights. Receiving important fire support from the Gatling Gun Detachment, they reached the summit.

At the same time that the infantry troops were securing San Juan Heights, Sumner's dismounted cavalymen on the right flank were moving up Kettle Hill. The 9th U.S. Cavalry Regiment led the attack, closely followed by the 1st Volunteer Cavalry Regiment (the Rough Riders) and the 1st U.S. Cavalry. Meanwhile, the 3rd U.S. Infantry, 6th U.S. Infantry, and 10th U.S. Cavalry moved partway up the hill.

Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt of the Rough Riders was among the first leaders at the top of the hill. He was one of the very few officers to proceed on horseback, but a wire fence had forced him to dismount near the crest and make the last 40 yards on foot. There were no Spaniards there when the Americans made the summit, as they had withdrawn ahead of the American advance. By 1:15 p.m., 15 minutes after the attack began, the Americans were in possession of Kettle Hill.

The Americans on Kettle Hill then opened an intense fire on San Juan Hill to the north. Roosevelt secured permission from Sumner and then led his men down the western slope, past a small lagoon, and up the northern extension of San Juan Hill to secure the part of San Juan Heights north of the El Pozo–Santiago Road. The attack cost the Dismounted Cavalry Division 35 dead and 328 wounded. It also made Roosevelt a national hero. He used reportage of his role in the battle to help win election as governor of New York in 1899 and nomination as the Republican vice presidential candidate in 1900. His role in the fight for Kettle Hill was popularized by American journalists and illustrators. *New York Sun* journalist Richard Harding Davis, the best-known newspaper correspondent of the war, wrote eloquently of Roosevelt's charge up the hill. Frederic Remington's painting *The Charge of the Rough Riders* was even more laudatory of Roosevelt's heroism. Commissioned by Roosevelt himself, the painting depicts Roosevelt in the background on

horseback, pistol drawn, leading the men forward. Although many of the Rough Riders wanted Roosevelt to receive the Medal of Honor, Secretary of War Russell Alger, upset that Roosevelt had written a report demanding the immediate return to the United States of troops suffering from disease, refused to endorse the recommendation. Nevertheless, on January 16, 2001, President William Jefferson Clinton posthumously awarded Roosevelt the Medal of Honor for his actions at Kettle Hill and San Juan Hill. Although the award came more than a century after the deed, Roosevelt was the first president of the United States to receive the highest U.S. award for valor.

MICHAEL R. HALL AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; Artists and Illustrators; Davis, Richard Harding; V Corps; Journalism; Kent, Jacob Ford; Lawton, Henry Ware; Roosevelt, Theodore; Rough Riders; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Shafter, William Rufus; Sumner, Samuel Storer; Wheeler, Joseph

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Key West, Florida

Southernmost city in the United States and a key mobilization point for U.S. naval forces during the Spanish-American War. Key West is located closer to Cuba than Miami, Florida. The city was officially incorporated in 1896 with a population of 300 and did not grow until the 1920s. The major Florida port was Tampa. As such, it held strategic importance in the buildup for the war and was also heavily influenced by the large Cuban population there.

Key West is actually an island, part of the extensive system of keys—or small islands—that run southwest from the Florida peninsula's southern tip. Key West lies 130 miles southwest of Miami (but some 160 miles by automobile) and 106 miles northeast of Havana, Cuba. Key West is 85 nautical miles from Cuba. At the time of the Spanish-American War, Key West had excellent port facilities and boasted Fort Zachary Taylor, a large U.S. Army fort established in 1840 but continually upgraded. The fort played a role in the American Civil War (1861–1865) and a fairly prominent role during the war with Spain. The fort underwent modernization and reconstruction during and after the war. Because of its extreme southern clime along the 24N latitude, Key West experiences tropical weather for much of the year. The island city has hot, humid, and rainy summers and warm, relatively dry winters. Its precarious



Fort Taylor and the town of Key West, Florida, 1898. (Library of Congress)

perch in the Straits of Florida, however, makes it vulnerable to summer and autumn hurricanes.

Key West was home to a sizable number of Bahamians of European lineage (mostly English) who frequently referred to themselves as Conchs, for the shellfish that was an important part of their diet. In the last third of the 19th century, Key West's population began to grow quickly. Because of the Cuban independence movements (and related military struggles) of the period, a good number of Cubans fled their island home and took up residence in Key West. By 1890, Key West had more people than any other Florida city. Of the 19,000 people who lived there in 1890, probably close to half were of Cuban origin. This large influx of Cubans changed the cultural fabric of the island and gave rise to a major cigar-making industry, which churned out 100 million cigars per year by the mid-1890s. Cuban immigration to the area gave it a unique, multicultural makeup, and Key West has had many Cuban mayors.

On the eve of the Spanish-American War, Key West was not only one of Florida's most populous cities but was also its most wealthy city. The influx of well-to-do Cubans and the rise of the cigar industry played a role in this prosperity, but the city's traditional industries, such as fishing and salt production, were factors as well. For many years, many Key West inhabitants made small fortunes from marine salvaging. Indeed, a thriving business was made salvaging shipwrecks in the adjacent waters, whereby ships' cargoes were redeemed and oftentimes sold for lofty sums. Shipbuilding and ship refurbishment were also lucrative industries, although by the 1880s the largesse earned from maritime adventures had begun to decline.

Because of its strategic location in the Florida Strait between the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico, Key West became the primary mobilization and embarkation point for U.S. naval assets in

the East. Once gathered there, they were dispatched to Cuba when the war commenced in April 1898 to blockade Cuba. Also, many in the American press corps assembled in Key West and sailed for Cuba from the city's port. The ill-fated U.S. battleship *Maine* departed for Cuba from Key West, and after the ship was destroyed by an explosion in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, its dead sailors were buried in Key West. Also, the initial U.S. Navy investigation into the deadly explosion was conducted at the customhouse in Key West. Because Key West was not yet served by a rail line (which would not occur until 1912) linking it with the mainland, it was never actively considered as a site for army mobilization or embarkation.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Eastern Squadron; *Maine*, USS; *Maine*, USS, Inquiries into the Loss of; United States Navy

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Kimball Plan

U.S. Navy strategic plan for war with Spain over Cuba. The Kimball Plan was named for Lieutenant William Warren Kimball, its principal author. In the several years before the beginning of the war, officers at the new Naval War College were charged with drafting a plan for war with Spain. They submitted their findings to Lieutenant Kimball, then serving in the Office of Naval Intelligence. Completed in 1896 and officially known as the "War with Spain 1896," the Kimball Plan envisioned the Caribbean as the chief theater of U.S. military operations based on the goal of liberating Cuba from Spanish rule. The plan saw the navy assuming the primary role, since a naval war was assumed to be less costly and the navy could operate in all seasons.

The centerpiece of the Kimball Plan was a naval blockade of Cuba, but it also called for two offensive naval operations: the first against Spanish ports, navy bases, and trade to keep the Spanish Navy from interfering in Cuba, and the second for a descent on Manila by the U.S. Asiatic Squadron to take that city as a base for controlling the trade of the Philippines and as an inducement for Spain to sue for peace. The plan did not foresee acquisition of the Philippine Islands, nor did it provide for the employment of army troops in Cuba. The Cuban fighting was to be left to the insurgents, who would thus liberate their own country. The only limited role for U.S. ground forces might be the seizure of Havana, in which case operations would be mounted from Tampa, Florida. Such an invasion, the planners believed, would surely end the war.

The Navy Department was not happy with the Kimball Plan. Subsequent plans gave more attention to a blockade of Puerto Rico and operations by the U.S. Army in Cuba to attack Spanish Army forces there.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Naval Strategy, U.S.; United States Navy

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Kipling, Rudyard

Birth Date: December 30, 1865

Death Date: January 18, 1936

British author. Joseph Rudyard Kipling's writings about early British colonial life in India made him a favorite of critics and readers alike as his support for imperialism contributed to his early popularity. He was born in Bombay, India, on December 30, 1865. In 1878, his parents sent him to boarding school at the United Services College in Devon.

In 1882, Kipling returned to India to live with his parents in Lahore. He remained there for seven years, working as a journalist and editor. His first position was as an assistant editor for the *Civil Military Gazette*. He astonished his readers by revealing the secrets of the governing class and Indian life. During his time in Lahore, he also wrote a myriad of satirical verses, which he published as *Departmental Ditties* in 1886. In 1888, he published more than 70 short stories in seven paperback volumes.

In his writing, Kipling criticized Anglo-Indian society by revealing the discrepancies in class relationships and English imperialism. Another theme he explored was that of the common British soldier in India. As such, he examined soldiers' relationships with Indians and often romanticized their stories. He also wrote children's books, which he intended to be accessible to both children and adults. Many of his stories were set in India or in the jungle.

Literary critics had not only welcomed Kipling in England but also glorified him. They also quickly turned on him when in 1891 he published his first novel, *The Light That Failed*. However, *Life's Handicap*, a collection of short stories published that same year, was enormously successful with the public. As Kipling fell from grace in the critic's eyes, he grew more popular with his reading public. In 1892, he published *Barrack Room Ballads*, a collection of enormously successful poems. His literary apex occurred during the 1890s.

Kipling replaced Alfred Lord Tennyson as the most popular English writer in 1892. Several years later, after the Spanish-American War and the Boer War had broken out, Kipling responded by pub-



Popular British author Rudyard Kipling was a staunch supporter of imperialism. (Library of Congress)

lishing in the London *Times* the solemn poems "A Fleet in Being" and "The Day's Work." On February 4, 1899, he published "The White Man's Burden," a poem to guide the United States as it commenced a new empire in the Philippines. While some have interpreted the poem as a satirical indictment of imperialism, the poem did evoke explicit imperialist attitudes for which Kipling was denounced as a racist, an elitist, and a jingoist. In the poem, Kipling's white man symbolized the more advanced race and thus the more advanced civilization. The white man's place on the upper rung of the racial hierarchy bestowed on him the responsibility to direct the "lesser breeds" despite the difficulty of such a task. This responsibility also commanded that it was the white man's duty to spread law, order, literacy, and morality in the way that it was recognized by other white men.

In 1901, Kipling published the children's story *Kim*, his final and perhaps most enchanting portrayal of Indian life. He wrote political commentary in the ensuing years in addition to two well-received children's stories, *Puck of Pook's Hill* (1906) and *Rewards and Fairies* (1912). In 1907, he became the first Englishman to receive the Nobel Prize in Literature.

Kipling also made notable attempts to write verse that did not conform to English tradition. In 1903, he published *The Five Nations*, a collection of South African verse for which he was satirized with parodies and received vehement protests. Indeed, he was

developing a new elliptical style with more somber subjects, which came through perhaps most clearly with *Traffics and Discoveries* (1904), *A Diversity of Creatures* (1917), and *Debits and Credits* (1926).

Kipling's popularity waned in the 1920s, and the wholesale destruction of World War I had greatly altered European opinion on imperialism and jingoism. Although his books remained top sellers, for many his message had become outdated. Kipling's body of work includes 5 complete romances, 250 short stories, 1,000 pages of verse, and numerous miscellaneous volumes. Living out his later days alone and secluded, Kipling died on January 18, 1936, in London. His autobiography, *Something of Myself*, was published posthumously in 1937.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Imperialism; Jingoism; Racism; White Man's Burden

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Knights of Labor

Labor union founded in 1869 in Philadelphia by Uriah H. Stevens, who with eight other fellow tailors formed the organization to promote worker solidarity. Before long, the union became the largest labor organization in the United States. Unlike the American Federation of Labor (AFL), which would be founded by Samuel Gompers in 1886, the Knights of Labor (KoL) did not eschew politics or involvement in the political process.

Under Uriah Stevens's successor, Terrence Powderly, who led the union for years, the goals of the KoL included the creation of a brotherhood of workers, an end to child and convict labor, equal pay for women, cooperative employer-employee relationships, and the institution of a progressive income tax. Although it began as a sort of secret fraternal organization (indeed some of its early organization resembled that of the Free Masons), under Powderly the KoL branched out, allowing both women and African Americans to join its ranks, a radical concept at the time. Powderly's utopian-like goals, however, limited the organization's effectiveness, and its decentralized management made national oversight and unity difficult to achieve.

Regardless of these difficulties, the KoL expanded exponentially during the 1870s and early 1880s, boasting more than 700,000 members by 1885 or so. Its members represented all levels of skill, from unskilled day laborers to highly skilled craftsmen and tradesmen. At the same time, the KoL included nearly 50,000 women, organized into 192 women's assemblies, in its ranks by 1885. The

organization also had many African American members, although they were organized into separate groups.

The KoL presided over a number of strikes in the last third of the 19th century, including the great railway strikes of 1877 during which 100 people were killed, more than 1,000 were jailed, and 100,000 were out of work. Typically, however, Powderly shied away from the use of the strike to achieve his union's goals, as this conflicted with his ideal of employer-employee cooperation. Needless to say, the organization's effectiveness was rather hindered by this mind-set.

The year 1886 marked the high-water mark for the KoL. Two events that year conspired to work against the organization, which then rapidly began losing membership and influence. Before the KoL had reached its apogee, however, its power was such that in 1886 it had begun to organize even agricultural workers, including workers in the sugar fields of Louisiana and the Deep South. In 1887, some 10,000 sugar workers went out on strike, 90 percent of whom were African Americans and members of the KoL. The first death blow to the union was the 1886 Haymarket Riots in Chicago. Occurring in May to coincide with May Day labor observances, the riots broke out between strikers at the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company and Chicago police. The KoL had no direct involvement in the work stoppage. On May 4, a bomb was thrown into the police ranks, and this began a melee in which 7 policemen and 4 workers were killed and scores more wounded. Although the KoL was not involved in the events, it was nonetheless blamed for the violence. The second event that served to bring down the union was the founding, also in 1886, of the AFL, which drew much of its membership from disaffected members of the KoL, especially skilled workers.

Despite these problems, the KoL survived into the early 1900s, although its membership and clout had clearly been eviscerated by the mid-1890s. The advent of other competing unions—with better organization and more concrete goals—took a heavy toll on the organization. It was still potent enough, however, to have taken a prominent role in the 1894 Pullman Strike in Chicago, which saw many members of the KoL join ranks with the newly created American Railway Union, cofounded by Eugene Debs. By the time of the Spanish-American War, the KoL was on its way out, yet it did voice its objections to American overseas expansion along with numerous other labor unions.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

American Federation of Labor; Gilded Age; Gompers, Samuel; Labor Union Movement; Pullman Strike; United States

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Labor Union Movement

Labor unions, which began to form in the United States in the late 1860s and early 1870s, were largely a response to the rise of mass industrialization. As industrialization came to predominate the U.S. economy by the 1870s and 1880s, workers at all levels—from skilled to unskilled—saw the need to band together to exact better wages and improved working conditions from their employers. Unionization was crucial in the last third of the 19th century because many factories and workplaces featured dangerous conditions and back-breaking labor, often for scandalously low wages. Those injured in workplace accidents had no recourse and no income, frequently falling into abject poverty or becoming a drain on their family. And for those families whose husbands or fathers died in industrial accidents, there was no monetary remuneration whatsoever.

Labor unions sought to redress these grievances by pressuring employers to offer higher pay, better benefits, more job security, and safer working conditions. Many unions also took on the role of a quasi-welfare agency. Using the dues they collected from their members, many unions and labor federations offered injury benefits to members hurt on the job and even offered modest death benefits to the families of those killed on the job. By the turn of the century, some unions were offering old-age benefits. Using the time-tested rule that there is power in numbers, unions brought workers together to engage in collective bargaining; employ coercive methods such as strikes, slow-downs, and sit-ins when necessary; and influence the political process. Some unions and federations were more politically oriented than others, while groups such as the American Federation of Labor (AFL) largely avoided politics as a means to achieve workers' goals in its early years.

Although unions would appear to be modern contrivances that were responding to modern problems, they can actually be traced

back to Europe during the Middle Ages. In medieval Europe, skilled craftsmen and artisans formed skill-specific groups, called guilds, by which to organize themselves. They also used the guilds to control who practiced the trade and created a fairly elaborate system of training their own kind. Young people entering the craft or art began as apprentices and worked their way up to become journeymen and master craftsmen after a predetermined period of time. Unions in the 19th century were much broader in scope and very much larger in size, now having to accommodate millions of unskilled, semiskilled, and skilled workers in such workplace settings as factories, mines, and railroads. Also added to the mix was the influx of women workers (who usually had the lowest-paying jobs) and even children as young as seven or eight years old.

In the United States, labor organizations embraced a variety of positions and ideologies that ranged from radical anarchist-socialist to conservative accommodation with employers. In general, the more radical associations were neither very effective nor long-lived. Unlike in Europe, where trade unionism at the time was often equated with socialism and anarchism, unionism in the United States followed a generally more conservative and less confrontational trajectory.

Localized unions of tradesmen and craftsmen sprang up in the United States as early as the 1780s and 1790s, but generally speaking, the era of mass unionization in American did not begin until after the American Civil War (1861–1865). The first federation of unions took the form of the National Labor Union (NLU), which formed in 1866 but was essentially defunct by the early 1870s. With as many as 600,000 members at one point, the group became obsessed with seeking political solutions to problems rather than pursuing collective bargaining, which proved its undoing.

As the NLU self-destructed, a new umbrella labor organization, the Knights of Labor (KoL), had developed, led first by Uriah

U.S. Labor Unions by Industry, 1897–1907

Year	Total Individuals Unionized	Industry				
		Metals, Machinery, and Shipbuilding	Mining, Quarrying, and Metal	Transportation and Communication	Building Construction	Other
1897	447,000	11%	5%	26%	15%	43%
1898	501,000	9%	9%	26%	15%	41%
1899	611,000	10%	12%	26%	16%	36%
1900	868,000	9%	15%	21%	18%	37%
1901	1,125,000	9%	19%	19%	17%	36%
1902	1,376,000	10%	14%	19%	19%	38%
1903	1,914,000	11%	15%	18%	19%	37%
1904	2,073,000	10%	13%	21%	19%	37%
1905	2,022,000	8%	15%	22%	18%	37%
1906	1,907,000	10%	14%	22%	20%	34%
1907	2,080,000	10%	15%	22%	21%	32%

Stephens and then by Terrence Powderly. This organization sought to be all-inclusive in its membership, going so far as to extend its ranks to include women and African Americans, a fairly radical move for the time. The KoL began in 1869 as a sort of fraternal or-

ganization of workers but quickly branched out and even permitted employers to join the union. The group was not well organized, however, and local unions exercised so much power that the national leadership was unable to shape its goals. It was also faulted for being overly secretive (some of its underpinnings were taken from the Free Masons, a fraternal and secret society) and harboring unrealistic goals, such as the creation of a brotherhood of workers. The KoL was dealt a serious blow during the 1886 Haymarket Riots, from which it never recovered. By the mid-1890s, it was a moribund organization.

In 1886, Samuel Gompers formed the American Federation of Labor (AFL), a confederation of unions representing only skilled workers. The AFL was very successful, having dodged the labor violence of the 1890s and becoming the preeminent national labor organization by 1900. Gompers accomplished this by limiting the group's goals to seeking better pay, better benefits, and more job security. The AFL also began establishing insurance for its members to protect them in case of accident or their families in case of death. Above all, Gompers was highly pragmatic and took a conservative approach to collective bargaining. While he did not shrink from the use of strikes, he also believed in the free-market capitalist system and agreed that businessmen had a right to their profits as long as they treated their employees equitably.

During the 1880s, many industrialists had repressed labor union activity. By the 1890s, however, economic depression, high unemployment, and falling wages compelled many unions to reassert themselves. The decade saw some of the worst labor unrest in American history. In the wake of the infamous 1886 Haymarket Riots in Chicago, which brought down the KoL, the 1892 Homestead Steel Strike and the 1894 Pullman Strike stand out as the most violent labor-management clashes of the 1890s. In both cases, labor and management refused to compromise, and the situation quickly spiraled out of control, resulting in scores of deaths and injuries and millions of dollars in property damage.

Despite the excesses that some unions employed to attain their goals, the labor union movement was an essential part of industri-

Attention Workingmen!

MASS-MEETING

TO-NIGHT, at 7.30 o'clock,

HAYMARKET, Randolph St. Bet. Desplaines and Halsted.

Good Speakers will be present to denounce the latest atrocious act of the police, the shooting of our fellow-workmen yesterday afternoon.

Workingmen Arm Yourselves and Appear in Full Force!

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Achtung, Arbeiter!

Große

Massen-Versammlung

Heute Abend, 7½ Uhr, auf dem

Heumarkt, Randolph-Strasse, zwischen

Desplaines, u. Halsted-Str.

Gute Redner werden den neuesten Schurkenstreich der Polizei indem sie gestern Nachmittag unsere Brüder erschossen, geißeln.

Arbeiter, bewaffnet Euch und erscheint massenhaft!

Das Executive-Comite.

Chicago broadside printed in English and German advertising a mass meeting of workingmen at Haymarket in 1893. (Library of Congress)

alization. It helped protect growing numbers of factory workers from exploitation and dangerous conditions, checked the seemingly unbridled power of businessmen and the so-called robber barons, and provided a mechanism by which workers could come together as peers united in a common cause. For many workers, unions were a way to acculturate to a modern, industrialized America. In addition, groups such as the AFL acted as a welfare agency of sorts in an era in which the federal government had no role whatsoever in social policy.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

American Federation of Labor; Gompers, Samuel; Homestead Steel Strike; Pullman Strike; Robber Barons

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Ladrone Islands

The 15 Ladrone Islands (also known as the northern Marianas) were in 1898 a Spanish colony in the western Pacific Ocean. The islands are located some 3,500 miles west of Hawaii and 1,500 miles east of the Philippines. The islands, which constitute part of a submerged mountain range, form a portion of the larger island group known as Micronesia. The islands have a total land area of 389 square miles, and only 6 of them are inhabited. They are spread over some 400 miles, with the largest, Guam, located at the southern end of the chain. Two other large islands, Tinian and Saipan, are 100 miles north.

In 1521, the explorer Ferdinand Magellan was the first European to discover the islands. It was Magellan who gave them their name. Landing on Guam, he secured supplies from the natives. He assumed that these were gifts, but the natives thought they were trading and took one of Magellan's boats, leading him to call the islands the *Islas de los Ladrones* (Islands of Thieves).

Spain officially acquired the islands in 1668, and the Jesuits then renamed them Las Marianas in honor of Spanish Queen Mariana of Austria, the widow of Philip IV of Spain. At the time of the Spanish-American War, the Ladrone Islands were under the general government of the Philippines. Guam then had a population of 9,630 people and a Spanish 60-man garrison.

Following his victory in the Battle of Manila Bay (May 1, 1898), Commodore George Dewey had requested additional stocks of ammunition as well as ground troops. On May 18, the protected cruiser *Charleston*, commanded by Captain Henry Glass, departed San Francisco with the requested ammunition. Glass's orders called for him to stop at Guam, the largest and most southernly of the Ladrone Islands. His orders were to make prisoners of the Spanish military garrison and destroy Spanish fortifications as well as any

Spanish warships. The goal of the operation was to establish a base along the route from the Hawaiian Islands to the Philippines, thereby preventing Spanish interference with U.S. ships making the transit.

At Honolulu on May 28, the *Charleston* joined the transports *Australia*, *City of Peking*, and *City of Sydney*. The latter lifted a total of 2,500 troops destined for operations in the Philippines. All four ships then proceeded to Guam.

When the U.S. squadron arrived at Guam on June 22, it found no ships in port. The ruined fort guarding the outer harbor was unmanned. The *Charleston* then fired a few rounds at a second unoccupied fort to gauge the range. Local officials, unaware that war had been declared, came aboard the *Charleston*, apologizing for not being able to return what they assumed to have been a salute. Captain Glass informed them that the United States and Spain were at war.

The next day, Glass sent ashore a small force to arrange the surrender of the Spanish, which was quickly and easily accomplished. When the Americans departed Guam on June 22, they took with them the island's 61-man garrison (5 officers and 56 enlisted men) and several Spanish officials as prisoners. Leaders of the local Chomorro population were given charge of the island's affairs until U.S. forces could return. Guam and the remainder of the ungarrisoned Ladrone Islands were thus secured without bloodshed on either side. Guam was in fact the first overseas possession of Spain captured by U.S. forces in the war.

During subsequent treaty negotiations with Spain, the United States insisted on the cession of Guam. In early 1899, Spain sold the remainder of the Ladrone Islands to Germany for roughly \$4.1 million. Germany then incorporated them into its New Guinea protectorate. The islands remained under the German flag until 1914, when they were captured by Japan shortly after the beginning of World War I. Mandated to Japan by the League of Nations in 1920, they were captured by U.S. forces in 1944 during World War II. Turned into bases for U.S. B-29 bombers, the islands were used for the strategic bombing of Japan; indeed, the B-29s that dropped the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were both based on Tinian in the Marianas. In 1947, the Marianas, except for Guam, were formed into the U.S. Pacific Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Guam is today a U.S. territory, while the remaining islands constitute a Commonwealth of the United States.

ANDREW BYERS AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Glass, Henry; Guam; Hawaiian Islands; Paris, Treaty of; Philippine Islands

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Lake Lanao Campaigns

Start Date: May 1902

End Date: November 1903

U.S. military campaign on the island of Mindanao during the Philippine-American War. During 1902–1903, the area around Lake Lanao, a large body of water in the western part of the island of Mindanao in the southern Philippine archipelago, was the scene of some hard fighting between U.S. troops and the Muslim inhabitants of the region. The 100,000 Muslims of Mindanao and the nearby Sulu Archipelago had been given the name Moros by the Spanish, whom thought they resembled the Moors of North Africa. Perpetually troublesome to the Spanish, the recalcitrant Moros also posed a potential threat to U.S. efforts to pacify the region after the Spanish-American War.

In August 1899, U.S. Army brigadier general John C. Bates secured a treaty with the sultan of Sulu that provided for recognition of U.S. sovereignty, promised noninterference in the religion and customs of the Moro people, and promised subsidy payments to the sultan and his principal chieftains. The treaty secured the de-

sired ends of Moro neutrality in the Philippine-American War then raging and enabled the United States to establish some military outposts in Moro territory. By 1901, the army had established camps in Mindanao and had begun moving into the Lake Lanao region with a goal of civilizing the natives and securing harmonious relations. The Moros, meanwhile, had grown increasingly resentful. Although some Moro datus (chieftains) were on more or less friendly terms with the United States, many were overtly hostile, and attacks on small parties of U.S. soldiers grew more frequent.

In September 1901, impressed with Captain John J. Pershing's views and work, Brigadier General George W. Davis, commander of the Department of Mindanao-Jolo, appointed him to command the remote post of Iligan on the north-central coast of Mindanao, not far from the northern shore of Lake Lanao. Pershing's mission was to establish friendly relations with the Moros. It was an assignment that he had sought even though it was regarded as a particularly difficult undertaking.

In May 1902, while Pershing was at work at Iligan, Colonel Frank D. Baldwin commanded Camp Vicars on the southern shore of Lake Lanao. Baldwin believed that force rather than patience was



U.S. troops rest in a field while on a march to Marahui, near Lake Lanao on Mindanao in the Philippines. There was heavy fighting between U.S. troops and Muslim insurgents on the island during the Philippine-American War. (Library of Congress)

the answer and responded to Moro harassment of his working parties, who were building a road inland from the coast to Lake Lanao, by launching a punitive strike from Malabang. The subsequent campaign resulted in fierce fighting and the eventual destruction of Moro forts, or cottas, at Bayan and Binadayan.

Despite the success of his military campaign, Baldwin's superiors, Brigadier General George W. Davis and Major General Adna R. Chaffee, military governor of the Philippines, thought that Baldwin had acted too aggressively and failed to work hard enough to achieve harmonious relations with the Moros. Accordingly, in June 1902, they replaced Baldwin with Pershing. Although he commanded a regimental-size force at Camp Vicars as only a captain, Pershing possessed the qualities that Chaffee and Davis sought in a leader in that especially challenging situation. Through patience and hard work, Pershing had demonstrated an ability to establish a good rapport with Moros on the north side of Lake Lanao. Whether he would be able to reprise his success around the southern shore of the lake remained to be seen.

In spite of his best efforts, when Pershing assumed command at Camp Vicars, he discovered that a significant number of Moros continued to ambush patrols and steal into army camps at night in order to secure weapons. Occasionally they fired into the camps at night. Ultimately, Pershing concluded that some punitive action was necessary. In late September 1902, he conducted a campaign that subsequently destroyed several Moro cottas at Guaun and Bayabao, employing artillery to good advantage. Pressing on toward Maciu, Pershing sent emissaries ahead to negotiate, but they were rebuffed. He resumed his advance but was forced to pull back when he was unable to cross an inlet of Lake Lanao that separated Maciu, Sauir, and Talub.

Returning with engineers, Pershing ordered that a road be built around the inlet, and by October 1, he confronted the cottas, from which flew the Moro red flags of war. Pershing's artillery pieces made short work of the Moro forts, and on October 3, he returned to Camp Vicars, having destroyed 10 cottas and inflicted heavy casualties with few losses of his own. In November, he renewed his efforts to persuade the Moro leaders, notably the sultan of Bacolod, to accept the U.S. terms. Although the terms were subsequently rejected, offensive operations did not resume until the following spring.

In April 1903, Pershing was authorized to move against the intractable Bacolod leader and departed Camp Vicars on April 3 with a strong column. Three days later, after much maneuvering over rugged terrain, Pershing surrounded the powerful Moro cotta at Bacolod, located on a ridge above Lake Lanao. On April 7, he attacked amid a furious rainstorm. By dark, the cotta was ablaze from artillery fire. Again, Moro casualties were heavy, but Pershing also had allowed many to escape, hoping that, having witnessed his military power, they might persuade other Moros that further resistance was futile.

In May, Pershing continued his sweep around Lake Lanao, defeating the Moros at Taraca and destroying more cottas. The expedition was supported by a fleet of gunboats that pursued and

attacked the Moro *vintas* (a type of canoe). By May 10, Pershing was back at Camp Vicars, holding the distinction of being the first American to lead an expedition completely around Lake Lanao.

Pershing's honesty and compassion in dealing with the Moros and his readiness to inflict punishment when necessary led to a resolution of the problem. In November 1903, Moro Province governor Leonard Wood led a final punitive military campaign in the Lake Lanao area. Taken together, these campaigns broke Moro resistance. Although some individuals continued to harass U.S. troops, these expeditions by and large ended any major Moro threat.

JERRY KEENAN AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Baldwin, Frank Dwight; Bates, John Coalter; Bates Treaty; Chaffee, Adna Romanza, Sr.; Moros; Pershing, John Joseph

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Lamberton, Benjamin Peffer

Birth Date: February 24, 1844

Death Date: June 9, 1912

U.S. naval officer who served as chief of staff to Commodore George Dewey during the Battle of Manila Bay. Benjamin Peffer Lamberton was born in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, on February 24, 1844. He attended Dickinson College (Carlisle, Pennsylvania) for three years before settling on a navy career. In 1861, he was appointed to the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis. Graduating from the academy in 1864, he saw service at the end of the American Civil War aboard the schooner *America*. Promoted to lieutenant commander in 1868 and commander in 1885, he held a variety of posts, including that of inspector on the Lighthouse Board in Charleston, South Carolina.

On April 22, 1898, just three days before the formal U.S. war declaration against Spain, Commander Lamberton arrived in Hong Kong aboard the protected cruiser *Baltimore*, which was carrying ammunition to the U.S. Navy's Asiatic Squadron. He had been ordered to assume command of the protected cruiser *Boston* in the Asiatic Squadron, but its commanding officer refused to relinquish the command on the eve of war with Spain.

Commodore George Dewey, commander of the Asiatic Squadron, meanwhile sought to end the conflict among his officers by appointing Lamberton as his chief of staff. Lamberton subsequently served



U.S. Navy commander Benjamin P. Lamberton was chief of staff to Commodore George Dewey during the Battle of Manila Bay. Lamberton was later a rear admiral. (Library of Congress)

with distinction on the bridge of Dewey's flagship USS *Olympia* during the Battle of Manila Bay (May 1, 1898). Dewey's report on the engagement with Spanish naval forces was complimentary to Lamberton.

The day after the battle, Lamberton went ashore from the gunboat *Petrel* to the Cavite Arsenal and Navy Yard to demand that the Spanish surrender the installation. Despite an attempt by the Spanish officer-in-charge to delay, Lamberton insisted on unconditional surrender, telling the Spaniards that he would order the *Petrel* to open fire if they refused. The white flag was raised shortly thereafter, and an American naval landing party took control. Lamberton also assumed responsibility for the transfer to Manila of wounded and sick Spanish personnel from the steamer *Isabel*.

When U.S. Army units reached Manila, Lamberton was appointed as the naval representative to a commission responsible for working out the details of the Spanish surrender. Congress subsequently recognized him for eminent and conspicuous conduct during the campaign. In late May 1898, the newly promoted Captain Lamberton was appointed commanding officer of the *Olympia*.

Following the war, Lamberton went on to serve in the Atlantic and Pacific and also had four assignments with the Lighthouse Service. In 1903, he was advanced to rear admiral, but in 1906 his navy service ended because of eye problems that would eventually

leave him blind. Lamberton died on June 9, 1912, in Washington, D.C. A destroyer was named in his honor.

GLENN E. HELM

See also

Asiatic Squadron; Dewey, George; Manila Bay, Battle of

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Lamont, Daniel Scott

Birth Date: February 9, 1851

Death Date: July 23, 1905

Businessman, government bureaucrat, and secretary of war from March 5, 1893, to March 5, 1897. Daniel Scott Lamont was born in Cortland County, New York, on February 9, 1851. He attended Union College in Schenectady, New York, and in the late 1860s became an engrossing clerk (one who prepares official documents for publication) in Albany, New York. He was also an assistant journal clerk for the State of New York. By 1872, Lamont was serving on the staff of the Democratic Party's state committee and had become active in Democratic politics. From 1875 to 1882, he was chief clerk for New York's Department of State. In 1883, he began serving on the staff of New York governor Grover Cleveland and in 1884 was serving as Cleveland's private secretary, a post he kept after Cleveland became president in March 1885. When Cleveland left office, Lamont found work with financier and Democratic operative William C. Whitney.

When Cleveland was reelected president in 1892, Lamont was tapped to become secretary of war, a position he held for the entirety of Cleveland's second term. An activist secretary, Lamont urged numerous reforms and endeavored to reorganize and modernize the U.S. Army. Among other initiatives, he recommended that infantry regiments be reorganized into three battalions. He also urged Congress to appropriate funds to expand the U.S. Army to 30,000 men. Lamont argued that this would place the United States in a better position to field an effective fighting force in short order during time of war. Although his recommendation would have added only 5,000 additional men to the army, Congress balked at the expense, and the plan was never carried out. The United States may well have been in a better position when war came with Spain in 1898 had Lamont's prescriptions been filled.

Lamont also helped create a centralized records system for all U.S. Army documents and impressed upon Congress the need to demarcate and preserve U.S. battlefields, particularly those from the American Civil War. Lamont had a rocky relationship with Major General Nelson A. Miles, who became commanding general



Daniel S. Lamont was U.S. secretary of war during 1893–1897. Congress rejected his appeals for a modest expansion of the army. (Chaiba Media)

of the army in September 1895. Miles, an egomaniacal, vain, and combative individual, constantly sought to upstage everyone else, including Lamont.

When Cleveland left the White House in 1897, Lamont returned to the business world. His successor as secretary of war was Russell A. Alger. Lamont served as vice president of the Northern Pacific Railway Company from 1898 to 1904 before retiring to Millbrook, New York, where he died on July 23, 1905.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Miles, Nelson Appleton; War Department, U.S.

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Las Guásimas, Battle of

Event Date: June 24, 1898

Second major land action between U.S. and Spanish forces in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. The first encounter took place on June 14, 1898, in the Battle of Cuzco Well when a U.S. Marine

battalion secured Guantánamo after heavy fighting. The Battle of Las Guásimas occurred on June 24.

Located about three miles from Siboney, Las Guásimas was situated at the junction of a narrow footpath and El Camino Real (the Royal Road), which led to Santiago de Cuba. After three years of fighting between the Cuban revolutionaries and Spanish forces, most of eastern Cuba had experienced the war in some fashion. A small hamlet to begin with, Las Guásimas had been abandoned by June 1898 and was then a rather nondescript place along the way to Santiago. Because of its location along a high ridge, however, it offered the Spanish a strong defensive position.

Major General William R. Shafter's V Corps commenced its main advance on Santiago, moving inland from the landing site at Daiquirí on June 22. Earlier that same day, Brigadier General Henry Ware Lawton's division began its independent movement toward Siboney under orders to repel any Spanish attack that might come down El Camino Real. Lawton found Siboney abandoned by its Spanish defenders and advised Shafter accordingly. In view of that turn of events, Shafter directed Lawton to continue his advance toward Santiago.

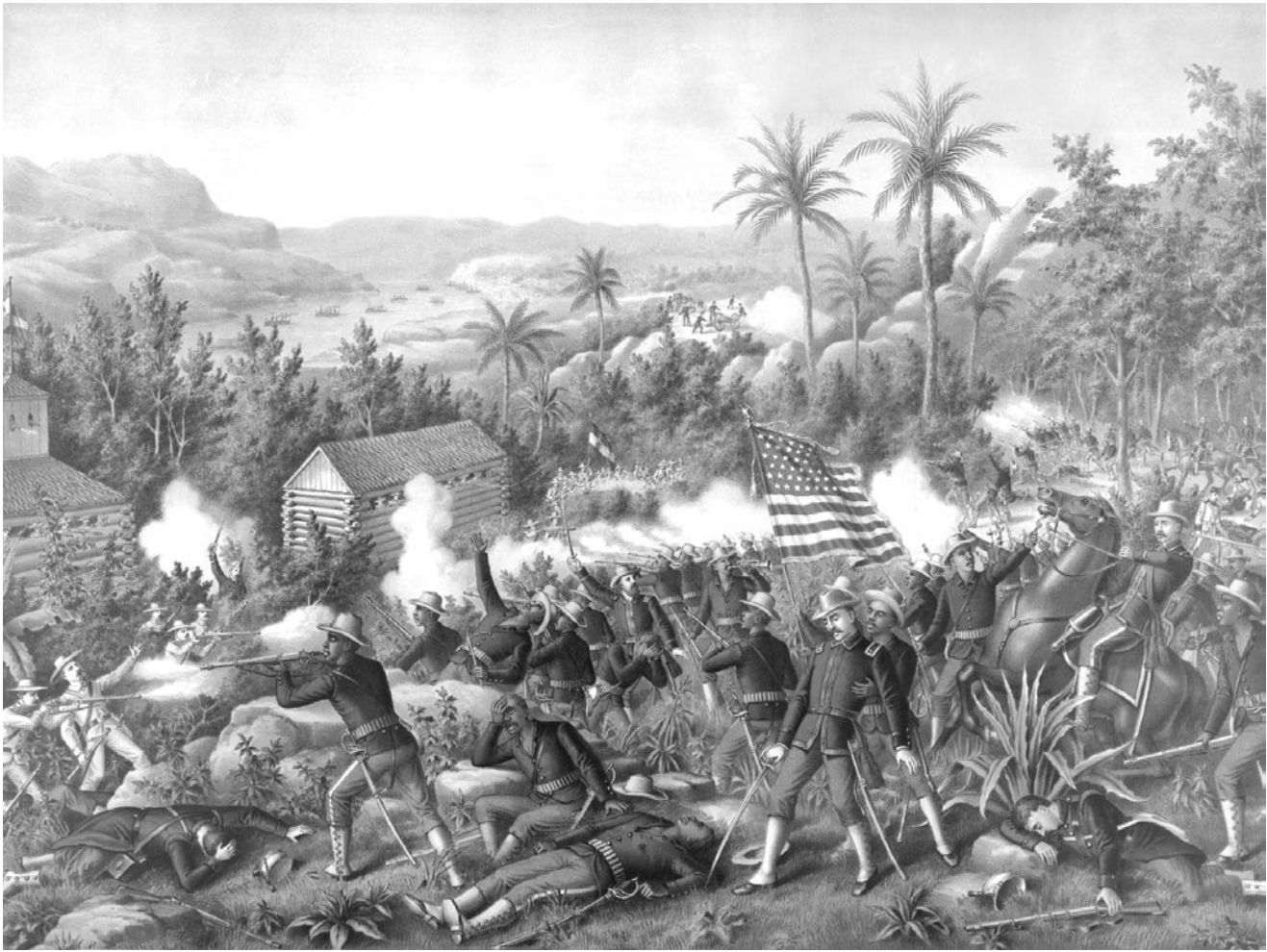
Shafter's orders were not directed specifically to Lawton but instead went to the senior officer present. As it turned out, that was Major General Joseph "Fighting Joe" Wheeler, the ex-Confederate general who had been appointed by President William McKinley to command the expedition's lone cavalry division. Wheeler was a Georgian turned Alabaman (he represented Alabama in Congress when war was declared), and McKinley had selected him as a gesture to help heal old North-South wounds.

While Lawton was reporting to Shafter, Wheeler opted to take advantage of what seemed like a golden opportunity. Ranging far out in front with a small detachment of U.S. soldiers and Cuban guerrillas, Wheeler discovered that the Spanish, who had evacuated Siboney, were now digging in along the ridge at Las Guásimas, a few miles farther along El Camino Real. Wheeler was anxious to fight the Spanish. Shafter had wanted him to oversee the rest of the landing, but the restless, diminutive Wheeler believed that he needed to see what the situation looked like up ahead. Given that Shafter's orders were directed to the senior officer present, Wheeler was more than willing to interpret these to meet the current situation and to attack, which he proposed to do the next day, June 24. Learning of Wheeler's plan, Lawton was angry at having been upstaged. He attempted to inform Shafter and have the attack called off, but the commanding general was still aboard ship and could not be contacted.

In the wake of the U.S. landing at Daiquirí, meanwhile, the Spanish commander at Santiago, General Arsenio Linares, had ordered

Estimated Casualties of the Battle of Las Guásimas

	<i>Killed in Action</i>	<i>Wounded</i>
Spain	10	25
United States	16	52



Kurz & Allison print depicting the Battle of Las Guásimas near Santiago, Cuba, on June 24, 1898. (Library of Congress)

a withdrawal toward Santiago on June 23. To facilitate this move, he had directed Brigadier General Antero Rubín Homet to establish defensive position along the ridge at Las Guásimas. Pondering the situation, Linares then became convinced that the Americans might well move along the coast to the San Juan River and then proceed upriver to Santiago. Fearing that such a move would cut off his troops at Las Guásimas, Linares ordered Rubín to retire to Santiago on June 24.

As Wheeler evaluated the situation and made his plans to attack, he seems to have had some knowledge of the Spanish plans for withdrawal from intelligence supplied by Cuban revolutionaries commanded by General Demetrio Castillo. Wheeler's plan called for Brigadier General Samuel B. M. Young's brigade, composed of the 1st and 10th U.S. Regular Cavalry Regiments and the 1st U.S. Volunteer Cavalry (better known as the Rough Riders), together with a four-gun battery of mountain field pieces, to attack Las Guásimas. The attack was to be supported by some 800 revolutionaries, promised by General Castillo. The promised support, however, never materialized.

The approach to Las Guásimas, covered as it was with heavy brush and timber, afforded some concealment for Young's troops,

who reached Las Guásimas at 5:40 a.m. on a hot and humid June 24. At 8:00 a.m., Young's field pieces opened up but soon were silenced, and the artillerymen were forced to withdraw due to the effective fire of the Spanish riflemen. The attack would have to proceed without artillery support. Young divided his brigade into two columns, with the 1st and 10th Regular Cavalry Regiments under his personal command on the right flank and the Rough Riders, under Colonel Leonard Wood and Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, on the left. Four war correspondents, including Richard Harding Davis and Stephen Crane, also were on hand to cover the action.

The Spanish line was strong, and Rubín commanded some 1,500 men against 1,000 Americans. His forces consisted of three companies of the Provisional Battalion of Puerto Rico No. 1, three companies of the San Fernando Regiment, and two Plascencia guns. His men were well positioned behind stone walls and wire fences, the salient point being a brick building. On the right, Young's regulars occupied the defenders, but the Spanish riflemen were doing considerable damage with their Mauser rifles that utilized smokeless powder and thereby rendered the riflemen almost impossible for U.S. soldiers to locate.

Wood directed Roosevelt to take three companies of the Rough Riders and work around behind the Spanish. In this situation Roosevelt was truly in his element, as he would be later at Kettle Hill and San Juan Hill. Alongside Roosevelt was arguably the most famous journalist of his era, Richard Harding Davis, having armed himself with a carbine and behaving more like a soldier than a correspondent.

Supported by fire from the other two regiments in Young's brigade, the Rough Riders advanced, with Roosevelt commanding on the left, Wood controlling in the center, and Wheeler himself, having arrived on the scene, taking personal charge on the right. In the heat of battle, Wheeler is reported to have shouted, "Come on—we've got the damn Yankees on the run."

After two hours of fighting, General Rubín, in accordance with his orders, broke off the action and effected a clean withdrawal to Santiago. Although Young's brigade took possession of the ground and thus claimed a victory, the affair was of little strategic importance except as a morale boost to U.S. troops. Young's command incurred 16 dead, including Sergeant Hamilton Fish, a New York socialite and grandson of the former secretary of state in President Ulysses Grant's administration. Fish probably was the first Rough Rider to die in action. Captain Allyn Capron Jr. was also killed. Among the 52 Americans wounded was correspondent David Edward Marshall. The Spanish sustained 10 killed and 25 wounded.

JERRY KEENAN

See also

Castillo Duany, Demetrio; Crane, Stephen; Cuzco Well, Battle of; Davis, Richard Harding; Funston, Frederick; Guantánamo, Battle of; Linares y Pombo, Arsenio; Roosevelt, Theodore; Rough Riders; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Wheeler, Joseph; Wood, Leonard; Young, Samuel Baldwin Marks

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Las Marías, Battle of

Event Date: August 13, 1898

Skirmish between Spanish and U.S. troops and the last combat of the war. The engagement near Las Marías, Puerto Rico, took place on August 13, 1898, a day after the Protocol of Peace went into effect. On the morning of August 11, U.S. brigadier general Theodore Schwan's independent brigade entered Mayagüez only to find that

Spanish troops there had already departed. The U.S. soldiers were exhausted, having fought one battle and marched 45 miles in rain and mud in three days.

Schwan decided to let his infantry rest, but he sent A Troop and the Puerto Rican Scouts on ahead to maintain contact with the Spanish throughout the night of August 11. Then on the morning of August 12, he sent one company of the 1st Kentucky Regiment, six companies of the 11th Infantry Regiment, and some artillery to catch up with A Troop and the withdrawing Spanish, who were headed northeast to Lares.

The battle occurred at about 7:30 on the morning of August 13 when Schwan's advance force caught up with the Spanish. The Alfonso XIII Battalion commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Antonio Osés was attempting to ford the swollen Prieto River, near the town of Las Marías. The Americans quickly advanced and, following a brief firefight, scattered the Spaniards. In the engagement, 3 Spaniards were killed, 27 were wounded, and 56 were taken prisoner, including Osés. There were no American casualties. A pursuit, planned for the next day, was canceled when the Americans received word of the Protocol of Peace.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Peace, Protocol of; Puerto Rico Campaign; Schwan, Theodore

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Latin America, U.S. Policies toward

U.S. foreign policy toward Latin America prior to the Spanish-American War was shaped by national security, economic, and ideological concerns. From a national security perspective, once the Latin American nations declared their independence from Spain and Portugal during the first quarter of the 19th century, U.S. policy makers were concerned that European powers might try to help the Spanish regain their lost colonies or, worse yet, try to establish new colonies at the expense of the newly independent Latin American nations. Equally alarming was the possibility that Spain might transfer its two remaining colonies in the New World—Cuba and Puerto Rico—to a stronger European power such as Britain or France. U.S. policy makers were also worried that expanded European economic interests in Latin America would exclude the United States from Latin American markets and raw materials. Ideologically speaking, Americans often invoked the concept of Manifest Destiny, the belief that it was the God-given right and obligation of the United States to civilize and democratize the less advantaged and culturally inferior Latin Americans. Although assertion of Manifest Destiny was frequently a justification for U.S. territorial and commercial



Political cartoon from 1898 depicting Uncle Sam standing at the fork of “Imperial Highway” and “Monroe Doctrine.” (Library of Congress)

expansion, many Americans believed that they were morally bound to assist their neighbors to the south. Historians of U.S.–Latin American relations, however, disagree as to which of the three concerns—national security, economic, or ideological—was the primary motivating factor driving U.S. policy during the period.

During the Latin American wars of independence (1814–1824), U.S. policy makers were faced with the dilemma of how best to respond to the Latin American revolutionaries. Speaker of the House of Representatives Henry Clay argued that the United States should grant immediate diplomatic recognition to the Latin Americans. He believed that the United States and Latin America shared a common historical experience based on European colonialism. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, however, opposed the immediate recognition of the Latin American nations. He argued that the United States and Latin America had vastly different colonial experiences that resulted in cultural and political differences. The viewpoint argued by Adams, however, was conditioned by his negotiations with Spain regarding the sale of Florida to the United States. Adams believed that U.S. recognition of the new Latin American nations would hinder his negotiations with Spain. In 1819, Adams negotiated the Transcontinental Treaty with Spain, which

ceded Florida to the United States for \$5 million and established the boundary between the Louisiana Territory and the Viceroyalty of New Spain. Significantly, the treaty said nothing of U.S. recognition of Latin American independence. Once the treaty was ratified by Spain in 1821, Adams had no qualms about recognizing the Latin American nations. The first nation to officially receive U.S. diplomat recognition was Colombia, in 1822.

Americans were fearful that European powers might try to help Spain regain its lost colonies or impose political domination over Spain’s former colonies. These were not idle fears, however, for a real threat existed. In 1815, Austria, Prussia, and Russia formed the Holy Alliance to safeguard monarchies from republicanism. The Holy Alliance contemplated helping Spain regain its lost American colonies. Rumors soon spread that the French would be rewarded with Cuba, a proposition unappealing to the United States. The possibility was equally unappealing to Great Britain. In August 1823, therefore, British foreign secretary George Canning informed U.S. minister to England Richard Rush of the possibility of a joint U.S.–English declaration to the Holy Alliance to deter it from impeding Latin American independence. Rush, President James Monroe, and former president Thomas Jefferson were initially receptive to the plan. Secretary of State John Q. Adams, however, opposed it and successfully fought for a unilateral statement from the United States with the full knowledge that it had British support.

The result of Adams’s insistence on a unilateral U.S. declaration was President Monroe’s December 1823 Presidential Message to Congress, which has since become known as the Monroe Doctrine. Filled with moralistic rhetoric asserting that the United States was the defender of Latin American independence, the statement decreed that there would be no new colonies in Latin America, no territory transfers in Latin America, and no extension of the monarchical system in the Americas. Significantly, the Monroe Doctrine did not mention any limits on U.S. territorial and commercial expansion in Latin America. Because the United States lacked the power to back up the Monroe Doctrine until the 1890s, both Europeans and Latin Americans considered it a meaningless statement. It was, however, a declaration of future U.S. hopes and became the cornerstone of U.S. policy toward Latin America, which endures into the 21st century.

For the next six decades, the Europeans committed frequent violations of the Monroe Doctrine in Latin America. Most noteworthy was the French occupation of Mexico during the early 1860s and the imposition of a European prince, Maximilian von Habsburg, on the throne of Mexico. The United States, engrossed in the American Civil War, was unable to offer more than a verbal protest of French actions. After the Civil War, however, the French withdrew their forces from Mexico, leading to Maximilian’s overthrow and execution in 1867.

While simultaneously proclaiming to safeguard Latin American independence and criticize European encroachments on Latin American sovereignty, U.S. officials, cloaking their actions in the rhetoric of Manifest Destiny, waged a war of territorial expansion

against Mexico during the 1840s. In 1845, the United States welcomed Texas into the Union after Anglo-Texan revolutionaries had declared their independence from Mexico in 1836. U.S. president James K. Polk, who sought to annex Mexican-held California and other areas of the West and Southwest, initiated the Mexican-American War (1846–1848). The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the war and violated the spirit, but not the letter, of the Monroe Doctrine, granted the United States possession of what eventually became the entire U.S. Southwest, more than 500,000 square miles.

Mexico, however, was not the only target of U.S. territorial expansion in Latin America. The U.S. government did little to inhibit private filibuster adventures to Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic. The American filibusterer William Walker, who managed to seize power in Nicaragua in 1856, was granted official U.S. diplomatic recognition but was denied his petition for annexation to the United States. Meanwhile, U.S. efforts to purchase or otherwise acquire Cuba were stymied. The 1854 Ostend Manifesto, a blatant attempt to coerce Spain into selling Cuba to the United States, was abandoned once it was leaked to the press and presented as a southern plot to bring another slave state into the union.

After the Civil War, the rapidly expanding Industrial Revolution in the United States increased the need for access to foreign markets and raw materials. Envious of British trade advantages in Latin America, the United States deliberately and energetically sought to expand investment in Latin America in the last third of the 19th century. This was reflected in Secretary of State James G. Blaine's attempts to negotiate a Pan-American customs union and to establish U.S. arbitration of international disputes involving Latin American countries. By 1900, U.S. investors had invested more than \$2 billion in Latin America, primarily in the Caribbean Basin. At the time, only British investment surpassed U.S. economic investment in Latin America.

The Industrial Revolution provided the United States with the wealth and prowess to build a modern, all-steel navy during the 1880s and 1890s. This gave the United States the ability to enforce the Monroe Doctrine for the first time. The first test of the United States as a major world power came in 1895 with the First Venezuela Crisis (1895–1897). The British, eager to avoid conflict with the United States, chose to negotiate the boundary between British Guyana and Venezuela instead of using force. By accepting U.S. demands, the mightiest European power gave the Monroe Doctrine an international standing that it had not heretofore enjoyed.

The Cuban War of Independence, which began in 1895, however, was of far greater concern to the United States. Unlike with Venezuela, U.S. economic investments in Cuba were significant. The failure of the Spanish government to satisfy U.S. demands regarding Cuba eventually resulted in the Spanish-American War, which brought increased U.S. political and economic interest in Latin America, especially the Caribbean Basin. Indeed, after 1900, the United States intervened repeatedly in Latin American and Caribbean affairs, of-

tentimes with force. President Theodore Roosevelt's corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, promulgated in 1904, purported to give the United States carte blanche to intervene unilaterally in the affairs of any Central American or Caribbean nation that proved incapable of stabilizing its own finances or political system. Indeed, the Roosevelt Corollary triggered U.S. military interventions in Cuba (1906–1910), Nicaragua (1909–1911, 1912–1925, 1926–1933), and the Dominican Republic (1916–1924). Although President Franklin Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy of the 1930s eschewed American intervention in the region, the United States intervened—directly or indirectly—in Latin American affairs, beginning with Guatemala in 1954 and including U.S. aid to rebel fighters in El Salvador and Nicaragua in the 1980s. In 1989, the United States invaded Panama, ostensibly to rid the nation of President Manuel Noriega, a despot whom Washington had once supported but sought to remove because of his involvement in drug trafficking.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Blaine, James Gillespie; Cuban War of Independence; Filibuster; Manifest Destiny; Monroe Doctrine; Ostend Manifesto; Roosevelt, Theodore; Roosevelt Corollary; United States; Venezuela Crisis, First

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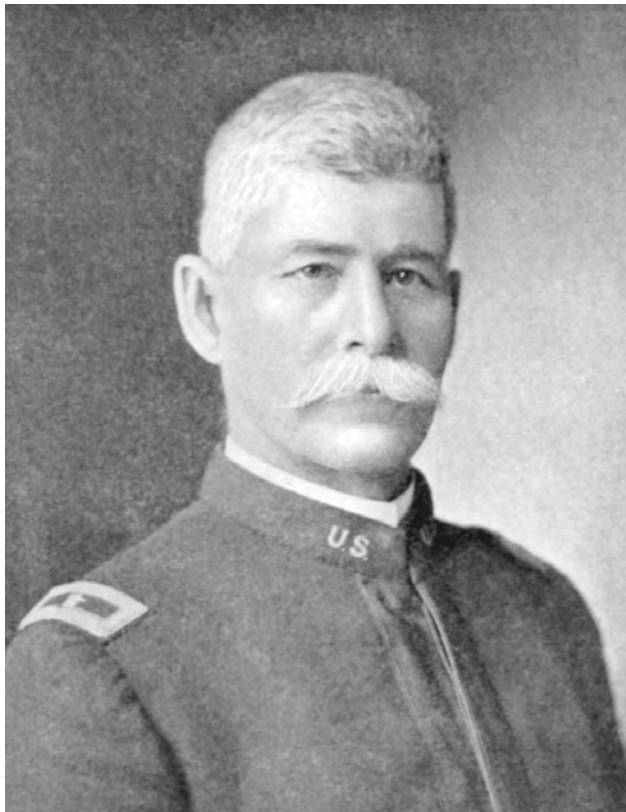
Lawton, Henry Ware

Birth Date: March 17, 1843

Death Date: December 18, 1899

U.S. Army general. Born in Maumee, Ohio, on March 17, 1843, Henry Ware Lawton moved with his family to Fort Wayne, Indiana, that same year. He moved extensively thereafter but returned to Fort Wayne in 1858 and was a student at the Methodist Episcopal College there when the American Civil War began in April 1861.

Lawton immediately responded to President Abraham Lincoln's call for 90-day volunteers, joining the 9th Indiana Regiment in late April. He served during the early fighting in western Virginia and then mustered out with his unit that July. Returning to Fort Wayne, he reenlisted in the army in the 30th Indiana Regiment that August and was promoted to first lieutenant the same month. His unit joined the Army of the Ohio in Kentucky, and he saw combat in the bloody Battle of Shiloh (April 6–7, 1862). He was promoted to captain in June during the Corinth Campaign. In all during the war, Lawton fought in 22 major engagements, including Chickamauga



Major General Henry Ware Lawton served in the American Civil War as a colonel. During the Spanish-American War he saw action in Cuba. He was killed in fighting in the Philippines in December 1899. (John Clark Ridpath, *Ridpath's History of the World*, 1901)

(September 20, 1863). He ended the war as a brevet colonel and was subsequently awarded the Medal of Honor for his conduct during the Atlanta Campaign.

Following the Civil War, Lawton briefly studied law at Harvard University but returned to the army in 1867 as a second lieutenant. He joined Colonel Ranald S. Mackenzie's 41st Infantry Regiment and served with Mackenzie in most of the Indian campaigns in the Southwest, including the Battle of Palo Duro Canyon (September 20, 1874). Lawton earned a reputation as a brave and able officer who fought hard in battle but was respected for his compassion and fairness toward the defeated. He was promoted to captain in March 1879, and in 1888 he commanded B Troop of the 4th Cavalry when he was selected by Brigadier General Nelson A. Miles to lead the column that captured Chiricahua Apache leader Geronimo that September.

Lawton was advanced to major in September 1888 and to lieutenant colonel in February 1889. Following the declaration of war against Spain, in May 1899 he was advanced to brigadier general of volunteers and assumed command of the 2nd Division of Major General William R. Shafter's V Corps for the invasion of Cuba. Respected for his skills as a logistician and an administrator, Lawton supervised the initial V Corps landing at Daiquirí on June 22, 1898.

In the advance on Santiago, Lawton, reinforced by Brigadier General John C. Bates's brigade, received an order from Shafter to

cover the landing at Daiquirí by advancing on Siboney. Major General Joseph Wheeler, who, in Shafter's immediate absence, was the ranking commander on the field, changed that order to join him at Las Guásimas, where Wheeler found himself in a stiff fight with the Spanish.

Shafter ordered Lawton to move against El Caney in support of the general advance on Santiago. The fight at El Caney was expected to be relatively easy, and Lawton expected it to last only two hours, until 9:00 a.m., after which he would join the main attack against San Juan Heights. El Caney, however, turned out to be a tough day-long fight on July 1 that cost Lawton's 6,000-man force heavy casualties and delayed his participation in the attack on San Juan Heights. Lawton, however, was partially responsible. He failed to deploy his forces effectively, and thus a third of them did not get into the fight. Lawton resisted Shafter's order sometime after noon that he break off the attack and move to below San Juan Heights. Lawton claimed that this would constitute defeat. Shafter then acceded to Lawton's request to continue, and the fight at El Caney went on to the finish.

Promoted to major general of volunteers on July 8, Lawton favored lenient terms for the Spanish, including allowing the Spanish soldiers to return home with their arms. Following the end of the fighting, Lawton served briefly as military governor of Santiago and then of the entire province. Relieved of his command because of alleged ill health (heavy drinking that had led him to physically attack the Santiago police chief), Lawton returned to the United States to command IV Corps at Huntsville, Alabama. Receiving a stern lecture from President McKinley and swearing off liquor, in March 1899 the popular Lawton was transferred to the Philippines, where he commanded the 1st Division and exhibited a lack of strategic sense combined with a reckless bravery in battle that on several occasions almost brought his death.

For whatever reason, Lawton chose to lead in person a small punitive action against Montalban and San Mateo near Manila. Walking the firing line in the open with complete disregard for his own safety during fighting near San Mateo on December 18, 1899, he was struck by a bullet in the chest and died almost instantly, the only American fatality that day. Widely respected for his courage and leadership, Lawton was much grieved in the army and by the American public. The city of Lawton, Oklahoma, is named for him.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Bates, John Coalter; Daiquirí Beachhead, Cuba; El Caney, Battle of; Manila Bay, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Shafter, William Rufus; Siboney, Cuba; Wheeler, Joseph

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Lee, Fitzhugh

Birth Date: November 19, 1835

Death Date: April 28, 1905

U.S. Army officer, Confederate general, and commander of VII Corps in the Spanish-American War. One of the youngest and most capable cavalry commanders in the American Civil War, Fitzhugh Lee later gained prominence as an author, a politician, and a diplomat. He was born in Clermont, Virginia, on November 19, 1835, the grandson of American Revolution hero Henry Lee and a nephew of future Confederate Army general Robert E. Lee. Fitzhugh Lee was admitted to the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1852 and was nearly expelled by his famous uncle on account of poor grades and misbehavior. In 1856, Lee graduated near the bottom of his class and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the cavalry.

During 1856–1858, Lee was an instructor at the Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, before transferring to the 2nd U.S. Cavalry Regiment commanded by Colonel Albert S. Johnston. Lee was severely wounded fighting the Comanche Indians in Texas before transferring back to West Point in 1860 as an instructor. At the beginning of the Civil War in April 1861, he resigned his commission and joined the Confederate Army as a lieutenant.

Lee was initially posted to the staff of Brigadier General Richard S. Ewell and fought well at the First Battle of Bull Run (July 21, 1861). The following month, Lee advanced to colonel of the 1st Virginia Cavalry and began a long association with Colonel James E. B. “Jeb” Stuart. Lee accompanied Stuart’s ride around the army of Union major general George B. McClellan during June 12–16, 1862, and gained a promotion to brigadier general. Lee then fought with distinction in the Second Battle of Bull Run (August 29–30, 1862), although his tardiness forced General Robert E. Lee to delay his attack on Major General John Pope’s forces for two days, allowing the latter to escape. Fitzhugh Lee subsequently fought in the Battle of Antietam (September 17, 1862) and in the Battle of Kelly’s Ford (March 17, 1863). At Kelly’s Ford, he repulsed a larger force of Union cavalry. Two months later at Chancellorsville, Lee’s cavalry discovered the exposed position of Union major general Oliver O. Howard’s XI Corps for Confederate lieutenant general Stonewall Jackson’s devastating flank attack. After additional fighting in the Battle of Gettysburg (July 1–3, 1863), Lee advanced to major general and commanded a cavalry division of his own.

The waning fortunes of the Confederacy only intensified Lee’s battlefield performances. He waged a splendid holding action in the Battle of Spotsylvania Court House (May 7–19, 1864), fending off Union attacks long enough to be reinforced by Lieutenant General James Longstreet. At Trevilian Station (June 11–12, 1864), Lee’s men were



Former Confederate general Fitzhugh Lee, U.S. consulate general in Havana during 1896–1898, urged a strong U.S. stance against the Spanish government over Cuba. (Library of Congress)

initially surprised by Brigadier General George Armstrong Custer’s attack but regrouped and beat back the Union advance.

Shortly thereafter Lee’s division joined Confederate forces under Lieutenant General Jubal Early in the Shenandoah Valley, where in the Third Battle of Winchester (September 19, 1864) Lee had three horses shot from under him. Severely wounded, he convalesced until March 1865, when he replaced Lieutenant General Wade Hampton as Cavalry Corps commander. The most notorious episode in Lee’s distinguished career occurred during the initial phase of the Battle of Five Forks (April 1, 1865), when he was conspicuously absent from the front lines while attending a fish fry hosted by Major General George E. Pickett. Lee had failed to inform subordinates of his whereabouts and, consequently, only a portion of his command managed to cut through Union forces under Major General Philip H. Sheridan when they attacked. Lee also led the last charge by Confederate cavalry at Farmville, Virginia, on April 9, 1865, the same day his uncle surrendered at Appomattox.

Following the Civil War, Lee turned to farming but soon switched to politics and was elected governor of Virginia as a Democrat in 1885. He lost a bid for the U.S. Senate in 1893. He also published several books, including *General Lee* (1894), a biography of his noted uncle.

Lee was rewarded for his loyalty to the Democratic Party in 1896 when President Grover Cleveland appointed him U.S. consul

general in Havana, Cuba. The island was then in the throes of a determined independence movement against Spain. Lee openly expressed his dislike of the Spanish and overt sympathy toward the Cuban revolutionaries, and he strongly urged American intervention to assist the Cubans. He was retained in that post by new Republican president William McKinley after 1897 despite the fact that Lee attacked McKinley's policy toward Cuba as being cowardly. Lee advised the administration to dispatch the battleship *Maine* to Havana to protect American interests there but then urged that its arrival be delayed until after the end of the Autonomy Riots. He was thus surprised with the arrival of the battleship on January 24, 1898. On February 15, 1898, it fell to Lee to inform the government that the *Maine* had exploded in Havana Harbor with great loss of life. Lee did not believe that Spain was responsible for the destruction of the ship. When Spanish authorities suggested on March 1 that Lee be recalled, McKinley refused.

When the Spanish-American War began in April 1898, Lee offered his services to the U.S. government and was commissioned a major general of volunteers in command of VII Corps, one of only three former Confederate generals to be so rewarded. He selected the site for Camp Cuba Libre at Jacksonville, Florida, and then trained his men intensively. Although his corps saw no action, it went to Cuba after the war in occupation duty in January 1899, and Lee was appointed military governor of Havana Province. There he found time to research and publish *Cuba's Struggle against Spain* (1899), a ringing defense of the war and its outcome.

Following a brief stint commanding the Department of the Missouri, Lee resigned from the army in March 1901. He died in Washington, D.C., on April 28, 1905.

JOHN C. FREDRIKSEN AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Maine, USS, Inquiries into the Loss of; McKinley, William; Wheeler, Joseph

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formal colonial empire that, although small by comparison with those of European powers, was nonetheless a departure from traditional U.S. isolationism. The war was the harbinger of greater international assertiveness on the part of the United States, bolstered by efforts among American elites to enhance U.S. military and diplomatic capabilities. For Spain, the loss of its last colonies symbolized that country's final decline into a second- or even third-rate power. For both Cuba and the Philippines, the war marked the beginning of closer and often contentious relations with the United States, a pattern that would continue into the 21st century. The war also propelled Theodore Roosevelt, often considered the first modern president, into his country's highest elected office in 1901.

Once the war had ended in American victory, the United States and Spain had to negotiate a peace treaty. Throughout the war and beyond, Spain sought to limit its losses of colonies to Cuba alone, but American representatives insisted on retaining the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam. Negotiations for a peace treaty between Spain and the United States, from which both Cuban and Philippine delegates were notably absent, were held in Paris from October to December 1898. President William McKinley, who did not attend the conference but was in close contact with the American commissioners, originally left open whether the United States should demand all the Philippine Islands or more limited territory there. Audience responses to his speeches convinced him that the majority of his countrymen believed that the United States should demand that Spain relinquish its sovereignty over the entire Philippine archipelago. Eventually, the United States agreed to pay Spain \$20 million in exchange for the Philippines. The Treaty of Paris, signed on December 10, 1898, also ceded Puerto Rico and Guam to the United States, while Spain renounced all sovereignty over Cuba.

When war came in April 1898, McKinley refused to recognize the provisional government (Cuban Revolutionary Government) that Cuban insurgents had established in 1895 and negotiated peace with Spain without including any Cuban representatives. Throughout the war and after, relations between American troops and the insurgent Cubans were poor. Many Americans believed that the Cubans were ill-suited to govern themselves and would require an extended period of American tutelage. From January 1, 1899, to May 20, 1902, Cuba remained under U.S. military administration. Leading American officials feared that if Cuba gained full independence, it would quickly slip into instability and become a source of continuing problems. American officials insisted that before Cuba could gain independence, its constitution must include the Platt Amendment, provisions drafted by the U.S. Congress that granted the United States the right to intervene in Cuba to maintain order and stability. Cuba's rights to enter into foreign treaties or take on financial obligations were also restricted, while the U.S. government obtained a perpetual lease on territory at Guantánamo Bay that remains today a major American naval base.

Although nominally independent, Cuba was effectively reduced to an American protectorate, with the United States reserving the right to define when conditions demanding intervention might

Legacy of the War

The Spanish-American War was in many ways a significant turning point in the diplomacy and international position of the United States. As a consequence of the war, the United States acquired a



U.S. Marines at Deer Point Camp, Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, April 26, 1911. (Library of Congress)

arise. Many other Latin American nations resented what they perceived as Yankee imperialism during and after the Spanish-American War and feared that the United States sought to reduce them to a comparable state of vassalage.

The United States subsequently resumed military control of Cuba on several occasions, in 1906, 1909, and 1912, and also from 1917 to 1933, when U.S. Marines occupied the island to contain a state of revolutionary turmoil. The Platt Amendment was formally repealed in 1933, but the implicit threat of intervention still remained, as a pro-American dictatorship headed by Fulgencio Batista controlled Cuba until 1959. Many Cubans deeply resented their country's continuing subordination to American interests, feelings that contributed to Batista's overthrow and the strongly anti-American outlook and policies of his successor, the leftist Fidel Castro. Even under Castro, however, Guantánamo still remained an American military base. It became notorious in the early 21st century as an extralegal holding prison for a wide assortment of detainees captured in various parts of the world during the War on Terror.

The question of whether the United States should keep the Philippines as a colonial possession provoked heated domestic debate when the Treaty of Paris was submitted to the U.S. Senate for ratification in late 1898. Many Americans believed that imperialism and dominion over subject peoples ran counter to their country's traditions, an antipathy reinforced by the fact that the United States traced its own origins to a revolt against British colonial rule. The annexation of the Philippines or other colonial territories would, they argued, be unconstitutional and subvert American democratic values, yet the islands could not be considered suitable candidates for eventual statehood.

Most such anti-imperialists believed that Filipinos and other non-Western peoples were inherently inferior to Caucasians, incapable of observing democratic norms or reaching the standards of Western civilization. An impressive array of prominent Americans, including the industrialist and philanthropist Andrew Carnegie, former presidents Benjamin Harrison and Grover Cleveland, the

populist Democratic leader William Jennings Bryan, the author Mark Twain, and various prominent congressmen and senators, joined the Anti-Imperialist League, founded in Boston in November 1898, that argued forcefully against any annexation of the Philippines. In Congress, Democrats who had supported U.S. intervention in Cuba were equally strongly opposed to American acquisition of the Philippines. A Philippine insurgency against Spanish rule had been in progress since 1897, and indigenous Filipino leaders sought independence and self-rule, not the replacement of one colonial overlord by another.

McKinley and most of his administration, however, together with the majority of Congress, favored annexation. Even while the war was in progress, the United States had already, at McKinley's urging, annexed the remote Pacific islands of Hawaii, several thousand miles distant from American shores. These had previously been independent and under the rule of an indigenous monarch. In 1893, American planters, led by Sanford Dole, deposed Queen Liliuokalani and sought to join the United States. When this bid failed, they declared Hawaii an independent republic. In 1897, Congress rejected a proposal, backed by McKinley, that Hawaii should be annexed by the United States, but one year later, with the Spanish-American War in progress, the United States finally annexed Hawaii, which became a territory in 1900.

While most Americans considered the Filipinos, unlike the Hawaiians, incapable of self-government, public opinion ran strongly in favor of annexation. A group of longtime Republican internationalists who supported a greatly expanded overseas role for their country, including the acquisition of colonies and strategically positioned naval bases, were particularly staunch advocates of this policy. Drawing on traditions of American mission and Manifest Destiny, supporters of annexation argued that the moral duty of bringing the blessings of civilization to the Philippines had effectively fallen upon their country, which should not and could not reject it. More pragmatically, they also suggested that the islands would be both commercially and strategically valuable to the United States, serving as stepping-stones to Asian markets. In addition,



The Great White Fleet steams out of Hampton Roads, Virginia, on December 16, 1907. The new 16,000-ton battleships *Kansas* and *Vermont* appear nearest to the camera. (Naval Historical Center)

they warned that should the United States cut the Philippines loose, other imperialist powers—most probably Japan or Germany—could hasten to annex these poorly defended and vulnerable targets, an outcome that would actually threaten the United States strategically. Great Britain, eager to win the United States as an ally against its own imperial rivals, hoped that the United States would take the islands. In rousing verse, the popular British poet Rudyard Kipling urged Americans to “take up the white man’s burden” of imperialism. Although a few mavericks, notably Senators George Frisbie Hoar of Massachusetts and Eugene Hale of Maine, voted against annexation, most Republicans in Congress rallied behind McKinley. After Vice President Garret Hobart cast the tie-breaking vote against the Bacon Amendment, which would have renounced permanent sovereignty over the Philippines, the Senate ratified the treaty on February 6, 1899. Eleven Democrats helped to provide the necessary bare two-thirds majority.

Ratification of the treaty meant that the United States had acquired several colonial possessions, an overseas empire that would for several decades be administered by the U.S. Army and the U.S. Navy. For several decades, Puerto Rico was ruled by an American governor, while Guam was controlled by U.S. naval officers. Naval administrators also ran two other small Pacific island territories, Wake Island and Tutuila Island (American Samoa).

The situation in the larger and more diverse Philippines, whose affairs came within the mandate of the U.S. Army, was far more problematic and complicated. Initially the Americans and Filipino rebels cooperated somewhat uneasily during the war and its aftermath, but in February 1899, shortly after the United States annexed the islands, Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy and his followers began an

armed guerrilla insurgency against American rule. The new American overlords who had replaced the Spanish generally treated the Philippine population as racial inferiors, arousing deep resentment among their subjects. U.S. military forces that had already occupied the islands began a repressive countercampaign, relocating civilians and using ruthless methods, including torture, against the rebels. By 1900, reports of American atrocities had begun to reach the United States, undercutting the stated objective of what McKinley had described as benevolent assimilation. In July 1901, the Ohio politician William Howard Taft was appointed civil governor. Taft placed greater emphasis upon conciliatory tactics and winning over the indigenous population, and his arrival coincided with growing U.S. military successes, including the capture of Aguinaldo.

Although sporadic guerrilla resistance lasted until 1913, in July 1902 President Theodore Roosevelt declared the formal end of fighting in the Philippines. Since hostilities began there, deaths among the rebels were estimated at between 16,000 and 20,000, with perhaps another 200,000 civilian deaths. The Philippine-American War cost the United States \$400 million. It was a bloody beginning to more than 40 years of American rule in the Philippines, first as a territory and from 1935 as a self-governing commonwealth. In July 1946, the Philippines were granted full independence. American acquisition of the Philippines, together with Hawaii, meant that the United States had become a major Pacific power. It also set up the subsequent confrontation between the United States and Japan. Ironically, until after World War II, America’s ability to defend these possessions against outside attack was limited, and military planners often considered them a strategic liability rather than an asset.

The swift American victory in the Spanish-American War, described by Secretary of State John Hay as a “splendid little war,” brought a spirit of elation that gave a great boost to national morale, self-confidence, and assertiveness. Such self-congratulation was, however, diluted by the knowledge that victory in the war had resulted as much from Spanish military weakness as U.S. military prowess. Although the new American navy had performed well, coordination between naval and military forces was poor, and the war effort was bedeviled by interservice rivalries. Logistically, American forces were poorly supplied, with inadequate or poor-quality rations, uniforms, weapons, and medical supplies, and thousands of American troops in Cuba succumbed to debilitating disease. In 1899, a special presidential commission chaired by Grenville M. Dodge investigated the War Department’s handling of the war and concluded that its administration and professional standards had been inadequate. As a result, Secretary of War Russell A. Alger resigned and was replaced by Elihu Root, who implemented wide-ranging reforms and reorganization to modernize the War Department. Training at all levels was also improved, and more military attachés were dispatched overseas to familiarize themselves with foreign practices.

In the aftermath of the war, U.S. diplomacy became more assertive. In 1899 and 1900, Secretary of State Hay published the Open Door Notes on China, warning other powers against demanding or acquiring further special territorial or economic concessions in that nation and stating that Americans should be able to trade and invest on equal terms. In 1900, U.S. forces also took part in the international expedition that suppressed the Boxer Rebellion. From then until 1941, the United States maintained a permanent though small military and naval presence in China, a symbol of American interest in Asia.

American activism on the international scene became even more pronounced once the fervent internationalist Theodore Roosevelt became president in 1901. His well-publicized (and self-publicized) combat service during the Spanish-American War with the Rough Riders and the stirring accounts of the unit’s exploits that he sent back to the American press made him a political celebrity. In 1899, he was elected governor of New York and in 1900 became McKinley’s running mate and won the vice presidency. The following year, McKinley’s assassination made the youthful Roosevelt president. Vigorous and energetic in style, Roosevelt significantly enhanced the powers of his office and sought to provide his country with far more proactive leadership than in the past.

Internationally, Roosevelt sought to enhance the power and authority of the United States. The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, promulgated in 1904, arrogated to the United States the right to intervene in any Latin American nation that was deemed to be mismanaging its affairs. Effectively an expansion of portions of the Platt Amendment to the entire Western Hemisphere, over the next three decades this doctrine became the justification for numerous interventions by the United States throughout the region.

In the interests of building a canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans across the Isthmus of Panama, in 1903 Roosevelt encouraged the secession of the province of Panama from Colombia and immediately recognized the new state, after which he promptly negotiated an agreement to build such a waterway, to remain under U.S. control. Roosevelt expanded the U.S. Navy and, as a tangible demonstration of his country’s strength, in 1907 dispatched the so-called Great White Fleet on a much-publicized world tour.

British support for the United States during the Spanish-American War contributed to warmer relations between those two countries. In each nation, many policy makers believed that their nations shared similar values and interests and should cooperate more closely in international affairs. Other big powers, notably Germany and Japan, two countries that were seeking to expand their overseas presence, were more apprehensive over the growing might of the United States. The actions of German naval forces in ignoring the U.S. blockade of the Philippines in the summer of 1898 and apparent German interest in acquiring those islands alarmed Americans, as did indications that Japan also coveted the archipelago.

Overall, the Spanish-American War, although limited in scope, served as a curtain-raiser for the American Century, during which the United States would become an unrivaled global power. The United States established formal and informal imperial relationships with various other states, experienced both conventional warfare and guerrilla insurgencies, experimented in nation-building, professionalized its armed forces, gave flamboyant demonstrations of its growing economic and military strength, and expanded presidential power. In the ensuing decades, all of these tendencies would be dramatically enhanced. By 1900, it was clear that the United States had to be considered an international great power, albeit one whose precise role remained still tentative and undefined.

PRISCILLA ROBERTS

See also

Boxer Rebellion; Colonial Policies, U.S.; Cuba; Cuba Campaign; Expansionism; Guam; Hawaiian Islands; Imperialism; Paris, Treaty of; Philippine-American War; Philippine Islands; Puerto Rico; Puerto Rico Campaign; Roosevelt Corollary

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León y Castillo, Fernando de

Birth Date: November 30, 1842

Death Date: March 12, 1918

Spanish politician and ambassador to France during the Spanish-American War. Fernando de León y Castillo was born on November 30, 1842, in Telde, Gran Canaria (Canary Islands). After earning his baccalaureate at the Colegio San Agustín in Las Palmas, he went to Madrid, where he earned an undergraduate law degree in 1866. In 1871, he became a deputy in the Spanish Cortes (parliament), representing the Canary Islands for the rest of his life. He was instrumental in constructing the Las Palmas port, which contributed to that city's later development. He held numerous political and diplomatic posts, serving as colonial secretary from 1881 to 1883, minister of the interior from 1886 to 1887, and ambassador to France in 1887, 1892, and 1897–1910.

Throughout his political and diplomatic career, León was a political ally of Liberal politician Práxedes Mateo Sagasta. In the months leading up to the Spanish-American War, León was again named ambassador to France in 1897 and attempted to secure French support in diffusing the building tensions between Spain and the United States. Because France was allied to Russia, the government of which did not wish to anger the United States, the French government refused to initiate a European effort to dissuade the United States from declaring war on Spain. Clearly sympathetic to the Spanish cause, however, French leaders suggested to León that the Spanish government approach the Austrians to intercede in an effort to defuse the situation. Although the Austrian government eventually initiated a diplomatic letter on April 6, 1898, that was signed by the representatives of the major European powers and attempted to convince the U.S. government not to declare war on Spain over events in Cuba, its pacific tone helped ensure that it had virtually no impact on U.S. policy makers.

Following the war and the Treaty of Paris, signed on December 10, 1898, in which Spain relinquished control of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines, the Spanish colonial empire essentially ceased to exist, and the following year the Spanish Overseas Ministry was formally abolished. However, León's negotiations with the French government led to the resurrection (albeit limited) of Spanish colonialism. Following extensive negotiations, he concluded the 1900 Treaty of Paris with the French that recognized

Spain's claim to Rio Muni, a small area on the mainland of West Africa that had been claimed by Spain since the Berlin Conference of 1885. In 1909, the Spanish government united Rio Muni, the island of Fernando Pó (currently known as Bioko), and the islands of Elobey, Annobón, and Corsico to form Spanish Guinea. To honor their diplomat, the Spanish government conferred the title of marquis of Muni on León.

In 1906, León facilitated the Algeciras Conference, which defused the First Moroccan Crisis between France and Germany. He gave up his diplomatic post in 1910. León died on March 12, 1918, in Biarritz, France.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Paris, Treaty of; Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo; Spain

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Liberation Army

See Cuban Revolutionary Army

Liga Filipina

A secret Philippine nationalist association founded by José Rizal in 1892 to promote Filipino political, economic, and social development. Rizal, an acclaimed writer, essayist, and scholar, conceptualized the Liga Filipina, or Philippine League, while in Hong Kong. He wrote its constitution, aided by José Ma Basa, an expatriate of the 1872 Cavite uprising against Spain. Once the document was completed, Rizal returned to the Philippines.

On July 3, 1892, Rizal formally launched the Liga Filipina in Manila. The constitution of this civic society for Filipinos provided for a supreme council representing the nation, provincial councils for each province, and popular councils in each village. Its officers included Ambrosio Salvador, president; Agustín de la Rosa, financial planning; Bonifacio Arévalo, treasurer; and Deodato Arellano, secretary. The principle of *Unus Instar Omnium* (One Like All) guided the association.

In keeping with Rizal's aversion to violence and his belief in an evolutionary approach through education as a way to bring about social change, the organization's main tenets were not very revolutionary. The Liga Filipina's constitution had two explicit goals. First,

it touted an indivisible, strong, and uniform community, which would be essential for national unity, the promotion of a common defense, and the curtailment of internal disorders and injustices. Second, it encouraged educational, agricultural, and commercial pursuits and called for reforms in each.

Liga Filipina's membership crossed educational lines, mixing the less learned with more erudite young males. It emphasized economic development for the nation and fraternal advantages for its members. Hoping to find some amicable means to end Spanish-inspired inequities, the secret order resisted independence. Its objectives, in general, reflected the reform message as expressed by the liberal *ilustrados*, or enlightened ones, in Spain.

Despite its innocuous bent, however, the Spanish colonial administration quickly judged the Liga Filipina to be subversive. On July 6, 1892, Rizal was arrested and the next day was banished to Dapitan on the northwest coast of Mindanao, the most southern of the archipelago's large islands. A minority of members maintained their financial contributions for a time. In hopes of influencing Spanish policy, the remaining leadership decided to fund *La Solidaridad* (Solidarity), the émigré newspaper published in Barcelona, Spain, since 1889.

Eventually, the Liga Filipina held new elections. Domingo Franco was chosen president, Deodato Arelan became secretary-treasurer, Isidoro Francisco was responsible for fiscal matters, and Juan Zulueta and Timoteo Paez won supreme council seats. Afterward, Apolinario Mabini was selected as secretary.

Despite the new leadership, members complained of the organization's financial burden and also that Spanish authorities were ignoring the reformist ideas expressed in *La Solidaridad*. After several months, the association had collapsed, with its members at odds with one another. A middle-class faction emerged, favoring continued support for *La Solidaridad* and its incrementalist reform program, but a lower-class faction led by Andrés Bonifacio rejected accommodation with Spain and instead supported the revolutionary Katipunan organization. The middle-class group responded with the creation of the Cuerpo de Compromisarios (Body of Compromisers) organization and for a few months forwarded money to Marcelo del Pilar in Madrid for *La Solidaridad*'s expenses. However, members of the Compromisarios soon ceased paying dues, and the paper's subsidy ended. The Liga Filipina was moribund by 1893, largely a victim of Rizal's incremental approach to Filipino nationalism.

RODNEY J. ROSS

See also

Bonifacio, Andrés; *Ilustrados*; Katipunan; Mabini, Apolinario; Philippine Islands; Rizal, José

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Liliuokalani, Queen of Hawaii

Birth Date: September 2, 1838

Death Date: November 11, 1917

Last reigning monarch of the Hawaiian Islands who ruled during 1891–1895. Lydia Paki Kamekeha Liliuokalani ruled over Hawaii during the turbulent years in which the tropical islands became a U.S. protectorate. She was born on September 2, 1838, in Honolulu. Her aristocratic family was closely associated with King Kamehameha III for whom her mother, Keohokalohe, served as an adviser. Lydia was educated by American missionaries at the Royal School in Honolulu and became fluent in English at a young age.

In September 1862, Lydia married John Owen Dominis, a Boston sea captain and official in the Hawaiian government. In 1874, her brother David Kalakaua succeeded to the Hawaiian throne, leaving her younger brother, W. P. Leleiohoku, heir apparent. When Leleiohoku died three years later in 1877, Lydia was then



Queen Liliuokalani was the last ruler of Hawaii during 1891–1895, before it became a U.S. protectorate. (Library of Congress)

named heir to the throne, being known from that point on by her royal name of Liliuokalani.

As the crown princess, Liliuokalani helped to establish schools for her subjects and served as regent during her brother's world tour in 1881. During her own world tour in 1887, she met with U.S. president Grover Cleveland and Britain's Queen Victoria. Liliuokalani succeeded to the throne in January 1891 at age 53 upon the death of her brother, becoming the first woman ever to rule over Hawaii.

Throughout the 19th century, U.S. interests in Hawaii had grown, mainly because of increased investment in the islands' lucrative sugar industry. In 1887, American investors managed to force a liberal constitution on Hawaii that deprived the monarch of many traditional ruling powers that had already dissipated during her brother's reign. When Liliuokalani came to the throne, she vowed to reclaim those powers and stand firm for Hawaiian independence.

In response, American colonists and planters, led by Sanford Dole, formed the Committee of Safety. The committee had the support of the U.S. minister to Hawaii John L. Stevens and enlisted the aid of marines from the U.S. Navy cruiser *Boston*. The Americans then established a separate government, proclaiming it an American protectorate on February 1, 1893. Dole himself was named president. The Americans submitted a treaty of annexation to the U.S. Congress, but when President Cleveland began his second term shortly thereafter, he ordered an investigation into the affair.

The investigating committee found that the American-led revolution had been supported almost exclusively by Hawaii's sugar planters and that most Hawaiians did not want to be annexed to the United States. A new minister was sent to Hawaii with orders to restore Liliuokalani to her throne as long as she accepted the liberal constitution of 1887. She assented.

Dole defied Cleveland's orders, however, and declared the Republic of Hawaii in 1894. The royalists revolted, but Dole's forces squelched them and jailed the queen's supporters. Queen Liliuokalani abdicated in 1895 in order to win pardons for them. Cleveland watched the unfolding events in Hawaii with dismay, but he eventually recognized the republic in an effort to avoid additional bloodshed. In 1898, the year the islands were formally annexed by the United States, Liliuokalani wrote *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* and composed "Aloha Oe," which quickly became the farewell song for her country. Hawaii officially became a territory in 1900 (with Dole as its governor) and a U.S. state in 1959.

Liliuokalani spent the remainder of her life living in Honolulu on a government pension and continuing to receive homage from visitors and natives alike as Hawaii's queen. She died at Washington Place in Honolulu on November 11, 1917.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Dole, Sanford Ballard; Hawaiian Islands

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Linares y Pombo, Arsenio

Birth Date: 1848

Death Date: 1914

Spanish Army general. Born in Valencia in 1848, Arsenio Linares y Pombo was a career Spanish Army officer of wide military experience. Commissioned a lieutenant in 1868 and initially an artillery officer, he later transferred to the infantry. He fought against insurgents in Cuba, in the Carlist Wars in Spain, and against insurgents in the Philippines. In 1897, he was appointed commander of the Spanish garrison at Santiago, Cuba, where he worked to prepare his forces for possible war with the United States. Following the declaration of war, in May 1898 he was promoted to lieutenant general. Although he had some 35,000 men under his command, instead of concentrating them at Santiago, he left some 24,000 men in such scattered locations as Baracoa, Guantánamo, Holguín, Manzanillo, and Sagua de Tánamo to defend against attacks by Cuban insurgent forces. Provisioning all of them in Santiago would have been difficult, but this decision meant that only limited Spanish military resources were available to oppose the Americans in the Battle of San Juan Hill (July 1, 1898). He opposed the departure of Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron from Santiago until after the arrival there of Colonel Federico Escario García's column.

Linares conducted himself well in the Battle of San Juan Hill during which he was severely wounded. He was replaced in command of Santiago by General José Toral y Vázquez. When Cuban governor-general Ramón Blanco y Erenas suggested to Linares that he attempt to break out with his troops from Santiago de Cuba, he replied on July 12 that this was impossible and that he would take full responsibility for the decision to surrender Spanish troops there. Criticized after the war for his failure to concentrate his forces at Santiago, he testified before the Spanish Cortes (parliament). Linares was appointed senator for life in 1900 and served as minister of war for several Spanish premiers (although not consecutively) during 1900–1909.

On July 9, 1909, Linares, as minister of war, called up reserve troops from Catalonia, which sparked week-long riots throughout the province, especially in Barcelona. The troops were to be sent to Morocco, where Spain was undertaking military action. The latter provoked an antimilitarist, anti-imperialist backlash that was fueled by the strong presence of anarchists and socialists in Barcelona. In what has since come to be called the Tragic Week, as many as 150 Catalonians died in the melee, while government police and army casualties included 8 dead and 125 wounded. Moreover, 1,700 people were indicted by military courts for armed insurrection, and martial law was declared in Barcelona. The 1909 riots forced Prime

Minister Antonio Maura y Montaner to resign, and Linares was also forced out of the government at the same time. Linares died in Madrid in 1914.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Blanco y Erenas, Ramón; Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Escario García, Federico; Guantánamo, Battle of; Manzanillo, Cuba, Actions at; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Spain, Army; Toral y Vázquez, José

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Lodge, Henry Cabot

Birth Date: May 12, 1850

Death Date: November 9, 1924

Historian, writer, Republican Party politician, and influential U.S. senator. Born in Boston, Massachusetts, on May 12, 1850, Henry Cabot Lodge was a scion of Massachusetts society whose roots in the state predated the American Revolution. His grandfather was the governor of Massachusetts, and his great-grandfather was a U.S. senator from the state.

Lodge graduated from Harvard University in 1871. He received his law degree from the same institution in 1874 and, in 1876, one of the first doctorates in history and government granted by Harvard. He entered the legal profession in 1876 after admission to the bar the previous year. He also lectured on American history at Harvard from 1876 to 1879 while he continued to practice law and write history.

Lodge entered politics in 1880 when he won election to the Massachusetts state legislature on the Republican Party ticket. He won election to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1887 and served there until 1893, when he was appointed to the U.S. Senate, serving there until his death in 1924. He became a close friend and confidant of Theodore Roosevelt. Both men held similar views regarding foreign affairs. Both were also historians and wrote works about men who inspired their leadership.

As the situation in Cuba became more grave after 1896, Lodge, a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, urged American intervention on the island to curb Spanish abuses. He no doubt also saw in the situation a golden opportunity for the United States to flex its muscle in the hemisphere. Indeed, he was a firm believer in U.S. expansionism who saw the potential to expand U.S. influence in Cuba and the Philippines as a natural continuation of America's Manifest Destiny. In this he was hardly alone, for many other influential U.S. leaders, such as Roosevelt, William Randolph



Influential Republican Party senator from Massachusetts Henry Cabot Lodge was a strong advocate of U.S. expansionism and urged U.S. intervention in Cuba. (Library of Congress)

Hearst, and William McKinley, held very similar views. Lodge, who admired naval strategist Alfred Thayer Mahan's ideas, supported the building of a great naval fleet and advocated the expansion of the U.S. Army in the years leading up to the Spanish-American War. As such, Lodge's views corresponded with—and certainly bolstered—Roosevelt's political ascendancy. When the war vote was taken in April 1898, Lodge was unambiguously prowar and used his considerable clout to influence the outcome of the war declaration. In 1899, he published a history of the conflict.

As an admirer of Roosevelt's foreign policy (Roosevelt succeeded McKinley as president in 1901), Lodge was highly critical of the foreign policy of Roosevelt's two successors as president, William Howard Taft and Woodrow Wilson. Lodge continued to advocate a strong international role for the United States, including early entry into World War I (1914–1918) on the Allied side. He also pushed for U.S. military preparedness. He became Senate majority leader following the November 1918 elections and assumed the chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in 1919. Thus, he held a pivotal position in the fight against Wilson's cherished League of Nations, which became a key issue shortly after the November 1918 elections and continued into March 1920. Indeed, perhaps Lodge's single most momentous political action came during the fight for the League of Nations, which ultimately derailed Wilson's political career and also ruined his health.

President Wilson had failed to consult leading Republicans regarding the Paris Peace Conference and his proposed League of Nations, and he had excluded them from membership in the U.S. delegation. The Senate divided into three groups on the issue of ratification: Wilson's Democratic supporters, who favored immediate ratification; Lodge's Republican moderates, who favored participation in the League of Nations but with reservations that would preserve the role of Congress in declaring war and adopting economic sanctions; and the so-called irreconcilables who opposed the League of Nations completely. On November 6, 1919, Lodge advanced a resolution of ratification of the League of Nations with 14 reservations that, while somewhat circumventing U.S. obligations under the covenant, did not seriously impair the organization. Wilson urged its defeat, and Democrats joined with the irreconcilable Republicans on November 19 to vote down the resolution. Had the Democrats voted for the Lodge resolution, the treaty would have been carried by a vote of 81 to 13.

Lodge refused to modify his original reservations, while Wilson remained defiant that the Senate must not modify the treaty at all. On March 19, 1920, 21 Democrats deserted Wilson to join the reservationists, and the Senate voted down the Treaty of Versailles containing the League of Nations Covenant. Not until July 1921, under Wilson's successor Warren G. Harding, did Congress, by joint resolution, officially terminate war with Germany and Austria-Hungary. Although Lodge is sometimes blamed for the failure of the United States to join the League of Nations, most historians argue that this more properly belongs with Wilson and his stubborn refusal to compromise.

Lodge was also a noted author who wrote many books, articles, and essays, including well-regarded biographies of Daniel Webster and George Washington. Dedicated thoroughly to the work of the U.S. Senate, Lodge held his seat until his death in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on November 9, 1924.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Mahan, Alfred Thayer; McKinley, William; Roosevelt, Theodore; United States Navy

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Long, John Davis

Birth Date: October 27, 1838

Death Date: August 28, 1915

Lawyer, Republican Party politician, and secretary of the navy (1897–1902). Born near Buckfield, Maine, on October 27, 1838, John Davis Long grew up in New England. He graduated from Harvard Law School in 1861 and practiced law before winning election to the Massachusetts legislature in 1874. After serving as that body's Speaker from 1876 to 1879, he ran for and was elected lieutenant governor in 1879 and governor in 1880. In 1883, after his third term as governor, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. He retired from politics and returned to his legal practice in 1889.

President William McKinley appointed Long secretary of the navy on March 5, 1897, and he was sworn in the following day. He was not in the best of health when he took office, and like many in McKinley's war cabinet, lacked the appropriate background to head the Navy Department. Be that as it may, while in Congress Long had regularly spoken about and voted in favor of naval expansion and modernization. More importantly, he had great difficulty rein-ing in the more bellicose assistant secretary of the navy, Theodore Roosevelt, who often acted without Long's permission.

Relations between the United States and Spain worsened after Long assumed office, and as war loomed, he and Roosevelt rushed to ready the navy for possible conflict. Despite 15 years of steady growth and modernization, the navy remained seriously deficient in small warships, munitions, and support vessels, particularly colliers to refuel the fleet.

Long and Roosevelt soon recalled American warships from various overseas assignments, concentrating those in the Pacific at Hong Kong for possible deployment against the Spanish squadron in the Philippines and at Key West, Florida, to be able to operate against Cuba and Puerto Rico. A special appropriation by Congress of \$50 million allowed Long and Roosevelt to dispatch officers to Europe and there purchase small warships and various munitions and also to secure 104 civilian ships, including 15 colliers, and convert them to military use.

Following the U.S. declaration of war on April 25, 1898, Long and Roosevelt implemented existing war plans developed over the previous years by officers at the Office of Naval Intelligence and the Naval War College. Roosevelt, however, acted on his own in ordering Commodore George Dewey to prepare for an attack on the Spanish naval base at Manila at the outbreak of war. Dewey led the Asiatic Squadron's cruisers and gunboats to victory over Spanish rear admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón's squadron in the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, while other ships of Rear Admiral William T. Sampson's North Atlantic Squadron blockaded Cuba and transported the army's V Corps to the island. The blockaders then destroyed the Spanish cruiser squadron in the one-sided Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3. The navy then oversaw the lifting of other troops to Puerto Rico. For the navy, the war proved short and glorious, and Long, assisted by Bureau

Lodge Committee

See Committee on the Philippines



John Davis Long was secretary of the navy during 1897–1902, and in this position he worked to prepare the navy for its important role in the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

of Navigation chief Rear Admiral Arent S. Crowninshield, proved an able wartime secretary.

The war, however, produced a bitter dispute over credit between the commanders at Santiago de Cuba: Sampson and Commodore Winfield Scott Schley. Long bowed to Schley's demands for vindication and appointed a court of inquiry to settle the matter. Its report, while often critical of Schley, still credited him with winning a "glorious victory." When this failed to settle the dispute, Long prohibited its discussion among naval officers.

Despite the ease with which the U.S. Navy defeated its Spanish counterpart in the Caribbean and Pacific, Long had faced multiple management challenges, including prewar dealings with his impetuous assistant, Roosevelt, and then his disagreements with Secretary of War Russell A. Alger and the War Department. Besides the usual interservice rivalries, Long's conservatism meant that the navy would not place its capital ships at the disposal of the army until after the Spanish had been defeated at sea. Furthermore, Long's reluctance to part with ships to launch the late-July 1898 invasion of Puerto Rico had necessitated a presidential order for him to comply with the war plan.

In 1899, Long redeployed the navy to support military operations in the Philippines, temporarily decommissioning several

cruisers to free crews for the shallow-draft gunboats that patrolled the Philippines and allowing American forces to isolate and defeat insurgent forces. While Long struggled to find ships to wage war in the Philippines, he also had to deploy American sailors and marines as part of the international force sent in the summer of 1900 to China to end the siege of Peking's (Beijing's) foreign embassies and legations during the Boxer Rebellion (1899–1901).

Meanwhile, Long had to contend with another contentious issue. Stephen B. Luce, Alfred Thayer Mahan, and other naval reformers had long advocated the creation of a naval general staff. They believed that the navy's mobilizations for the conflicts of the late 1890s and early 1900s would add weight to their arguments, but Long dashed their hopes. Indeed, he spent his last year in office arguing against and scuttling their proposal. Instead, he successfully argued that a naval general staff would undermine civilian control of the navy and the secretary of the navy.

Long left office in April 1902. The following year, he published *The New American Navy*, a two-volume work that celebrated the generation of progress that had made the United States a great naval power. Afterward, he resumed his legal practice and generally avoided politics. Long died at his home in Hingham, Massachusetts, on August 28, 1915.

STEPHEN K. STEIN

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; Boxer Rebellion; Crowninshield, Arent Schuyler; Luce, Stephen Bleeker; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Manila Bay, Battle of; Puerto Rico Campaign; Roosevelt, Theodore; Sampson, William Thomas; Sampson-Schley Controversy; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; United States Navy

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Long Island, New York

See Camp Wikoff

Love, Alfred

Birth Date: September 7, 1830

Death Date: June 23, 1913

U.S. peace activist and founder of the Universal Peace Union (UPU) in 1866. Alfred Love, a Quaker and disciple of the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison's views on peaceful resistance, was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on September 7, 1830, and became a

package woolen merchant in Philadelphia. In 1862, Love published a tract titled *An Appeal in Vindication of Peace Principles and against Resistance by Force of Arms* in which he explained his radical pacifist views. Among other things, he argued that war was un-Christian and inhumane. A year later, he was drafted into the Union Army but refused to serve or find a substitute. He also would not permit his business to sell goods in support of the war effort, causing him economic hardship.

Angry and disenchanted with peace groups such as the American Peace Society for supporting the American Civil War, Love founded the UPU in 1866. Its headquarters was in Philadelphia. He served as its president until his death in 1913 and edited its various periodicals, *The Bond of Peace* (1868–1874), *The Voice of Peace* (1874–1882), and *The Peacemaker and Court of Arbitration* (1882–1913). Under his leadership, the UPU's guiding principle was that peace meant individual moral perfection in both personal and community relationships. The organization held to an absolutist position that human life is sacred and should not be taken away by either individuals or governments. Strangely, among the UPU's most notable vice presidents, although hardly radical pacifists such as Love, were Andrew Carnegie, William H. Taft, and Mexican leader Porfirio Diaz.

Love and the UPU championed a wide range of social reforms. Among them were temperance, social purity, justice for Native Americans, women's rights, full equality for freedmen, abolition of capital punishment, prison reform, and arbitration in labor-management disputes. On the international scene, Love and his organization supported the views of British free trade theorist John Bright. The UPU promoted the idea of the free exchange of goods as a means to attain internationalism, anticolonialism, humanitarianism, and world peace.

In the late 1890s, as calls grew increasingly louder for American military intervention in the Cuban crisis, Love and the UPU vigorously campaigned against the war. He publicly urged Americans to stay calm after the sinking of the battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898. In letters and cables addressed to Steward L. Woodford, the American minister in Madrid, Love and other officers of the UPU encouraged him to implore the Spanish government to act quickly and decisively in making concessions while also exploring the possibility of third-party mediation. Love even wrote to Spanish prime minister Práxedes Mateo Sagasta expressing his appreciation for conciliatory actions already taken and warning him of the jingoistic pressure—especially from the yellow press—on the William McKinley administration to go to war. Love insisted that the crisis could be solved by granting Cuba its complete independence.

When it became evident that the United States was determined to conduct military operations against the Spanish, Love sent one last letter to the Spanish queen regent María Cristina declaring that he and his peace organization were the “true representatives of the American heart” and that peaceful means remained the only viable course of action worth pursuing. After the war began, Love and the

UPU continued to urge the McKinley administration to send a peace commission to Madrid. Unfortunately, before Love's letter could be dispatched to the queen regent, it was intercepted and made public by a reporter for the *Philadelphia Bulletin*. The letter's publication unleashed a storm of protest. An unruly crowd entered the UPU's headquarters and peace museum located in Independence Hall and tore down pictures and banners, including flags of numerous nations and one with the Spanish colors. Love and other members of the UPU also received death threats. Love was also burned in effigy, the figure riddled with bullets and dragged through the streets of Philadelphia.

Despite being forced to abandon its offices, the UPU continued to oppose the war. When the war came to a quick end in August 1898, Love began focusing his attacks on the McKinley administration's decision to annex the Philippines and on the subsequent Philippine-American War (1899–1902). Opposition to the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War represented the high point of the UPU's activities. After 1900, membership in the organization declined rapidly as the emergence of institutional and professional bodies began replacing those such as the UPU that relied on voluntary and personal relationships. Alfred Love died in Philadelphia on June 23, 1913. With his passing, the UPU ceased operations.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

See also

Carnegie, Andrew; Jingoism; María Cristina, Queen Regent of Spain; McKinley, William; Philippine-American War; Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo; Taft, William Howard; Woodford, Stewart Lyndon; Yellow Journalism

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Luce, Stephen Bleeker

Birth Date: March 25, 1827

Death Date: July 28, 1917

U.S. admiral. Born in Albany, New York, on March 25, 1827, Stephen Bleeker Luce entered the navy as a midshipman on October 19, 1841, and joined the frigate *Congress* in the Mediterranean. In 1845, he joined the ship of the line *Columbus* in Captain James Biddle's mission to China and Japan. Luce attended the Naval Academy during 1848–1849 and served on the sloop *Vandalia* in the Pacific during 1849–1852 and on the steamer *Vixen* during 1853–1854, followed by duty with the Coast Survey in 1854–1857 and on the sloop *Jamestown* in the Caribbean in 1857–1860. He became seamanship and gunnery instructor at the Naval Academy in



Admiral Stephen B. Luce was a strong advocate for reform and professional development in the U.S. Navy. He founded the Naval War College, which developed the plans for war with Spain. (Naval War College Museum)

1860, following it from Annapolis to Newport at the start of the American Civil War.

At Newport, Luce revised W. H. Parker's textbook *Naval Light Artillery* (1862). Ordered temporarily to the screw frigate *Wabash* in the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron during 1861–1862, Luce returned to the academy to write the U.S. Navy's textbook *Seamanship* (1862), which was the navy's first textbook on the subject and remained the standard manual until 1901. In 1863, Luce took command of the training ship *Macedonian* and then the *Nantucket*, *Sonoma*, and *Pontiac* during 1864–1865. He returned to the Naval Academy in 1865 as commandant of midshipmen and served in that capacity until 1868. He then commanded the *Mohongo* (1868–1869) and the *Juniata* (1869–1870).

While serving at the Boston Navy Yard, Luce wrote what became the lead article in the first issue of the newly established Naval Institute *Proceedings*. In 1874, he played a key role in outfitting the sloop *St. Mary* to become the New York State Maritime School. After commanding the sloop *Hartford* during 1875–1877 and the screw frigate *Minnesota* in 1877–1881, he commanded the Naval Training Squadron, establishing its base at Newport in 1883.

In 1884, Luce founded the Naval War College, becoming its first president. Inspired by Emory Upton, John Laughton, and others, Luce focused the college on the study of strategy, tactics, international law, naval history, and war gaming, gathering James Soley, William McCarty Little, and Alfred Thayer Mahan to carry out this work.

Luce commanded the North Atlantic Station during 1886–1889. Following retirement in March 1889, he was an active writer and lecturer, serving on the War College faculty during 1901–1910. In January 1909, President Theodore Roosevelt appointed him to the Moody Commission on naval reorganization. A key figure in the professional development of U.S. Navy officers, Luce died in Newport, Rhode Island, on July 28, 1917.

JOHN B. HATTENDORF

See also

Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Naval War College; Roosevelt, Theodore; United States Navy

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Ludington, Marshall Independence

Birth Date: July 4, 1839

Death Date: July 26, 1919

U.S. Army officer and quartermaster general during the Spanish-American War. Marshall Independence Ludington was born in Smithfield, Pennsylvania, on July 4, 1839. At the beginning of the American Civil War in 1861, he joined the Union Army. On November 1, 1862, he received a captain's commission and the post of assistant quartermaster of volunteers. He participated in numerous battles, including those at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, and served as a quartermaster for a variety of units during the war. He performed his job well and was breveted to brigadier general of volunteers in 1865.

Ludington continued in the army after the war and during the next three decades served in a variety of quartermaster posts, rising slowly but steadily through the ranks. In 1890, he was promoted to the rank of colonel. As tensions between the United States and Spain neared the boiling point, on February 3, 1898, President William McKinley appointed Ludington to the post of quartermaster general of the U.S. Army at the rank of brigadier general. Realizing full well that the army was woefully unprepared for war from a supply perspective, he immediately took steps to speed up procurement even before war was declared in April 1898. However, he was working under severe limitations placed upon him by Congress as well as by the War Department.

Ludington stepped up efforts to secure more uniforms and tents, which were in short supply, but he was partly stymied by bottlenecks and the limitations of domestic manufacturers. He tried, for example, to convince American textile makers to produce khaki cloth for summer uniforms, but almost nobody at the time had the capacity to do so. The end result was that thousands of U.S. soldiers fought a war in tropical locales—and during the heat of the summer—in heavy wool uniforms. This contributed to an abnormally high number of heat-related illnesses.

Ludington was not averse to procuring needed supplies from outside the army's official procurement system. Thus a great number of contracts were arranged with new suppliers. To speed up the procurement process, he delegated considerable authority to his subordinates, who had virtual free rein to procure goods from a variety of manufacturers. These same subordinates had the authority to enter into priority contracts with civilian suppliers, which included the authority to ask for second and even third shifts in order to increase a factory's output. Ludington also improvised when necessary, sometimes procuring inferior-grade cloth for uniforms to fill the gap. In addition, he worked closely with the railroads, devising an inventory system that would help railroads and depot workers identify and expedite the delivery of military supplies, especially those in shortest supply. It was also Ludington's job to requisition seaborne transports to supply the army in both the Caribbean and the Far East, which he performed admirably given the enormous pressure under which he labored. There is general agreement that despite the handicaps under which he had to labor, he did a fine job of supplying troops in two theaters of war thousands of miles apart.

Ludington came under repeated fire during the war—both by politicians and the press—concerning the equipping of soldiers and a general lack of supplies. The War Department Investigating Commission (Dodge Commission), convened after the war to look into the problems of supply and readiness, did not, however, single Ludington out for supply problems. Rather, the commission concluded that the state of unpreparedness leading up to the war had caused most of these problems.

When it became clear that American troops would be garrisoned in Puerto Rico and the Philippines for an unspecified period of time, Ludington created the Army Transport Service, an outfit specifically designed to move supplies over great distances and with minimal delay.

Beginning in 1899, Ludington was instrumental in the repair and modernization of many barracks, warehouses, and other buildings on army posts throughout the United States and in the newly acquired territories. He also pushed hard to streamline the procurement system and ensure that the army would not be caught unprepared in a future conflict.

In April 1903, Ludington was advanced to major general. That same month, he retired from active duty, concluding a career that had lasted for more than 40 years. In retirement, he traveled extensively, including overseas, and also went on a brief speaking

tour. Ludington finally settled down in Skaneateles in upstate New York, where he died on July 26, 1919.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Dodge Commission

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Ludlow, William

Birth Date: November 27, 1843

Death Date: August 30, 1901

U.S. Army officer. William Ludlow was born in Riverside, Islip, Long Island, New York, on November 27, 1843. He attended Burlington College and New York University and then enrolled in the United States Military Academy, West Point, graduating in 1864 as a second lieutenant in the Corps of Engineers. During the American Civil War, he was breveted captain for gallantry at the Battle of Peachtree Creek in July 1864. He served on Major General William T. Sherman's staff during the March to the Sea and the Carolinas Campaign. In March 1865, Ludlow was breveted lieutenant colonel.

Ludlow remained in the army after the Civil War and served in a variety of frontier posts. He became chief engineer of the Dakota Territory and supervised the mapping of the region. He also directed the 7th Cavalry's 1874 expedition to map and gather information on the Black Hills (now South Dakota), which resulted in the discovery of gold and renewed conflict with the Sioux. He then oversaw river and harbor projects in New York City and along the Great Lakes. In 1883, he was named Philadelphia's chief water engineer, a post he held for three years during which time he reorganized and rebuilt the city's antiquated public water works.

In 1898, when the Spanish-American War began, Ludlow was promoted to brigadier general of volunteers, taking command of the 1st Brigade in Major General Henry Lawton's 2nd Division. Besides his brigade responsibilities, he also served as the chief engineer for V Corps. As such, he was instrumental in landing the corps at Daiquirí and Siboney, Cuba, in June 1898 and also supervised the landing of rebel forces at Aseraderos, which were under the command of General Calixto García y Iñiguez. Ludlow, who had helped prepare a plan of attack against Mariel, argued unsuccessfully for the seizure of Mariel and a subsequent push to Havana. Major General William R. Shafter refused to accept the Mariel Plan and instead set his sights on Santiago de Cuba.

Ludlow commanded his brigade competently in the July 1, 1898, Battle of El Caney and signed the Round-Robin Letter (July 31–August 4) that argued forcefully for the immediate removal of U.S. troops from Cuba out of fear that they would be felled by tropical



General Calixto García y Iñiguez and U.S. Army brigadier general William Ludlow during their meeting at the time of the landing of V Corps in Cuba. (*Harper's Pictorial History of the War with Spain*, 1899)

diseases. In September 1898, he was advanced to major general of volunteers and served for a time under Shafter, organizing the modernization and rebuilding of Havana. Ludlow subsequently served as military governor of Havana and briefly served in the Philippines in 1901 but returned because of illness. In 1900, he was a member of a board that helped establish the Army War College. Ludlow died in Convent, New Jersey, on August 30, 1901.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

El Caney, Battle of; V Corps; García y Iñiguez, Calixto; Lawton, Henry Ware; Round-Robin Letter; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Shafter, William Rufus

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Trask, David F. *The War with Spain in 1898*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996.

Lukban, Vicente

Birth Date: February 11, 1860

Death Date: November 16, 1916

Filipino revolutionary and general during the Philippine-American War (1899–1902). Vicente Lukban was born on February 11, 1860,

in Labo, Camarines Norte, Philippines. His father was a lawyer, and his parents sent Lukban to the Ateneo Municipal in Manila. He subsequently earned a law degree at the University of Santo Tomas, also in Manila. In 1886, he resigned his position as a justice of the peace and formed the *Cooperativa Popular*, an agricultural and commercial cooperative based in Bicol. He established the cooperative to assist small- and medium-sized farmers in increasing their profits from agricultural sales by circumventing middlemen. Lukban, an ardent nationalist and supporter of Filipino revolutionary Andrés Bonifacio, secretly skimmed profits from the cooperative for the revolutionary cause, however. In addition, the cooperative was an effective method to disseminate revolutionary propaganda. Members of the cooperative could freely move about the region without arousing the suspicion of the Spanish colonial authorities.

By 1896, the *Cooperativa Popular* was a major contributor to the growing revolutionary movement in the Philippines. Lukban began serving as an espionage agent for the clandestine Katipunan in Bicol and gathered crucial information about Spanish troop movements in Bicol. That same year, while in Manila, Spanish colonial authorities, suspicious about his frequent visits to the city, charged Lukban with conspiring to overthrow the Spanish colonial government. He was imprisoned and tortured. Unable to prove his complicity in the revolutionary movement, the Spanish authorities released him from prison on August 18, 1897. He immediately joined Filipino revolutionaries in their military struggle to overthrow Spanish colonial rule and assisted Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy in strategic planning. After Aguinaldo signed the Pact of Biak-na-Bato in December 1897, Lukban accompanied Aguinaldo and his close advisers into exile in Hong Kong.

While in Hong Kong, Lukban studied military science under British naval officer Joseph Churchase. From him, Lukban learned the military skills of marksmanship, ammunition preparation, and infantry tactics. With the beginning of the Spanish-American War, Lukban returned to Bicol in 1898 to resume revolutionary activities. Because of his success in Bicol, Aguinaldo made Lukban the political and military chief in Leyte and Samar.

Meeting virtually no resistance on December 31, 1899, Lukban proclaimed himself the governor of Samar Province of the recently proclaimed Republic of the Philippines. When American troops landed in Samar in January 1901, they were greeted by well-organized charges by Lukban's infantry. Although U.S. troop strength forced Lukban to retreat, he nevertheless left behind an efficient espionage and resistance movement. He ordered that anyone found to be cooperating with the American troops be immediately executed without trial. He also repeatedly rejected U.S. offers of amnesty in exchange for surrender.

On September 28, 1901, Lukban approved the operation that became known as the Balangiga Massacre. This surprise attack killed 48 of the 78 U.S. troops stationed in the town of Balangiga on Samar Island. Retaliation by American troops in the subsequent Samar Campaign brought the slaughter of thousands of Filipino civilians. U.S. brigadier general Jacob Smith, the officer who

oversaw the operation, was merely reprimanded, but not formally punished, for his role in it.

On February 27, 1902, two Filipino prisoners revealed the location of Lukban's secret jungle headquarters, which led to his capture by U.S. forces. Following several years of imprisonment, Lukban took a pledge of loyalty to the new government. He entered local politics and in 1912 was elected governor of Tayabas, Quezon. Reelected in 1916, he died in Manila on November 16, 1916.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Balangiga Massacre; Biak-na-Bato, Pact of; Bonifacio, Andrés; Katipunan; Samar Campaigns; Smith, Jacob Hurd

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Luna de St. Pedro, António Narciso

Birth Date: October 29, 1866

Death Date: June 5, 1899

Filipino journalist, revolutionary, and military leader. António Narciso Luna de St. Pedro, the youngest of seven siblings including the acclaimed painter Juan, was born on October 29, 1866, in Manila to a prominent Filipino family. António Luna studied literature and chemistry, receiving a BA from the Ateneo de Manila University in 1882. He then began working on a pharmacy degree at the University of Santo Tomas in Manila. In 1885, he continued his education in Spain, earning a pharmacy licentiate from the University of Barcelona and a doctorate in pharmacy from the Central University of Madrid in 1890. He continued his studies in France and Belgium while writing and lecturing on scientific matters.

While in Europe, Luna wrote under the pseudonym Taga-Ilog for *La Solidaridad*, a Barcelona periodical championing administrative changes in the Philippines. In Spain, he became a friend of the Filipino nationalist José Rizal, founder of the Liga Filipina. In 1894, the Spanish government sent Luna back to the Philippines as a civil service pharmacist to study various diseases. Many urged him to join the fledgling Filipino revolutionary movement, but he demurred, believing it better to work for reforms under Spanish tutelage. He did, however, join the Katipunan. This move apparently angered Spanish authorities in the Philippines, who arrested and almost executed him and one of his brothers in the late summer of 1896, suspecting them of involvement in the revolutionary movement.

In February 1897, Luna was exiled to and imprisoned in Spain. Following his release, he was not permitted to return to the Philip-

pines, so he studied military science in Belgium before returning home after the Spanish-American War ended in 1898.

Upon his return to the Philippines, Luna tried to join the revolutionary movement led by Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy. The revolutionaries were disinclined to accept Luna because of his previous vacillation and quick temper but changed their minds because he was well respected and well educated, had excellent contacts, and knew military tactics and strategy. In September 1898, Aguinaldo reluctantly appointed him a brigadier general and chief of military operations. Luna also received a faculty appointment to Universidad Literaria de Filipinas, founded by the Aguinaldo revolutionary government, and represented Ilocos Norte Province in the Malolos Congress.

In early September 1898, Luna founded and funded *La Independencia*, a journal supporting the revolution. He became its editor and a major contributor. In October, he established the first Filipino military academy at Malolos to train officers. The following month, Aguinaldo, while remaining in de facto control of the military, appointed him supreme chief of the army.

In December, when it became clear that the United States would not grant independence to the Philippines, Luna unsuccessfully urged Aguinaldo to besiege and attack Manila. In February 1899 as the Philippine-American War began, Luna assumed command of insurgent forces around Manila. During the next several months, he fought various battles against great odds, becoming known for both his bravery and strict discipline, which also earned him numerous enemies among the Filipinos. As a result of military losses, Aguinaldo decided to negotiate with the Americans, which Luna staunchly opposed. Indeed, as the conflict went on, Aguinaldo and Luna locked horns repeatedly, and at least from Aguinaldo's perspective, Luna became increasingly difficult to control.

In early June 1899, Luna received a telegram to meet Aguinaldo at a convent in Cabantuan. When Luna arrived on June 5, 1899, he learned that Aguinaldo had departed. As Luna and his aide were walking down the convent steps, they were shot and stabbed to death by soldiers Luna had apparently disciplined earlier. Although there is no hard evidence to link Aguinaldo to the assassination, the building enmity with Luna may indeed have played a role in the murder. Given Aguinaldo's likely orders to have rival Andrés Bonifacio killed in 1897, such an act would not have been out of character.

GREGORY C. FERENCE

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Filipino Revolutionary Movement; Malolos Constitution; Philippine-American War; Philippine Republic, First; Rizal, José

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Luzon

The largest and most populated island of the Philippine archipelago. The island of Luzon, the scene of fierce fighting between U.S. forces and Filipino insurgents during the Philippine-American War, encompasses approximately 40,420 square miles and has a current population of some 35 million people. Luzon is home to Manila, capital of the Philippines. Luzon also includes Manila Bay, considered the finest harbor in East Asia. Just adjacent to Manila is Quezon City, the Philippines' most populated city. To the west of Luzon is the South China Sea, while the Philippine Sea lies to the east. South of Luzon are the Visayas Islands and the Sulu Sea.

Luzon also refers to one of the three main island groups comprising the Philippine archipelago (the other two are Visayas and Mindanao). Currently, the Luzon island chain is divided into 37 provinces and 8 regions, which are chiefly for administrative and tourism purposes.

Luzon is geographically diverse with soaring, rugged mountain ranges; volcanoes; dense jungles; and the Cagayan River Valley, the largest river system in all of the Philippines. The principal mountain ranges include the Cordillera Central, the Sierra Madre, and the Zambales Mountains, which includes the volcano Mount

Pinatubo. The Bicol Peninsula, located in the southeastern corner of Luzon, is an area punctuated by mountains and a series of small bays. The climate throughout, except for the high altitudes, is typical of a tropical region. Luzon features very hot and humid summers with plentiful rainfall and occasional typhoons and warm, somewhat drier winters.

Most of Luzon's inhabitants at the time of the Spanish-American War were Christians and belonged to either the Tagalog group or the Ilocano group. Manila and its environs contained most of the Spanish and European population during the time of Spanish control. Known for many years as the breadbasket of the Philippines, Luzon provided most of the food crops for Manila, had a huge rice-growing industry, and was the chief area of sugarcane cultivation in the Philippines.

In 1896, Luzon and Manila witnessed the beginning of the Filipino insurrection against the Spanish and in 1898 was the scene of U.S. naval and land battles between Spanish and American forces (the Battle of Manila Bay and the First and Second Battles of Manila). After the Spanish were defeated in the summer of 1898, American forces then fought a war against Filipino insurgents led by Emilio Aguinaldo and family beginning in 1899. Much of



Village on the island of Luzon, circa 1898. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

the fighting was centered on the island of Luzon. In 1901 after two years of fighting, U.S. Army brigadier general James Franklin Bell declared that as many as one out of six Luzon natives had died in combat or had fallen to the ravages of dengue fever.

In late 1941 and early 1942 during World War II, Japanese forces attacked American positions on Luzon and in Manila and began a brutal occupation of the island until 1945, when U.S. troops began a campaign to wrest the Philippines from Japanese control. On July 5, 1945, American forces declared the official liberation of the island, although pockets of Japanese resistance remained until after the war ended in August 1945.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Bell, James Franklin; Manila; Tagalogs

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Luzon Campaigns

Start Date: February 1899

End Date: December 1899

Luzon, the largest and most important Philippine island in a political and economic sense, is also home to the Philippine capital of Manila. Luzon experienced a series of U.S. military campaigns during February–December 1899 in the Philippine-American War.

The war against Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy's Army of Liberation began with the Manila Campaign (February 4–March 17, 1899). Following a series of hard-fought actions during the three-week period of February 4–23, which constitutes the Second Battle of Manila, U.S. military commander in the Philippines Major General Elwell Otis believed that the key to winning the war lay in securing that portion of Luzon north of Manila. Otis was convinced that the insurrection was rooted in the Tagalog population, concentrated in the provinces of southern Luzon. These areas, he reasoned, would be difficult to subjugate, but the ethnic groups north of Manila would welcome the Americans. This assessment was based on a misguided understanding of Filipino opposition to the U.S. presence.

Otis's strategy had two parts. First, he sought to sever the insurgents' supply line north out of Manila. On March 12, 1899, Brigadier General Lloyd Wheaton led a provisional brigade in striking east and south to Laguna de Bay. Wheaton's assignment was to clean out any pockets of nationalist resistance and destroy crops that might be a source of supply to Aguinaldo's forces. In the week that followed, Wheaton, supported by a gunboat and artillery, de-



U.S. soldiers occupying a trench position on the island of Luzon in 1898 during the Philippine-American War. (Library of Congress)

livered a crippling blow to nationalist forces south of Manila. This phase ended on March 17.

The second part of Otis's strategy was aimed at the capture of Malolos, the newly proclaimed capital of the Philippine Republic. This campaign lasted from March 24 to August 16 and was carried out by Major General Arthur MacArthur's 2nd Division of 9,000 men in three brigades under Brigadier Generals Wheaton, Harrison Otis, and Irving Hale. Otis and Hale moved north along the rail line from Caloocan supported by the artillery of the Utah Battery and a section of Colt machine guns. The advance was slow and the fighting fierce as the troops worked their way through nearly impenetrable brush. Meanwhile, Wheaton's brigade, designated a flying column, got under way on March 25 and moved to the west of Otis and Hale. The hope was that they could catch the Army of Liberation between these two forces. On March 26, Wheaton's troops captured Malinta, though not in time to seal off Aguinaldo's withdrawing forces. Five days later, on March 31, MacArthur's troops entered Malolos, which the departing nationalists had burned and destroyed. Malolos was now in U.S. hands, but the plan had failed in that the Army of Liberation had escaped the trap. The Americans captured Pampagna on May 5 and San Isidro on May 15. The campaign ended with the capture on August 16, 1899, of Angeles by the 12th Infantry Regiment.

While MacArthur and Wheaton moved against Aguinaldo's forces, troops under Major General Henry Ware Lawton moved south in the Laguna de Bay Campaign of April 8–17, 1899. They captured Santa Cruz in the Laguna de Bay region on April 10, returning to Manila on April 17.

In the San Isidro Campaign of April 21–May 30, 1899, General Lawton's men advanced from La Lona Church on San Isidro on

April 21, dispersing insurgent forces there. Lawton's forces returned to Manila on May 30. Two weeks later, on June 13, Lawton's men overran insurgent field fortifications along the Zapote River.

With the arrival of the annual summer monsoon rains, active campaigning ceased temporarily in Luzon. During this period, the character of U.S. forces in the Philippines had changed. With the expiration of the term of service for Spanish-American War troops, Washington created a force of two-year U.S. volunteer regiments (rather than state volunteer units), consisting of 1 cavalry and 24 infantry regiments. This period also saw the organization of the Philippine Scouts.

Fall 1898 brought the beginning of the dry season and with it a resumption of campaigning. In the Cavite Campaign on October 7–13, 1899, forces under General Wheaton and Brigadier General Theodore Schwan wiped out nationalist resistance in Cavite and adjacent provinces. A 400-man U.S. Marine Corps battalion also took part, attacking Filipino entrenchments at the coastal town of Novaleta from the land side on October 8.

That same month, General Otis began a three-pronged offensive in northern Luzon involving forces under Lawton, MacArthur, and Wheaton with the primary objective of trapping nationalist leader Aguinaldo. His capture, it was believed, would destroy the nationalist resistance. Aguinaldo's army numbered perhaps as many as 80,000 men. Although they were certainly not as well equipped as the U.S. forces and lacked a cadre of veteran leaders, the nationalists were tough, courageous, and determined. They also had the great advantage of being familiar with the territory.

In the San Isidro Campaign of October 15–November 19, 1899, Lawton and Brigadier General Samuel B. M. Young headed north up the Rio Grande de la Pampanga, closing off the mountain passes of the Sierra Madres in order to prevent Filipino nationalist forces from escaping. They took San Isidro on October 19.

Recognizing the importance of capturing Aguinaldo, Lawton decided to send a mixed force of infantry and cavalry from San Isidro under Young to push on in advance of the main column. Lawton was also concerned about Wheaton, from whom he had heard nothing, and feared that if their two commands did not unite as planned, Aguinaldo would have an opportunity to evade the net and escape. Lawton's command pursued the nationalist forces aggressively, covering more than 100 miles of extremely harsh terrain over a six-week period. The group did manage to skirmish with Aguinaldo's rear guard but was unable to capture the Filipino

leader. Lawton's men approached San Fabian on the Lingayen Gulf on November 18.

At the same time, in the Tarlac Campaign of November 5–20, 1899, MacArthur advanced from San Fernando along a rail route that ran through the fertile valleys and plains of central Luzon. His men captured Tarlac on November 12 and reached Dagupan on November 20.

Finally, a third force under Wheaton carried out the San Fabian Campaign of November 6–19, 1899. His 2,500-man force sailed from Manila on November 6 and went ashore at San Fabian the next day. It promptly got bogged down. Routing an insurgent force at San Jacinto on November 12, it linked up with MacArthur's men at Dagupan only on November 20 despite the fact that it was only a dozen miles from San Fabian. Even though some of Young's scouts had alerted Wheaton to the urgency of the situation, he did not act with dispatch. Finally moved to action, he did capture Aguinaldo's mother and infant son, but the Filipino leader himself escaped with about 1,000 followers.

On December 2, elements of Wheaton's command under Major Peyton March struck Aguinaldo's rear guard at Triad Pass, killing General Gregorio del Pilar, Aguinaldo's close friend and adviser. The action at Triad Pass ended the U.S. Army's major campaigns in Luzon; only scattered insurgent elements remained active in the island. Considerable fighting was yet to be done, but Aguinaldo recognized that he could not wage a conventional war against the United States with any real hope of success. As a result, from December 1899 until Aguinaldo's capture on March 23, 1901, the U.S. Army was forced to fight a protracted guerrilla war that did not end until 1902.

JERRY KEENAN AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Lawton, Henry Ware; Luna de St. Pedro, Antonio Narciso; MacArthur, Arthur; Otis, Elwell Stephen; Philippine Scouts; Pilar, Gregorio del; Schwan, Theodore; Wheaton, Lloyd; Young, Samuel Baldwin Marks

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M

Maass, Clara Louise

Birth Date: June 28, 1876

Death Date: August 24, 1901

U.S. nurse and medical pioneer. Born in East Orange, New Jersey, on June 28, 1876, Clara Louise Maass was the oldest of 10 children in a devout Lutheran German immigrant family. She helped in an orphanage during her high school years and at age 17 entered the newly established Christina Trefz Training School for Nurses at Newark's German Hospital. She graduated in 1895, and her competence earned her a promotion to head nurse only two years later.

On the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in April 1898, Maass volunteered to serve as a contract nurse for the U.S. Army. From October 1898 to February 1899, she served with VII Corps in Jacksonville, Florida; Savannah, Georgia; and Santiago, Cuba. After her discharge, she joined VIII Corps in the Philippines, which was battling Filipino insurgents in the Philippine-American War (1899–1902). She remained in the Philippines until mid-1900, when she was sent home after having contracted dengue fever, a serious disease of the tropics transmitted by infected mosquitoes.

The wars in which she had served had given Maass considerable expertise in fighting malaria, yellow fever, and other tropical diseases. In October 1900, she returned to the Las Animas Hospital in Havana, Cuba, at the request of Major William Gorgas, chief sanitation officer, and Dr. John Guitares. The U.S. Army's Yellow Fever Board (also known as the Reed Commission), headed by Major Walter Reed, an army physician, had been established in Cuba after the war to find out the means of transmission for this tropical fever and develop effective immunization against it.

In order to determine whether yellow fever was caused by contaminated filth, person-to-person transmission, or the bite of a

mosquito, the commission recruited volunteers to test their theories. They were paid \$100 for risking their lives, with an offer of an additional \$100 if they became ill. In March 1901, experiments revealed that men living in filth without exposure to mosquitoes were not infected with yellow fever. Next, seven volunteers offered themselves to be bitten by infected mosquitoes. One of them was Maass, who contracted a mild case of the fever and recovered quickly; however, two men who volunteered died. Because the other volunteers remained healthy, however, researchers were not sure whether the mosquitoes were truly the carriers of the disease.

On August 14, 1901, Maass volunteered for a second mosquito bite, hoping to prove that her earlier case of yellow fever had immunized her against the disease. This time, however, she became severely ill. She died of yellow fever on August 24, 1901, at the age of 25 and was buried in Colón Cemetery in Havana with full military honors. Her death confirmed the theory of transmission by mosquitoes, but public protest put an end to further experiments on humans. Maass's death also seemed to prove that the body did not produce sufficient antibodies to ward off further infections of yellow fever. In fact, the original illness was almost certainly not yellow fever, and Maass was not immune. Several years later, vaccines would be developed to build the body's defenses against infection.

Maass's body was moved to Fairmont Cemetery in Newark, New Jersey, on February 20, 1902. She has been honored by both Cuba (in 1951) and the United States (in 1976) with a postage stamp, the first nurse to receive such a distinction. In 1952, Newark's German Hospital was renamed Clara Maass Memorial Hospital (now located in Belleville, New Jersey) in her honor, and she was inducted into the American Nursing Association's Nursing Hall of Fame in 1976.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER



U.S. nurse and medical pioneer Clara Maass volunteered for yellow fever studies and subsequently died of the disease. (National Library of Medicine)

See also

Medicine, Military; Reed, Walter; Yellow Fever; Yellow Fever Board

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Mabini, Apolinario

Birth Date: July 22, 1864

Death Date: May 13, 1903

Filipino intellectual, political philosopher, patriot, key adviser to Filipino revolutionary leader Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, and first prime minister of the First Philippine Republic during 1899. Apolinario Mabini was born on July 22, 1864, in Talaga, Batangas, Philippines, to a poor peasant family. Despite his impoverished upbringing, the bright and precocious Mabini attended the Colegio de San Juan de Latran in the Philippines from which he received an undergraduate degree.

Mabini also worked as a Latin teacher and a clerk for a Philippine court. While doing so, he pursued law studies at the University of Santo Thomas (Philippines) from which he earned a law degree in 1894. An ardent champion of the poor, he dedicated much time to ameliorating the status of impoverished peasants and defending those who could not afford representation.

In 1896, Mabini was struck down by a serious illness, likely polio (infantile paralysis), that paralyzed him from the waist down. From then on he became known as the "sublime paralytic," in part an acknowledgment of his keen intellect. As the unrest in the Philippines intensified, Spanish authorities arrested the still desperately ill Mabini in late 1896 for inciting turmoil. When he proved that he was unable to move his lower limbs and thus unable to participate in the uprisings, he was released and sent to a hospital, where he was able to convalesce.

A member of the Liga Filipina, a reformist group headed by José Rizal, Mabini was initially against the use of violence to effect social change in the Philippines. By 1897, however, he had become convinced that radical change was needed to throw off the shackles of Spanish rule and began to support the concept of armed rebellion. Accordingly, he wrote a number of manifestos urging all Filipinos to unite in the fight against the Spanish.

In May 1898, while he was on holiday in Los Banos, Laguna, Philippines, Mabini was summoned by Aguinaldo to help him establish a government in anticipation of the end to Spanish colonial rule. It required dozens of men to physically carry Mabini's cot to the meeting with Aguinaldo in Kawit. Mabini quickly became one of Aguinaldo's most trusted advisers and certainly his most cerebral. Mabini penned the June 18, 1898, decree that organized local governments under Filipino control. He was also instrumental in establishing an independent judicial system, supervising elections for the revolutionary congress, and crafting the framework of the soon-to-be new government.

When the revolutionary congress first convened in Malolos on September 15, 1898, Mabini immediately found himself at odds with the Filipino elites, who called for the prompt invocation of a constitution. Mabini believed that the role of the congress should be to advise the leaders and to facilitate the pursuit of the revolution. When he was overruled, he wrote his own draft of a constitution, which was rejected by the majority.

After the Malolos Constitution, which represented a compromise document, was adopted and the First Philippine Republic officially organized, Mabini was appointed both prime minister and foreign minister when the government came into force on January 23, 1899. Mabini was immediately confronted with a panoply of problems, not the least of which was negotiating an end to the hostilities between Filipino revolutionaries and U.S. forces. Having failed on several occasions to secure a cease-fire or armistice with the Americans, Mabini cut off negotiations and instead backed the growing guerrilla insurgency. On May 7, 1899, he resigned his posts with the fledgling republic. By then, he had alienated many of the elites in the government and had fallen out of favor with Aguinaldo. Mabini's departure was

a significant loss, for no other person within the revolutionary movement had understood the stakes of the struggle as well as he did.

Mabini went into hiding to escape capture but was apprehended by American forces on December 10, 1899. When asked to take an oath of allegiance to the U.S. government, he pointedly refused. He also refused to end his support for the Filipino insurgency. After Mabini spent more than a year in detention, American authorities deported him to Guam. In February 1903, he returned to the Philippines, where he died in Manila on May 13, 1903, only weeks after having sworn allegiance to the U.S. government. During Mabini's imprisonment, he wrote *La Revolución Filipina* (The Philippine Revolution), which was published posthumously in 1907 and remains today one of the most insightful analyses of the Filipino struggle during the 1890s.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Liga Filipina; Malolos Constitution; Philippine Republic, First; Rizal, José

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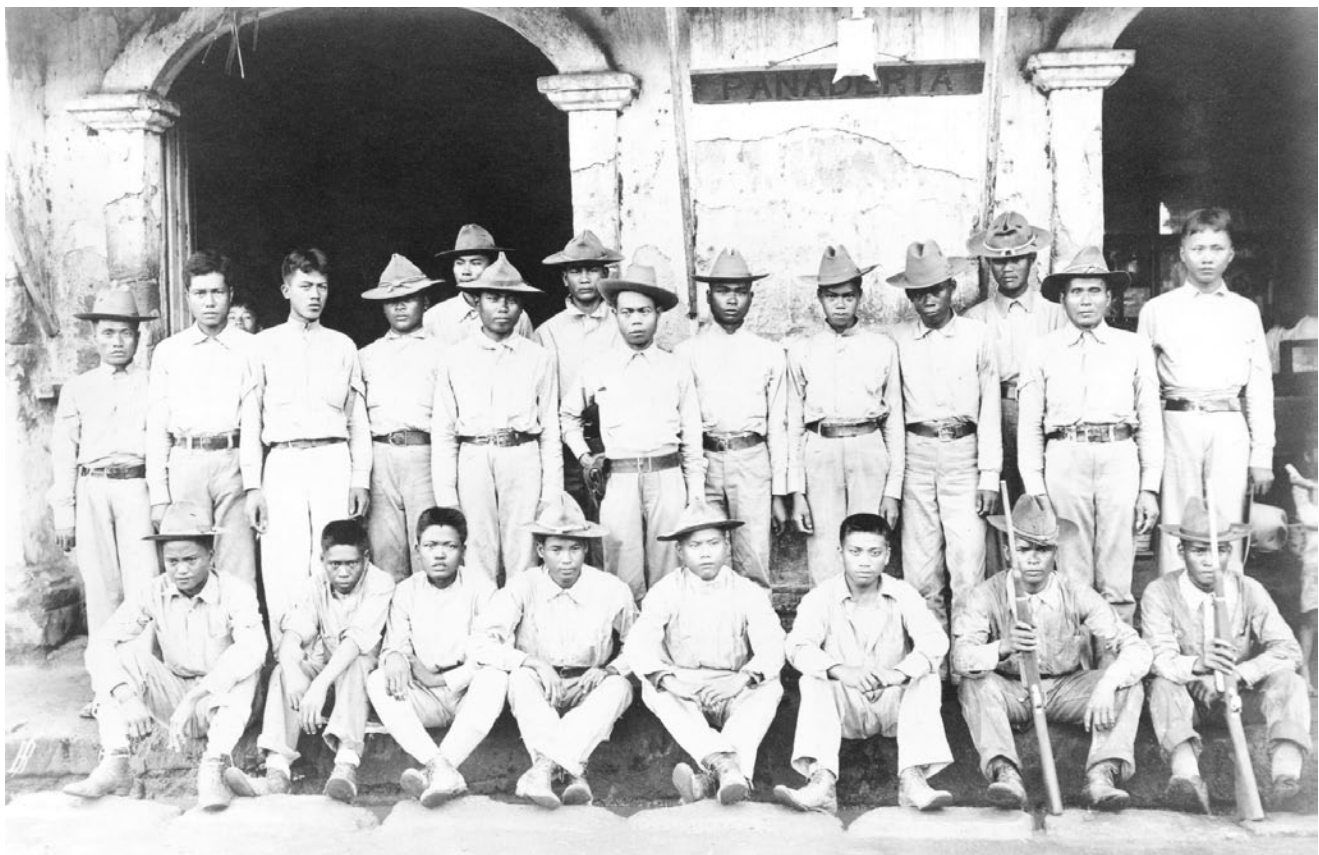
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Macabebe Scouts

Filipinos from the town of Macabebe in Pampanga Province on the island of Luzon who served with the U.S. military during the Philippine-American War (1899–1902). The residents of Macabebe were longtime foes of the Tagalogs and had a history of providing military service to Spain. As loyal Spanish mercenaries and fierce warriors, the Macabebes had manned outposts, engaged in foreign campaigns, and suppressed domestic disorder. For example, when Francisco Maniago rebelled in Pampanga in 1660, the Macabebes helped quell the uprising. They likewise assisted Spanish authorities in putting down the revolutions of 1896 and 1898, actually compelling a Spanish pledge to remove them to the safety of the Caroline Islands if the revolt prevailed. Once Spain ceded the Philippine Islands to the United States, the Macabebes were essentially abandoned and sought to protect themselves from Tagalog reprisal. Consequently, they tendered their services to the U.S. military upon the beginning of the Philippine-American War in February 1899.

With War Department approval and upon the order of Major General Henry W. Lawton, Lieutenant Matthew A. Batson recruited the first company of Macabebes in the spring of 1899. He proposed to employ the unit in the Rio Grande region, a strategy that Lawton endorsed. By September 10, the 1st Company, Macabebe Scouts, had been established. After training, the unit was armed with Krag



As many as 5,000 Filipino Macabebe Scouts served with U.S. forces during the Philippine-American War. One of their detachments helped capture insurgent leader Emilio Aguinaldo. (Library of Congress)

carbines, and traveling in bancas (outrigger canoes), they at once demonstrated their effectiveness by curtailing raids on military communications.

Major General Elwell S. Otis decreed the creation of a second Macabebe troop on September 21 and a third one on October 6, 1899. In short order, the U.S. Army VIII Corps could rely on the services of a battalion of five companies designated Batson's Macabebe Scouts. It is estimated that as many as 5,000 Macabebe Scouts served with U.S. forces.

Fiercely loyal to the United States, the Macabebes quickly won the trust and admiration of American officers. They were of great assistance in recognizing insurgents posing as friendly natives in crowds. However, the Macabebes were often cruel and inhumane toward their adversaries, and a number of atrocities were attributed to them.

Batson and his colleagues stood by the Macabebes, claiming that the accusations of cruelties were simply insurgent propaganda. Yet the Macabebes did use torture to obtain intelligence, and by 1900 both American troops and their mercenaries turned to, among other excesses, the water cure (force-feeding a suspect with water).

In early October 1899, two companies of Batson's Macabebe Scouts were in the vanguard of Brigadier General Samuel B. M. Young's drive to San Isidro in Nueva Ecija Province, and in March 1900 Colonel Frederick Funston led a combined troop of Macabebes and Americans against an enemy base at Fort Rizal in southern Nueva Ecija. To the southwest, Brigadier General Frederick D. Grant employed Lieutenant Colonel William E. Wilder's Macabebes to sweep southward through the Rio Grande delta to Manila Bay in Bulacan Province. Bancas carried Macabebes into swamps, and there they roused guerrillas who fled to villages, where they were identified and captured. Rifles were seized, but the Macabebes committed atrocities. On March 30, 130 natives were murdered, and there were allegations of rape and arson. Yet American officers on the scene continued to defend the Macabebes. On March 23, 1901, Macabebe Scouts were part of a detail led by Funston (now a brigadier general) that captured Filipino leader Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy at Palanan, Isabela Province, in northern Luzon. Following the Philippine-American War, the Macabebes were folded into the Philippine Constabulary.

RODNEY J. ROSS

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Atrocities; Funston, Frederick; Grant, Frederick Dent; Lawton, Henry Ware; Luzon Campaigns; Otis, Elwell Stephen; Philippine-American War; Philippine Constabulary; Tagalogs; Wheaton, Lloyd; Young, Samuel Baldwin Marks

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MacArthur, Arthur

Birth Date: June 2, 1845

Death Date: September 5, 1912

U.S. Army general. Arthur MacArthur was born in Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts, on June 2, 1845. At an early age he moved with his family to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and was educated in the local schools. With the start of the American Civil War, he secured a commission as first lieutenant with the 24th Wisconsin Regiment of Volunteers and soon distinguished himself in fighting. He was breveted captain following his performance in the Battle of Perryville (October 8, 1862). He also fought effectively at Stone's River (December 31–January 2, 1863), Chickamauga (September 18–20, 1863), and Kennesaw Mountain (June 17, 1864). He was severely wounded at the Battle of Franklin, Tennessee (November 30, 1864). He received brevet promotions for gallantry and was advanced to major (January 1864), lieutenant colonel (March 1865), and colonel (May 1865). By the end of the war, MacArthur, not yet 20 years old, was commanding the 24th Wisconsin. In 1890, he was belatedly awarded the Medal of Honor for his actions in the Union assault on Missionary Ridge.

With the end of the Civil War, MacArthur joined the regular army as a second lieutenant in the 17th Infantry Regiment in February 1866 and was immediately promoted to first lieutenant. He made captain that July. Over the next 20 years, he served in various posts throughout the country. At first posted to Louisiana during Reconstruction, he then commanded a unit that protected the builders of the Union Pacific Railroad in Nebraska and Wyoming. He was also a cavalry recruiting officer in New York and commanded an outpost in the Utah and New Mexico territory. In 1886, Captain MacArthur was posted to the Infantry and Cavalry School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. In July 1889, he was promoted to major and assigned to the adjutant general's department. MacArthur won promotion to lieutenant colonel in May 1898.

Shortly after the U.S. declaration of war on Spain, MacArthur was appointed brigadier general of volunteers in May 1898 and assigned to the U.S. expeditionary force sent to the Philippines. He commanded the 1st Brigade of the 2nd Division in Major General Wesley Merritt's VIII Corps. MacArthur led his brigade in the First Battle of Manila (August 13, 1898). Cited for gallantry, he became the provost marshal general and civil governor of Manila.

Promoted to major general of volunteers, MacArthur then commanded the 2nd Division, the chief field force opposing Filipino insurgents led by Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy in the Philippine-American War. MacArthur's forces pacified all of Luzon. Promoted to regular army brigadier general in January 1900, he succeeded Major General Elwell S. Otis as commanding general of the Division of the Philippines and military governor of the Philippine Islands. He was promoted to major general in the regular army that July. After he combined a mixture of vigorous military action and civic action, including advances in education, health care, and legal reform.



Major General Arthur MacArthur distinguished himself in the American Civil War, but he is best remembered for his role in the Philippine-American War, during which he achieved victory through a combination of military force and civic action. (Library of Congress)

MacArthur was, however, slow to hand over control to the civilian administrators headed by William H. Taft. MacArthur and Taft clashed repeatedly, and before the year was out, President Theodore Roosevelt had replaced MacArthur with a more pliable military governor. MacArthur's disagreements with Taft and Roosevelt ultimately cost MacArthur the position of commanding general of the U.S. Army.

Returning to the United States, MacArthur commanded in turn the Department of Colorado, the Department of the Lakes, and the Department of the East. In 1905, he went to Manchuria as a military observer for the last stage of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) and then for a few months was the U.S. military attaché in Tokyo. He toured Asia during November 1905–August 1906. On his return to the United States, he commanded the Department of the Pacific, was promoted to lieutenant general, and was the senior officer in the army (September 1906). When Taft, then secretary of war and still bearing a grudge against his old nemesis, named a more junior officer as chief of staff, MacArthur returned to Milwaukee to await orders. When none were forthcoming, he retired in July 1909. MacArthur died in Milwaukee on September 5, 1912, while giving a speech during the reunion of the 24th Wisconsin Regiment.

Arthur MacArthur's son, Douglas MacArthur, was later chief of staff of the army and rose to the rank of general of the army. Like his father, Douglas MacArthur would have an equally stormy relationship with his superiors.

WESLEY MOODY, PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR., AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Manila, First Battle of; Manila, Second Battle of; Merritt, Wesley; Taft, William Howard

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Maceo Grajales, Antonio

Birth Date: June 14, 1848

Death Date: December 7, 1896

Cuban revolutionary and second-in-command of the Cuban Revolutionary Army during the Ten Years' War and the Cuban War of Independence and one of Latin America's most ardent and successful guerrilla leaders. Antonio Maceo Grajales, commonly referred to as the "Titan of Bronze" because of his bravery and skin tone, was born on June 14, 1848, in Majaguabo near Santiago de Cuba. His father, Marcos Maceo, a mulatto farmer of French descent who had fought with the loyalists in Venezuela during the Latin American Wars of Independence, fled Venezuela in 1823 after Simón Bolívar's revolutionary forces liberated northern South America. Settling in Santiago de Cuba, Maceo's father married Mariana Grajales, a black widow of Dominican descent who already had four children. Maceo was the first of five children born to Marcos and Mariana.

Within days of Carlos Manuel de Céspedes y del Castillo's Grito de Yara (October 10, 1868), which began the Ten Years' War, Maceo, his father, and three of his brothers joined the revolutionary cause. Because of his valor, Maceo was promoted to lieutenant colonel by the end of 1868. Participating in dozens of battles, he had been promoted to brigadier general by the end of the war. By 1878, most Cuban revolutionary generals believed that it was futile to continue to resist Spanish attempts to restore colonial rule on the island.

Maceo, however, was unwilling to stop fighting until Cuban independence and the abolition of slavery were achieved. On March 15, 1878, he met with Spanish captain-general Arsenio Martínez de Campos to discuss the terms of the Pact of Zanjón (February 8, 1878), which had ended the Ten Years' War. Although most Cuban revolutionary generals, including Máximo Gomez, had already accepted Martínez's plan for increased Cuban autonomy and the eventual abolition of slavery, Maceo insisted that the terms were insufficient. In addition, he was offended that Spanish newspapers reported that his popularity with the dark-skinned revolutionaries



Cuban revolutionary Antonio Maceo Grajales was known for his bravery and great skill as a leader of guerrillas. He was killed in battle with the Spanish in 1896. (Library of Congress)

of Cuba threatened to unleash a race war in Cuba and convert Cuba into a second Haiti. Concerns expressed by Maceo at the meeting with Martínez at Baragua are known as the Protest of Baragua. Unwilling to accept the Pact of Zanjón and unable to muster enough troops to continue the revolutionary struggle, Maceo went into exile.

Contending that Spain had not honored the provisions of the Pact of Zanjón, Maceo and Calixto García y Iníiguez called for the Little War, or Guerra Chiquita (1879–1880), the second Cuban revolutionary attempt at independence during the 19th century. Unable to return to Cuba before the end of the Little War, Maceo spent the next 15 years living in exile, primarily in Panama and Costa Rica.

On March 31, 1895, Maceo, accompanied by his brother José, returned to eastern Cuba to continue the revolutionary struggle. On May 5, 1895, Maceo, Gómez, and José Martí y Pérez met in Bocuy to devise political and military strategy. Although Maceo's forces defeated Martínez's troops at the Battle of Peralejo on July 12,

Martínez was able to escape. As second-in-command of the Cuban revolutionaries, Maceo directed thousands of Cuban revolutionaries, many of whom were black and were only armed with machetes.

Maceo believed that U.S. entry into the conflict was unnecessary. Following Martínez's replacement by General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau in January 1896, Maceo faced an opponent who pursued him relentlessly. On December 7, 1896, Spanish forces killed Maceo in battle at San Pedro in Havana Province as he attempted to rejoin Gómez's forces. Maceo's death, however, did not discourage the Cuban revolutionaries. On the contrary, it motivated them to fight all the harder.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Céspedes y del Castillo, Carlos Manuel de; Cuba; Cuban Revolutionary Army; García y Iníiguez, Calixto; Gómez y Báez, Máximo; Martí y Pérez, José Julián; Martínez de Campos, Arsenio; Ten Years' War; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano; Zanjón, Pact of

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Machine Guns

Efficient manually operated rapid-firing small arms were in operation in the 1860s and 1870s. They included the Agar Coffee Mill (ca. 1860) and Gatling gun (1862) of the American Civil War and the 25-barrel *mitrailleuse* (1869) employed by the French in the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871). But the Maxim gun of 1884, named for American Hiram Maxim, was the first truly automatic machine gun. Development of the metallic cartridge made rapid loading at the breech possible.

Maxim's innovation was to use some of the energy of the firing to operate the weapon. Using the recoil energy, which he called blowback, Maxim designed a fully automatic rifle fed by a revolving magazine. He then applied the same principle to a machine gun (in effect a machine for killing), which fired as long as the trigger was depressed. In the Maxim gun, the firing of the cartridge drove back the bolt, compressing a spring that in turn drove the bolt forward again, bringing a new round into position for firing. The Maxim gun was both self-loading and self-ejecting.

Maxim demonstrated his prototype machine gun in 1884. It weighed just 60 pounds, in contrast to the 2,000-pound *mitrailleuse*. The Maxim gun was belt fed and water cooled. It fired a .45-caliber bullet at a rate of up to 600 rounds per minute and could be operated by a crew of only five men, one to operate the trigger and four to assist in carrying the weapon and its ammunition as well as loading the ammunition belts. Aided by the British firm of Vickers, Maxim had his gun largely perfected before the end of the 1880s.



The Maxim gun, invented by American Hiram Maxim, was the first truly automatic machine gun. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

The British employed the Maxim gun with great success against the Zulus in South Africa and the Dervishes in the Sudan. Rudyard Kipling proclaimed the importance of the new weapon when he wrote, "Whatever else, we have got the Maxim Gun, and they have not." Maxim was later knighted by Queen Victoria for services to humanity in the false assumption that the machine gun would make wars shorter and thus more humane.

The U.S. Army eschewed the Maxim gun and still employed the .45-caliber rotating multibarrel Gatling gun at the time of the Spanish-American War. Under Captain John H. "Gatling Gun" Parker, a Gatling gun unit saw effective service during the Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign and provided important fire support to the attacking infantry in the Battle of San Juan Hill, perhaps the first time that machine guns were used offensively in combat. Parker placed the guns, which were mounted on rolling carriages, on the flanks of the U.S. troops, moving them forward with the troops. Parker was an enthusiastic advocate of the machine gun and later wrote three books on the subject, noting that the Santiago Campaign had established the machine gun as "a weapon to be reckoned with in some form in all future wars." Although the

Gatling gun itself was abandoned by the U.S. military as obsolete in 1911, its rotating barrels design nonetheless had important applications for the modern era.

The Colt Model 1895 automatic machine gun, developed by John Browning, was rejected by the U.S. Army but became the first automatic machine gun acquired by the U.S. military when the navy purchased several hundred examples. Browning had offered the machine gun to Colt in 1890. The gas-operated Model 1895 fired a 6-millimeter (mm) round. The gun alone weighed 40 pounds. A tripod added 28 pounds and a mount 28.5 pounds, while a light landing carriage without ammunition weighed 146 pounds.

The 1st Marine Battalion took at least two Colt Model 1895s to Cuba in 1898 and employed them at Camp McCalla after its landing at Guantánamo on June 10, 1898. Two additional Colts, belonging to the battleship *Texas*, were landed several days later to provide additional firepower. The U.S. Marine Corps employed some of these Colts in the Battle of Cuzco Well on June 14, and apparently they were instrumental in halting the initial Spanish attack. A tripod-mounted Colt was also employed in the later Battle of Guánica in Puerto Rico.

Two privately purchased tripod-mounted Colts in 7-mm caliber were taken by the 1st Volunteer Cavalry Regiment (the Rough Riders) to Cuba, but apparently they proved to be unreliable and difficult to transport. The Colt is reported to have performed well with American troops in China during the Boxer Rebellion. Later versions were chambered for the .30–06 Springfield rifle cartridge. The Colt continued in service with the U.S. Navy and the U.S. Marine Corps up to World War I.

Although machine guns proved their worth in colonial conflicts, the implications of the modern machine gun for fighting in Europe were ignored, even when revealed in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). At 450–600 rounds per minute, one machine gun could equal the fire of 40–80 riflemen. It also had greater range than the rifle, enabling indirect fire in support of an attack. New light machine guns, such as the British Lewis gun, soon appeared and were destined to play an important role in the trench warfare of World War I.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cuzco Well, Battle of; Gatling Gun; Guánica, Puerto Rico; Guantánamo, Battle of; Rough Riders; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign

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Macías y Casado, Manuel

Birth Date: 1845

Death Date: 1937

Spanish general and last Spanish colonial governor of Puerto Rico. Manuel Macías y Casado was born in Teruel, Spain, around 1845. He graduated from the Infantry School as a second lieutenant in 1862, was promoted to lieutenant in 1863, and then was sent to Cuba.

From 1863 to 1865, Macías participated in the occupation of the Dominican Republic and while serving there was promoted to captain. After Dominican independence was restored in 1865, he returned to Cuba and remained there until 1875. His proven valor on the battlefield during the Ten Years' War (1868–1878) brought him a promotion to colonel. In 1875, he returned to Spain to defend the Spanish Crown during the Third Carlist War (1872–1876). After the Carlist revolutionaries were quelled in 1876, he returned to Cuba in October 1876 to participate in the final months of the Ten Years' War. His actions on the battlefield resulted in his promotion to brigadier general in July 1878 at age 33.

In May 1879, Macías returned to Spain and then took command of Spanish troops stationed at Melilla on the Rif coast of northwestern Africa. Leaving Melilla in 1886, he subsequently served as military commander in Albacete and Santoña. On June 9, 1891, he

was appointed major general and was made governor of Cartagena. He returned to Melilla as governor in 1893 to quell a local revolt. Because of his success, he was advanced to lieutenant general in August 1893, making him the youngest lieutenant general in the Spanish Army. He then served as the governor of the Canary Islands during 1894–1898.

On January 17, 1898, Macías was appointed governor of Puerto Rico, replacing Lieutenant General Andrés González Muñoz, who had died on the day of his inauguration. Macías was governor of Puerto Rico from February 2 to October 16, 1898. One of his major achievements was the implementation on February 9, 1898, of the Autonomous Charter of Puerto Rico, which had been approved by the Spanish Cortes (parliament) on November 25, 1897. The Autonomous Charter gave town councils complete autonomy in local concerns. As a result, the governor had no authority to intervene in civil and political matters unless authorized to do so by the cabinet. On February 10, 1898, Macías convened the first autonomous cabinet of Puerto Rico. In elections for the Cortes on March 27, 1898, Luis Muñoz Rivera's Autonomist Party won a majority of the seats.

Macías believed that war with the United States was inevitable. On April 21, 1898, he declared martial law, suspended civil liberties, and prepared to defend the island against an expected American invasion. He delegated the defense of Puerto Rico to Colonel Juan Camó. Macías's effort to defend Puerto Rico against American invasion failed, however, and fighting ended on August 13, 1898. On October 16, he and most of his troops departed Puerto Rico. As he left, he was honored with U.S. and Puerto Rican gunfire salutes and cheers from the people of San Juan. He left Ricardo de Ortega y Diez with the responsibility of turning over power to U.S. officials on October 18, 1898.

On November 3, 1898, Macías, in addition to being named governor of Burgos, Navarra, and Vascongadas, became commander of VI Corps of the Spanish Army. He died in Madrid in 1937.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Puerto Rico; Rivera, Luis Muñoz; Ten Years' War

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Mahan, Alfred Thayer

Birth Date: September 27, 1840

Death Date: December 1, 1914

Prominent naval historian, strategist, and staunch proponent of U.S. imperialism. Born on September 27, 1840, at West Point, New York, Alfred Thayer Mahan was the son of West Point professor



Rear Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan was a staunch champion of sea power and an advocate of U.S. imperial expansion. His many books on the history of sea power were highly influential in the United States and abroad. (Library of Congress)

Dennis Hart Mahan, who initiated the study of military theory in the United States and exerted a profound impact on officers in the American Civil War.

The younger Mahan attended Columbia College for two years and then entered the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, graduating second in his class in 1859. He then was on the *Congress* in the Brazil Squadron. During the Civil War, he served with the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron and was promoted to lieutenant commander (June 1865) and commander (November 1872). In 1883, he published *The Gulf and Inland Waters*, a book treating U.S. Navy operations during the Civil War. This impressed Captain Stephen Luce, who in 1885, as president of the newly established Naval War College, invited Mahan there to lecture on naval tactics and history. He was promoted to captain in September 1885.

In 1890, Mahan published his lectures under the title *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783*. This very important book is a history of British naval development in its most crucial period, a treatise on war at sea, and a ringing defense of a large navy. The book had particular influence in Britain, Germany, and Japan, but Mahan's lectures and magazine articles on current strategic problems also won an ever-widening audience in the United States that included such individuals as Theodore Roosevelt.

Mahan argued that the United States needed a strong navy to compete for the world's trade. He claimed that there was no instance of a great commercial power retaining its leadership without a large navy. He also criticized the traditional U.S. strategy of single-ship commerce raiding (*guerre de course*) because it could not win control of the seas. He argued for a seagoing fleet, an overbearing force that could beat down an enemy's battle line. Its strength had to be in battleships operating in squadrons. Mahan believed in the concentration of forces, urging that the fleet be kept in one ocean only. He also called for U.S. naval bases in the Caribbean and in the Pacific. Mahan had his shortcomings: he overlooked new technology, such as the torpedo and the submarine, and he was not concerned about speed in battleships.

Mahan was president of the Naval War College twice (1886–1889 and 1889–1893). He commanded the cruiser *Chicago*, flagship of the European Station (1893–1896), and was publically feted in Europe and recognized with honorary degrees from Oxford University and Cambridge University. An important apostle of the new navalism, he retired from the navy in 1896 to devote himself full-time to writing.

Mahan was called back to active duty with the navy in an advisory role during the 1898 Spanish-American War. He was a delegate to the 1899 Hague Peace Conference, and he was promoted to rear admiral on the retired list in 1906. He wrote a dozen books on naval warfare and more than 50 articles in leading journals, and he was elected president of the American Historical Association in 1902. Mahan died on December 1, 1914, in Washington, D.C.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Roosevelt, Theodore; United States Navy

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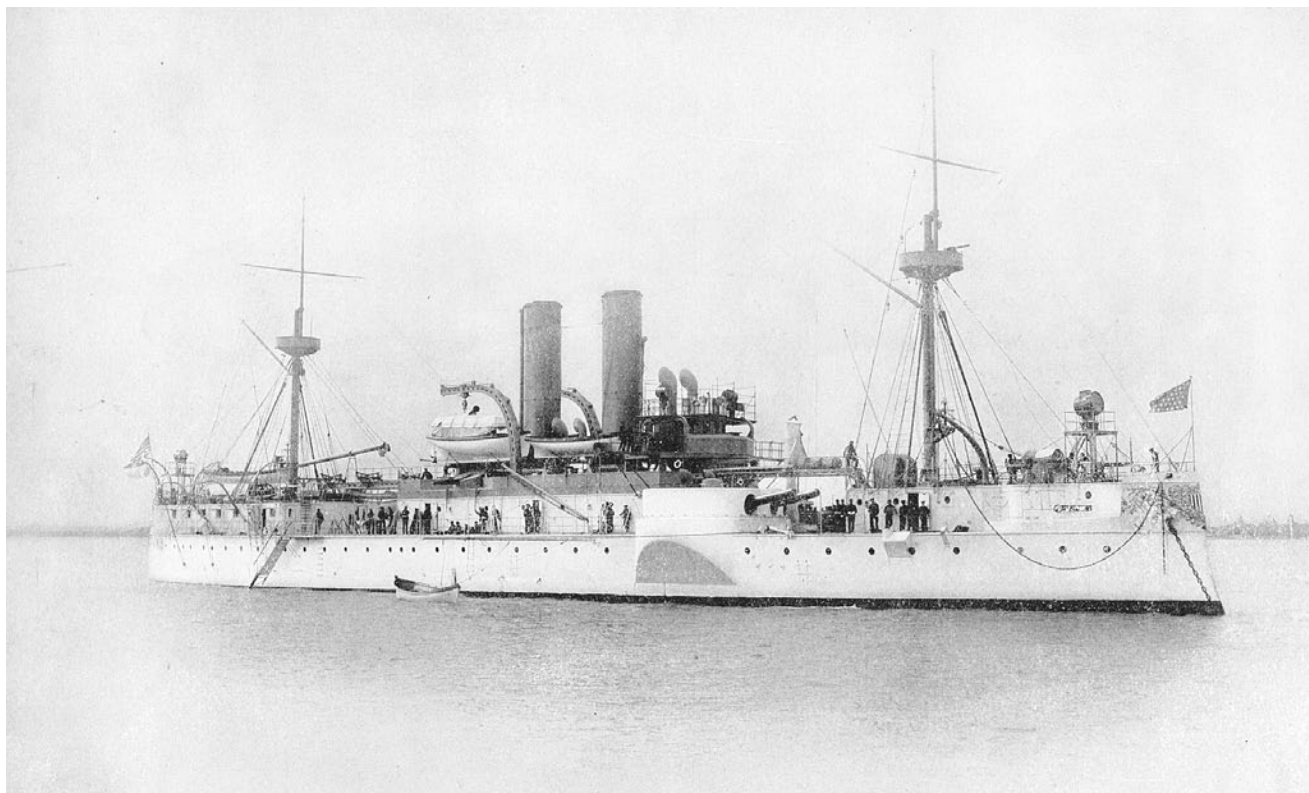
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Maine, USS

The U.S. Navy warship *Maine* was authorized by Congress on August 3, 1886, as an armored cruiser (heavy cruiser) but was designated by the navy as a second-class battleship. Built at the New York Navy Yard supposedly on the design of the *Riachuelo*, built by Samuda for Brazil, the *Maine* was laid down in October 1888,



The U.S. battleship *Maine*. On February 15, 1898, the ship exploded and sank in Havana Harbor, killing 266 of its crew. Many Americans held Spain responsible, and the battle cry “Remember the *Maine*, to hell with Spain!” swept the nation. (Naval Historical Center)

launched in November 1889, and commissioned on September 17, 1895. The ship was 319 feet in length overall by 57 feet in beam. It displaced 6,682 tons (7,180 fully loaded) and had a speed of 17.5 knots. Its coal capacity largely limited it to a coastal defense role. Typical of such warships at the time, it had a decidedly mixed battery to allow the ship to fight at long, intermediate, and close ranges. It was armed with four 10-inch guns in twin *en echelon* turrets and six 6-inch guns in the superstructure (two forward, two amidships, and two aft). It also carried seven 6-pounders, four 1-pounders, and four Gatling guns and had six 18-inch above-water torpedo tubes. Protection came in the form of a 180-foot-long steel armor belt 3 feet above the waterline and 4 feet below it. The top portion of the belt tapered from 12 inches in thickness to 6 inches at the lower edge. It also had 2-inch deck armor forward and 2–3 inches aft. Barbette and turret armor was 12 and 8 inches, respectively.

The renewal of fighting in Cuba between revolutionaries bent on independence and Spanish troops determined to prevent that created concern for the security of U.S. interests in Cuba and fears that a European power, most probably Germany, might seek to take advantage of the situation. On January 24, 1898, President William McKinley ordered Captain Charles Sigsbee of the *Maine* to steam from Key West, Florida, to Havana supposedly to protect U.S. interests in Cuba but actually to pressure Spain to change its policies there and to enforce the 1823 Monroe Doctrine. This was certainly a provocative

act, much resented by Spain, although Madrid had reluctantly agreed to it. The *Maine* arrived in Havana Harbor on January 25.

Although the Spanish authorities in Havana extended full courtesies to the *Maine*'s crew, Sigsbee refused to allow the sailors shore leave in order to avoid a possible incident. At 9:30 p.m. on February 15, the *Maine* sank in Havana Harbor when its forward magazines, containing nearly five tons of powder charges, exploded. The explosion claimed 266 lives. A total of 260 men died immediately or shortly thereafter. Another 6 men died later from their injuries. The casualties represented nearly three-quarters of the ship's crew. Sigsbee and most of the officers survived because their quarters were located aft in the ship. Spanish ships and the civilian steamer *City of Washington* set about rescuing the survivors.

While the circumstances of the ignition of the magazines remained in controversy, the loss of the *Maine* provided a rallying point for Americans who wanted war. The cry “Remember the *Maine*, to hell with Spain!” swept the country, and the day after the board of inquiry's report, President McKinley sent Madrid an ultimatum that on April 11 led to the U.S. declaration of war against Spain. It may be misleading to say that the explosion aboard the *Maine* in and of itself brought about the war declaration, but it is hard not to conclude that the incident gave the United States a perfect pretense for war and was indeed the last in a long series of U.S.-Spanish clashes over Cuba.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

McKinley, William; Sigsbee, Charles Dwight; United States Navy; Warships

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Maine, USS, Inquiries into the Loss of

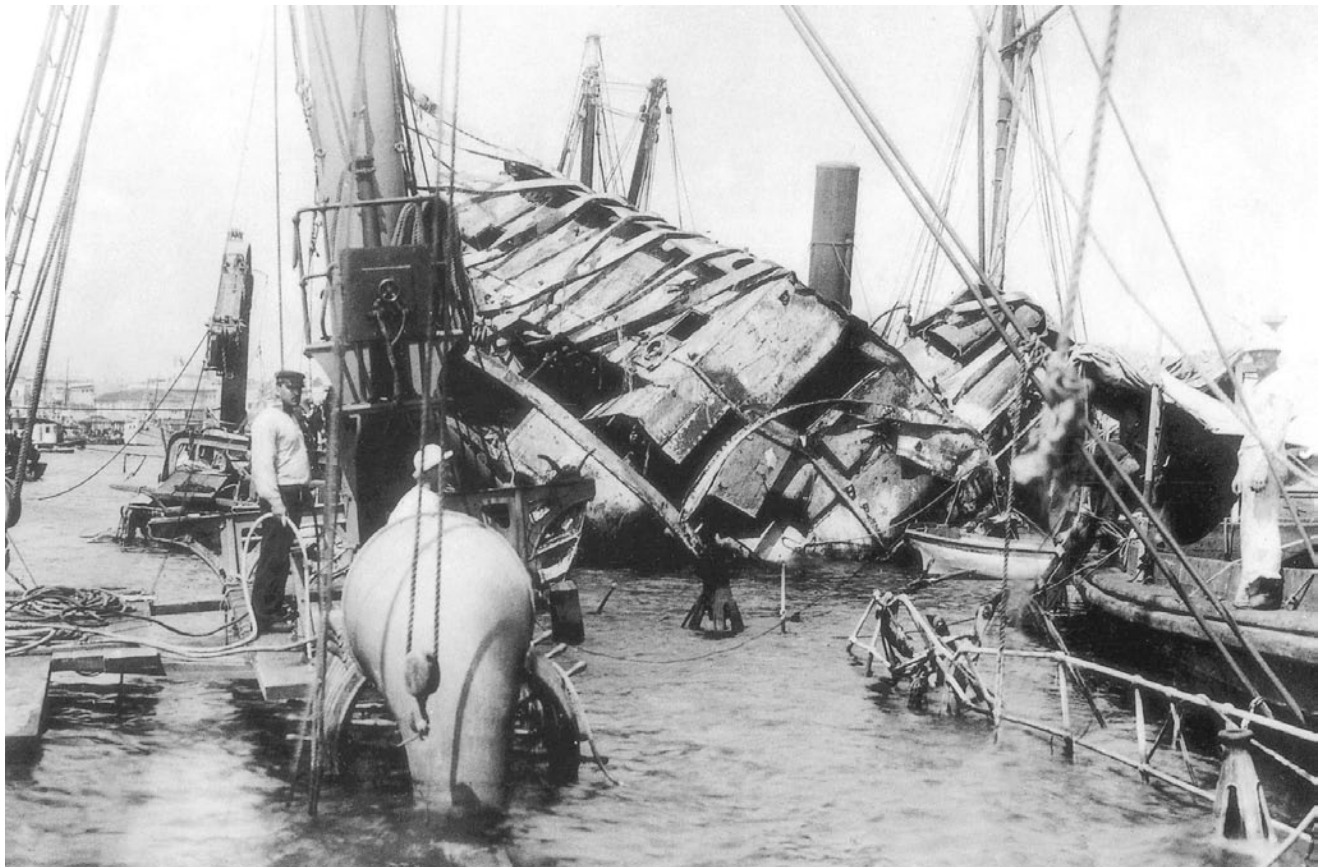
At 9:30 p.m. on February 15, 1898, the U.S. Navy second-class battleship *Maine* sank in Havana Harbor when its forward magazines, filled with nearly five tons of powder charges, exploded. The explosion claimed 266 lives and proved a rallying cry for those in the United States who wanted war with Spain.

Charles Sigsbee, the captain of the *Maine* and one of the survivors of the explosion, urged that there be no rush to judgment,

especially as the Spanish extended every possible resource in rescue and recovery efforts after the ship sank. He noted at the end of his official telegraphed report to Washington, "Public opinion should be suspended until further report."

The navy immediately established a board of inquiry to establish the cause of the explosion of the ship's magazines. This went forward in Havana and extended over a four-week period. The condition of the wreck and the lack of technical experts on the board cast doubt on the report's validity. The board issued its findings on March 28, 1898, and held that an external mine was to blame. Although the board did not attempt to determine who had set the device, there was a clear implication of Spanish responsibility. The day after the official report was issued, U.S. president William McKinley sent Madrid an ultimatum that on April 11 led to the president asking Congress for a declaration of war against Spain.

In 1911, Congress voted the requisite funds to remove the wreckage of the *Maine* from Havana Harbor, where it was a navigational hazard, and the Navy Department ordered a second investigation into the ship's destruction. Toward that end, U.S. Army engineers constructed a coffer dam around the ship, and the water was pumped out. The wreck was then studied and photographed before it was repaired to floating state and towed out to sea to be scuttled. The examining board discovered that the bottom hull



The damaged forward section of the U.S. battleship *Maine* following its sinking. In 1911, army engineers built a coffer dam around the wreckage, pumping out the water and allowing the damage to be studied. (Naval Historical Center)

plates in the area of the reserve six-inch magazine were bent inward, which suggested an external explosion. The board then confirmed the earlier finding of an external explosion.

Although the precise cause will probably never be established, in 1976 Admiral Hyman Rickover and his staff published *How the Battleship Maine Was Destroyed*, a study that relied on the previous two reports as well as several experts on explosions and stress studies of metal in underwater explosions and concluded that the damage was inconsistent with an external mine. Rickover suggested that spontaneous combustion of bituminous coal in one of the ship's bunkers had cooked off ammunition in an adjacent magazine. There had been similar examples of spontaneous combustion in coal bunkers aboard other navy ships, most notably on the cruiser *Cincinnati* while at Key West, Florida, in 1896 and on board the armored cruiser *Brooklyn* in May 1898, but they had been discovered in time. Critics of Rickover's conclusion point out that it is unlikely that such a fire could have gone undetected.

It is hard to see what the Spanish might have thought they could gain from planting a mine. Other possibilities are an accidental explosion in the magazine itself, sabotage, or a mine planted either by right-wing Spanish groups who hated the United States or by Cuban rebels anxious to involve the United States in a war with Spain in which they could secure independence for Cuba. Peggy and Harold Samuels claimed in *Remembering the Maine* (1995), the latest study of this event, that the culprit was a mine set by Spanish extremists. The truth is that we will never know for certain who or what caused the explosion that sank the *Maine*.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Maine, USS; United States Navy; Warships

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Malaria

Systemic disease caused by four species of protozoa of the genus *Plasmodium*. The organism is transmitted by the female of one of several species of the *Anopheles* mosquito, which, on biting a human, ingests the gametocyte, one of several stages in the organism's complex developmental cycle. The malarial organism multiplies in the mosquito's abdominal cavity and then migrates to the salivary glands from which it is injected into whomever it bites next. It migrates through the human bloodstream to the liver, where it multiplies before again being released back into the bloodstream. It then enters red blood cells and feeds on hemoglobin. When the

victim is bitten by another mosquito, the malarial protozoa are ingested, and the cycle is repeated. There are four species of *Plasmodium*, of which *falciparum* is the most lethal. The other three (*vivax*, *ovale*, and *malariae*) seldom cause death but can cause repeated episodes of fever and debilitation.

Malaria (named from the Italian *mal aria*, or bad air) was endemic in Athens at least as early as the fifth century BC, and its prevalence in Rome probably played a role in the empire's decline. It was brought to the Western Hemisphere by the Spanish slave trade and was a factor in the collapse of the Central and South American indigenous peoples.

Malaria was endemic in Cuba, and more than 30,000 Spanish troops died from infectious diseases in 1897 alone, leading Cuban revolutionary General Máximo Gómez y Báez to comment that the three best insurrectionist generals were June, July, and August. Because the disease was often confused with typhoid (or conflated into typho-malarial fever), it is impossible to arrive at a precise estimate of the disease incidence during the Spanish-American War, but cases were almost entirely confined to Cuba, and malaria was essentially unknown in both Puerto Rico and the Philippines.

Diagnosis and record keeping were better after the war. Between 1898 and 1900, more than 1,000 people a year died from the disease in Havana alone. Ronald Ross, the British Indian surgeon who had worked out the malarial life cycle and proven that the mosquito was its vector, had contacted U.S. Army surgeon general George Sternberg in 1898 and suggested that the invading force consider mosquito control and protective netting, but neither measure was adopted until after the war, when Walter Reed and his co-workers demonstrated that the mosquito was also responsible for yellow fever transmission. Brigadier General Leonard Wood ordered his chief surgeon William Gorgas to institute a comprehensive anti-mosquito program, and both yellow fever and malaria were brought under control. The number of malaria cases in Havana dropped to an average of only 44 a year between 1899 and 1902. In all of 1912, there was only 1 malaria fatality in Cuba's capital city.

JACK MCCALLUM

See also

Gorgas, William Crawford; Sternberg, George Miller; Typhoid Fever; Wood, Leonard

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Malolos, Philippines, Capture of

Event Date: March 31, 1899

Capture of the capital of the First Philippine Republic on March 31, 1899, by U.S. forces during the Philippine-American War (1899–1902). On January 21, 1899, rebels proclaimed Malolos, a town lo-



American soldiers ride into the captured Filipino insurgent capital of Malolos in 1899. (Library of Congress)

cated 25 miles north of Manila in Bulacan Province of the island of Luzon, to be the Philippine Republic's capital. Once hostilities began between American forces and the Army of Liberation on February 4, fighting flared along U.S. positions in Manila, and the Filipinos withdrew northward abreast along the Manila-Dagupan railroad toward Malolos.

Major General Elwell S. Otis prepared the U.S. VIII Corps for operations against Malolos hoping that this might end the revolt in one stroke. Reaching the insurgents' capital would be no easy task, for villages, thick vegetation, swamps, and rice paddies as well as streams, ditches, and deltas impeded the approach. Six rivers, some with no bridges, proved a formidable obstacle.

Otis first planned to sever the insurgents' supply line north from Manila. On March 12, 1899, Brigadier General Lloyd Wheaton led a U.S. brigade east and south to Laguna de Bay, cleaning out pockets of resistance and destroying crops that might be a source of supply to the rebels. Wheaton's operations were successful and ended on March 17.

Otis was now ready to begin operations against Malolos. On March 17, he split VIII Corps into a defensive force to defend Manila and an offensive force to operate against the Army of Liberation at Malolos. The campaign began on March 25. Major General Arthur MacArthur's 2nd Division of 9,000 men was reorganized into three brigades under Brigadier Generals Harrison

Otis (1st Brigade), Irving Hale (2nd Brigade), and Robert H. Hall (3rd Brigade). Wheaton's provision brigade, shifted from the 1st Division, was to act in support.

Hall's brigade was to feint a direct attack along the Caloocan-Malolos road. Two brigades would then proceed northward—Otis's brigade on the left and Hale's brigade on the right—to Novaliches and there separate. Hale was to move against San Francisco del Monte and Bagbag, while Otis pushed to the south of Novaliches. The brigades would then pivot to the west, sever the railway below Polo, and move against the Filipino left and check its retreat. Wheaton was then to begin a frontal attack with his provisional brigade, forcing the Army of Liberation toward Hale and Otis. Although the plan appeared sound, the Spanish maps proved largely worthless, and the Americans soon discovered that serious terrain obstacles, not identified on the maps, severely impeded their progress.

On March 25, Hale's brigade, backed by the Utah artillery battery, attacked and penetrated the Filipino defensive positions. Advancing northward, it faced physical obstructions and tenacious resistance. Supported by the battery, the brigade crossed the Tuliahan River and engaged and outflanked insurgent forces. To Hale's left, Otis's brigade confronted difficult terrain and a spirited Filipino defense.

MacArthur now realized that he could not reach the assigned rendezvous point of Polo in time. He then requested and received

permission from Otis to discontinue the drive on Polo and turn below its objective. This effectively ended any chance of blocking the Army of Liberation's withdrawal to Malolos.

On March 26, U.S. troops of the 2nd Division advanced to the northwest near Polo, crossed the Mecauyan Bridge, and engaged Army of Liberation troops, killing more than 90 of them. On March 27, they forded the Marilao River, outflanked the insurgents, and cut the latter's defensive line.

On March 25, meanwhile, Wheaton launched his diversionary attack beyond Caloocan and drove to the Tuliahan River. Despite natural obstacles and stout defenders, the brigade's direct assault carried the position. Once across the Tuliahan on March 26, Wheaton's men drove the Filipinos back. Still, the Filipinos fought hard, killing 26 U.S. soldiers and wounding another 150 before withdrawing.

Otis now ordered MacArthur and Wheaton to combine and drive north, hopefully catching the Army of Liberation before it could gain Malolos. On March 26, the Americans took the town of Malinta, and Filipino troops on its outskirts scattered. Shortly thereafter, MacArthur's and Wheaton's men joined forces. The American trap had thus closed, but the Army of Liberation eluded it.

MacArthur's men were now exhausted, and he was obliged to halt and await resupply. The advance resumed on March 29. A stiff fight occurred at the Bocaue River when the insurgents ambushed the 20th Kansas Regiment and inflicted 27 U.S. casualties, but by now the Filipinos were in full retreat, and there was no climactic battle for Malolos. The Americans entered the town, but as they did so it was in flames, torched by the escaping Army of Liberation.

The campaign to take Malolos was a qualified success. The Americans had failed in their effort to crush nationalist resistance in one stroke, and the American forces had sustained nearly 500 casualties during a span of only a few days. Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy and much of the Army of Liberation had escaped to fight again. Nonetheless, the campaign had also cost the insurgents dearly in terms of equipment, especially Mauser rifles and ammunition.

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See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Luzon Campaigns; MacArthur, Arthur; Otis, Elwell Stephen; Philippine-American War; Philippine Republic, First; Wheaton, Lloyd

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23, 1898. The Malolos Constitution was actually the fourth and final constitution written by Filipino nationalists between 1896 and 1899. Of these, it was the first to call for a true representative democracy. Shortly after the Spanish-American War began, Aguinaldo proclaimed independence from Spain on June 12, 1898. Later that month, he called upon Filipinos to elect delegates to a unicameral congress that would write a constitution and establish a framework for government. By July 7, 193 delegates had been selected. They came almost exclusively from the educated political and economic elite, and only about 20 percent were actually elected. Because of wartime conditions and travel difficulties, Aguinaldo appointed the rest. Meanwhile, on August 13, 1898, the Spanish surrendered to the Americans at Manila.

In mid-September 1898, Aguinaldo asked delegates to convene just north of Manila. They met in the convent of Barasoain Church at Malolos (Bulacan Province) from September 15, 1898, to January 21, 1899. In the opening session on September 15, Aguinaldo addressed the delegates. Against the advice of Apolinario Mabini, a close adviser to Aguinaldo and the great theoretician of the revolution, Aguinaldo also asked them to form committees to draft a constitution for the First Philippine Republic. On September 29, 1898, with Japanese and American journalists witnessing the proceedings, the delegates ratified Aguinaldo's Declaration of Independence.

From the start, the convention was fundamentally divided. Some delegates opposed a strong chief executive and secretly favored autonomy or political assimilation under U.S. rule. Influenced by Mabini, a minority held that writing a permanent constitution was premature and would only accelerate U.S. military intervention and occupation.

Debated in Tagalog and Spanish, the *Constitución Política* (Malolos Constitution) was written entirely in Spanish. Competing proposals were hotly debated, and ordinary Malolos townspeople, no longer fearing reprisals from the Spanish colonialists, also excitedly discussed the constitutional issues. The constitution consisted of 14 articles, several transitory provisions, and 1 additional unnumbered article. Among other issues, the constitution provided for separation of church and state (Title III), individual human and political rights (Title IV), separation of governmental powers (Titles V and VII–X), local assemblies (Title XI), and an amendment procedure (Title XIII). To that extent, the document reflected liberal and Enlightenment views embodied in constitutions of the United States, Belgium, France, Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Brazil, among others.

The Malolos Constitution outlined the governance of a parliamentary republic. However, by limiting the chief executive's freedom of action, it threatened to hamper rapid decision making during wartime. Elected by the *Asamblea Nacional* (National Assembly), a permanent seven-member legislative commission was to supervise the president at all times (Title VI). Although legislative supervision was ostensibly designed to offset dictatorial tendencies, it also handicapped the government as hostilities with the

Malolos Constitution

Philippine constitution. Drafted by the Malolos Congress and ratified on November 28, 1898, it served as the working blueprint for the First Philippine Republic. Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, the republic's first president, signed the document into law on December

United States loomed. Under pressure from Mabini, Aguinaldo held out for a few minor amendments.

On November 29, 1898, the Malolos Congress ratified the constitution. On December 10, however, ratification was upstaged by the Treaty of Paris between the United States and Spain. Under Article II of that agreement, the Americans agreed to pay Spain \$20 million for the Philippines. Although the U.S. Senate did not ratify the Treaty of Paris until February 6, 1899, it strengthened the hand of President William McKinley in domestic U.S. politics and gave him a pretext for prompt Philippine annexation. Entreaties by Don Felipe Agoncillo and other diplomats sent by Aguinaldo went unanswered both in Washington and Paris, and their energetic high-profile supporters in the Anti-Imperialist League could not stem the tide of public opinion in the United States that supported annexation.

Despite continuing misgivings about its basic structure and amendments, Aguinaldo signed the constitution on December 23, 1898. He refrained from proclaiming it, however, until January 23, 1899, in a public ceremony held in Malolos. Less than a month later, the Philippine-American War broke out, rendering much of the Malolos Constitution next to impossible to execute.

VINCENT KELLY POLLARD

See also

Agoncillo, Felipe; Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Anti-Imperialist League; Mabini, Apolinario; Paris, Treaty of; Philippine-American War; Philippine Islands, U.S. Acquisition of; Philippine Republic, First

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Malvar, Miguel

Birth Date: September 27, 1865

Death Date: October 11, 1911

Key military leader in the 1896–1898 Filipino uprising against Spanish rule and the anti-American insurgency during the Philippine-American War (1899–1902). Miguel Malvar was born on September 27, 1865, in Santo Tomas, Batangas, Philippines. His father, Maximo, was a hardworking and enterprising farmer and businessman who amassed considerable wealth, making his money from the cultivation of sugarcane and rice in the shadow of Mount Maquiling.

Unlike most Filipinos at the time, the younger Malvar had the benefit of education, although studies were clearly not his strong suit. His early schooling came about through private tutorials with a Roman Catholic priest, Father Valerio Malabanan. Malvar then

spent an additional three years in school before turning his sights on business and farming. He enjoyed even more success than his father and before long had cobbled together major landholdings in Batangas and was growing oranges, mainly for export.

By the mid-1880s, many Filipinos had begun to chafe under Spanish rule, which was little changed since the 16th century when the Spanish had first laid claim to the archipelago. Discontent with the status quo was strong in Batangas Province, which lay in the southwestern corner of the island of Luzon. In Batangas, anti-Spanish sentiment had a distinct anticlerical element to it, and before long priests and friars in the region had become targets of Filipino animosity. In 1890, Malvar was elected *gobernadorcillo* (local governor) and immediately began to implement a systematic anticleric campaign. This put him on a collision course with the local clergy, and this confrontation soon blossomed into open defiance of Spanish authorities in general.

Sometime in the early to mid-1890s, Malvar joined the secret Katipunan society, which was dedicated to ridding the Philippines of Spanish control. He began assembling a makeshift army on his own initiative, to be known as the Batangas Brigade, and proved to be an able military leader known for his dogged determination even in the face of likely defeat. His forces collaborated closely with other insurgents on Luzon, and he became a close ally of Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy. Although the insurgency against the Spanish grew in size and intensity, Filipino forces were gradually outgunned by the better-armed Spanish. When Aguinaldo and much of the resistance had taken refuge in Biak-na-Bato, Malvar joined other revolutionary leaders there and reluctantly signed the Pact of Biak-na-Bato in December 1897. He had been opposed to any accommodation with the Spanish, but his view was clearly in the minority.

Malvar left for Hong Kong, per the stipulations of the pact, on December 25. His exile was short-lived, however. When the Spanish-American War commenced in April 1898, American officials requested that Aguinaldo and the other revolutionaries return to the Philippines to help in the fight against the Spanish. Malvar returned to the Philippines in early May and immediately mobilized his Batangas Brigade for action.

The war against the Spanish went well for Malvar. By July, Batangas had been cleansed of Spanish control. It was at this time that Malvar began to assemble a larger force, which he envisioned would be akin to a provincial army. He did so when it became clear that the Americans were not going to allow Filipino independence or autonomy. In February 1899, the Philippine-American War commenced, and Malvar was at the forefront of guerrilla activity, this time against U.S. forces. Like Aguinaldo, Malvar understood well the importance of guerrilla warfare against a force with superior firepower. Thus, he sought to prolong the war as long as possible to wear down American morale, which in turn might help the antiexpansionist Democrats win the 1900 elections in the United States.

In May 1899, Malvar planned an attack on American strongholds in southern Luzon. The offensive never took place, however, as U.S. forces decided to concentrate on pacifying the south. In the

summer of 1899, Malvar had retreated to Calamba to effect a defensive perimeter around Batangas. Repeated American thrusts into Batangas began to wear away his forces. It was clear that he had spread his men too thinly. Refusing to give way, Malvar and his remaining troops kept up an insurgency campaign that would last into 1902. Nevertheless, as the fighting dragged on and more and more civilian casualties occurred, he began losing support from the province's elites and small middle class.

Aguinaldo was finally captured by U.S. forces in March 1901, which should have put an effective end to the insurgency movement. Malvar, undeterred, chose to fight on in Batangas. He was also now considered the leader of the entire insurgency effort. For a brief time, his offensives exacted a toll on the American military in late 1901 and early 1902. But he could not keep up the momentum or overcome the lopsided U.S. advantage in firepower. At the same time, Brigadier General James Franklin Bell launched a brutal offensive in Batangas to capture Malvar and decapitate his forces, which included a controversial scorched earth policy that brought high casualties. By early 1902, only two guerrilla units in the Philippines remained, that of Malvar's and forces under Vicente Lukban on Samar. As Malvar's forces suffered one defeat after another and as short supplies brought them to near starvation, defections and desertions skyrocketed.

In April 1902, Malvar finally surrendered to U.S. forces. His position had been revealed by former guerrillas who had defected to the American side. Just a few days before, Lukban had also surren-

dered. By month's end, nearly all of the Batangas guerrillas had given up, and the battle for Batangas was over.

Malvar had the distinction of being the last guerrilla leader to capitulate during the Philippine-American War. The Americans treated Malvar with honor, and he returned to a quiet life of farming on his native land in Batangas. Malvar died on October 11, 1911.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Bell, James Franklin; Biak-na-Bato, Pact of; Katipunan; Lukban, Vicente

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Mambises

Term used to describe Cuban rebels, beginning with the Ten Years' War (1868–1878). The origin of the term "Mambi" is not known with certainty. Conjecture has it that it is an Afro-Antillean word that was given to rebels on the island of Hispaniola fighting against Spanish rule in the early part of the 19th century. During that in-



Mambi (rebel) soldiers who fought for Cuban independence from Spain, shown here in 1896. (Library of Congress)

surrection, which was led by a former Spanish military officer named Eutimio Mamby (or Mambi), Spanish troops dubbed the rebels “Mambises.” In 1868 when Cuban insurrectionists rebelled against the Spanish and resorted to the machete-wielding tactics of the Mambises on Hispaniola, the Spaniards began referring to them as Mambises as well. Before long, the rebels had adopted the name for themselves. By 1870, the Ten Years’ War had produced some 12,000 Mambises, who were bent on driving the Spanish out of Cuba. When the Cuban insurrection of 1895 began, the rebels were once again known as the Mambises.

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See also

Cuba; Cuban War of Independence; Ten Years’ War

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Manifest Destiny

An ideological mind-set used to rationalize the westward territorial expansion of the United States to the Pacific Ocean during the 1840s and 1850s. Manifest Destiny expressed the belief that the United States had the God-given right and indeed duty to occupy the remainder of the continent and that such expansion was clearly justified (manifest) and inevitable (destiny). The concept was also used to legitimize the annexation of Oregon, Hawaii, and the Philippines.

The phrase “manifest destiny” was coined in the summer of 1845 by John L. Sullivan, a journalist and editor of the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*. In an essay supporting the annexation of Texas, he argued for the “fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions.” Even though the phrase became one of the most influential slogans ever coined, O’Sullivan certainly did not originate the sentiment behind the slogan. In the first half of the 19th century, the United States witnessed an extraordinary growth in territory and population. The multiplying millions to which O’Sullivan referred included immigrants from Europe, who had crossed the Atlantic in droves hoping for a better life. Many of these newcomers began looking westward for fertile, unoccupied lands. Expansion across the continent was thus seen as a desirable necessity, and O’Sullivan gave the movement its name. However, Manifest Destiny included more than the will for westward expansion. It was also a belief that the United States was exceptional of all the world’s nations—the promised land, the new Israel, and God’s own country—and that its people had both a divine mission and the altruistic right to spread the virtue of its democratic institutions and liberties to new realms. Indeed, this thinking can be traced back to the 17th century, when in 1630 the Puritan minister John Winthrop referred

to the Massachusetts Bay Colony as a “city upon a hill” that would stand as an example for all people.

The theme of American exceptionalism was heightened during the American Revolution, when the colonists fought for the right to implement their own version of freedom and democracy. With independence came the promise of expansion, which included cheap and abundant land and economic opportunities west and south of the 13 original colonies. The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 and the acquisition of Florida from Spain in the 1819 Adams-Onís Treaty more than doubled the size of the United States, creating a new frontier that offered relief for a growing population.

The Monroe Doctrine of 1823 also exemplified the ideas and the mood behind Manifest Destiny. When President James Monroe warned Europe that the Americas were no longer “to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers,” he paved the way for increasing U.S. hegemony over its neighbors by establishing his nation as the legitimate protector of the Western Hemisphere. Thus, the concept of Manifest Destiny became even more important during the Oregon Boundary Dispute with Great Britain and in U.S. relations with Mexico. Regarding Oregon, Great Britain and the United States had agreed in the Anglo-American Convention of 1818 to jointly occupy the Oregon Territory. However, in the years following the treaty, thousands of American settlers had migrated to the Northwest, and calls for annexation of the region became very popular in the 1840s. When Great Britain rejected President John Tyler’s proposal to divide the area along the 49th parallel, American expansionists responded with demands for a northern border along the 54°40′ line (the slogan at the time was “Fifty-Four Forty or Fight”). The question of the annexation of Oregon played an important role in the election of James K. Polk as president in 1844. After the election, however, Polk did not yield to the extremists and settled the boundary dispute with Britain diplomatically with the Buchanan-Pakenham of 1846, which terminated the joint occupation and divided Oregon along the 49th parallel.

At the same time, expansionist sentiments led to war with Mexico in 1846. Ever since Mexico had opened its province of Texas for colonization in 1823, thousands of settlers from the United States had moved south. The movement was so strong that Mexican authorities soon lost control of the province. In 1835–1836, differences between Anglo settlers and the Mexican government led the new settlers to revolt against Mexico and declare Texas independent. They then sought admittance to the United States. The annexation of Texas was highly controversial among U.S. politicians, however, because it would come in as a slave state. Anxious to keep the delicate balance between slave and free states, the United States rebuffed Texas’s request to join the Union. The question of what to do with Texas was an issue in the 1844 presidential campaign because Polk promised annexation should he be elected. Although he agreed to settle the boundary dispute over Oregon diplomatically, he refused to compromise with Mexico after Congress approved the annexation of Texas in 1845.



John Gast's 1873 painting *American Progress*, depicting an allegorical female figure of America leading settlers, telegraph lines, and railroads into the untamed West. The concept of Manifest Destiny represented in the painting held that the United States had a moral and divine mandate to colonize the lands west of the Mississippi. (Library of Congress)

Polk's desire to acquire California as well as annex all of Texas led to war with Mexico in May 1846. In supporting war against Mexico, American expansionists for the first time cited racial reasons for expanding American territory. This reasoning, though, was controversial even among expansionists. Its supporters argued that Manifest Destiny would help improve the Mexicans, while its opponents claimed that Mexicans, as non-Anglo-Saxons, were not qualified to become Americans. When the Mexican War ended in February 1848 with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexico ceded to the United States present-day Texas with its boundary at the Rio Grande and what would become New Mexico, Arizona, California, and parts of Nevada, Utah, and Colorado. The United States had now accomplished its goal of expanding its territory to the Pacific Ocean. After the war, Polk offered Spain \$100 million for Cuba in an attempt to consolidate his territory even further, but Spain declined.

After decades of internal struggle, civil war, and reconstruction, the belief that Manifest Destiny justified the seizing of Native American and Spanish-held lands was revived in the 1890s. The ideology behind the term, however, now contained elements of social

Darwinism and social determinism. Expansionists believed that it was the white man's burden to lead inferior races in other parts of the world to better lives. The British author Rudyard Kipling made this viewpoint famous in his 1899 poem "The White Man's Burden," which was subtitled "The United States and the Philippine Islands" and in which he urged the United States to spread civilization to less-developed peoples. This expanded set of beliefs incorporated ideas not only about race and religion but also about culture and economic opportunities. Expansionists assumed that Americans had the divine right to dominate other lands because they belonged to the most advanced race and had the most developed culture, the best economic system, and the necessary military and technical expertise.

This notion of an international Manifest Destiny was at play in the decision of the United States to intervene in the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1897) and to annex Hawaii and the Philippines in 1898. The United States soon extended its interest into Asia and the Far East with its calls for an open door policy, meaning that U.S. policy makers sought equal trade preferences in places such as China.

During the Spanish-American War, several U.S. legislators called for the annexation of all Spanish territories. As a result of the war, the United States took control of the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico and had occupation troops in Cuba for several years. Despite the extremist expansionists' demands, Cuba was not annexed, however. Yet the 1901 Platt Amendment provided for the establishment of a permanent U.S. naval base on the island at Guantánamo and the right to intervene in Cuba militarily to maintain order.

The Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War marked U.S. entry into world affairs. President Theodore Roosevelt buttressed the Monroe Doctrine with his 1904 corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, which stated that the United States reserved the right to intervene in the affairs of any nation in the hemisphere if its political system or economic policies threatened the United States or other nations in the hemisphere. The belief that it was a mission of the United States to promote and defend democracy throughout the world would remain an influential part of the political culture within the United States during the 20th century and into the 21st century.

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See also

Expansionism; Imperialism; Social Darwinism; White Man's Burden

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Manila

Capital city of the Philippines and the primary political and cultural center of the Philippine archipelago. Manila is located along Manila Bay in the southern portion of the Island of Luzon, the largest island in the Philippines, and has a current metropolitan population of more than 10 million people. The word "Manila" is derived from the Tagalog *may nilad*, a reference to an aquatic plant that grew profusely along the margins of Manila Bay. The city of Manila has always maintained a strong seafaring flavor owing to its situation on one of the finest natural bays in the world and arguably the best in East Asia.

Begun along the banks of the Pasig River near its confluence with the bay as a small tribal community, Manila was a lively town ruled by Rajah Sulayman, an Islamic Malaysian with a royal bloodline, prior to the arrival of the Spanish. Only a year after the first Spanish conquistador landed at Manila, the Islamic town had been torched by the Spaniards and the vestiges of Islam destroyed. Recognizing its strategic potential, Spanish colonial authorities soon



American flags adorn buildings along Escalita Street in Manila on July 4, 1899. (Library of Congress)

established Manila as the principal Spanish outpost on the Philippines and made it the seat of Spanish colonial government beginning in the late 16th century.

Over the course of more than three centuries, the Spanish left their mark on the city, including Roman Catholicism. Indeed, the formerly Muslim enclave became a bastion for Catholics, both native and Spanish. The principal ethnic group found in Manila was the Tagalogs; however, there were also significant numbers of Filipinos from other islands (Visayans, Maranoas, Llocanos) and a sizable community of Chinese. While the Spanish population in Manila was never very large, it certainly held sway over the city and its politics because of its wealth and privileged positions in the government. Like most locales in the tropics, Manila's weather is characterized by hot, rainy summers and warm, relatively dry winters. The city is regularly threatened by typhoons during typhoon season.

The Spaniards developed what came to be known as the Intramuros beginning around 1570. The Intramuros, meaning "within the walls," was a fortified city enclosed within high, thick walls and surrounded by a moat. It was here where the Spanish colonial government was headquartered and here where government officials and other Spaniards of note lived. During Spanish rule, the Intramuros was considered Manila proper. Anything that fell outside of the walls was typically not planned by Spanish colonial officials. Usually, laborers and field hands erected makeshift communities adjacent to, but outside of, the walls.

Formally established by a royal Spanish decree in 1573, the Intramuros was designed after a medieval Spanish castle and enclosed city. Today, the Intramuros (also referred to as the Old City) is remarkably well preserved, although much of it was rebuilt after World

War II. The area is the only part of the city that has retained significant Spanish details. Also to be found in the Intramuros was Fort Santiago, a famous Spanish redoubt first constructed in 1571.

On May 1, 1898, U.S. naval forces under Commodore George Dewey decimated the Spanish squadron in Manila Bay in less than six hours. The city was also the scene of the First Battle of Manila on August 13, 1898, and the Second Battle of Manila on February 5, 1899. When the war ended and the United States annexed the Philippines, the Americans assumed the old Spanish offices and buildings and administered the territory from Manila.

Manila suffered considerable damage during World War II, especially in the Battle of Manila during February 3–March 3, 1945. Particularly hard hit was the Old City, which was heavily shelled. At the time, Manila was one of the largest cities of Asia, with a population of some 800,000 people. By the end of the battle, the Intramuros had been nearly obliterated, and other parts of the city lay in ruins. The Battle for Manila cost the Americans 1,010 killed and 5,561 wounded. The Japanese lost perhaps 16,000 men in and around the city. More than 100,000 Filipino civilians were killed, and perhaps 70 percent of the city was destroyed.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Manila, First Battle of; Manila, Second Battle of; Manila Bay, Battle of; Philippine Islands, Spanish Colonial Policies toward

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Manila, Capitulation Agreement

Official agreement in which the Spanish surrendered Manila in the Philippines to the Americans. The agreement came after the First Battle of Manila during the Spanish-American War. The term “capitulation” (*capitulación*) was used in the agreement rather than the more pejorative “surrender” (*rendición*) because the latter would have resulted in courts-martial for Spanish officers upon their return to Spain.

The agreement was concluded two days after hostilities had officially ended under the terms of the August 12 Protocol of Peace, word of which did not arrive in the Philippines until August 16 because cable communications had not yet been restored. The Capitulation of Manila Agreement was based on a document signed the day before by U.S. commander in the Philippines Major General Wesley Merritt and Spanish governor-general of the Philippines Fermín Jáudenes y Álvarez.

The agreement of August 14 provided that Spanish soldiers were prisoners of war and were to surrender their weapons. But

until the conclusion of a formal peace treaty ending the war, the soldiers would simply remain in their barracks under their own officers. Although also prisoners of war, Spanish officers were permitted to retain their quarters as well as side arms, horses, and all private property. The United States would take possession of all public property and Spanish funds (which amounted to more than \$1 million), and Spanish authorities were to present a full list of all public property within 10 days. Manila would now come under U.S. military control. Spanish military families in the islands desiring to leave would be free to do so when they wished.

When word of the Protocol of Peace was received in the Philippines on August 16, Jáudenes protested certain provisions of the Capitulation of Manila Agreement because the Protocol of Peace had been signed before the First Battle of Manila had actually occurred. Merritt rejected Jáudenes's argument and insisted on full implementation of the Capitulation of Manila Agreement, and the Spaniard complied under protest. Because of the date of the Protocol of Peace, however, the issue of whether the United States had acquired the Philippines under right of conquest came up at the Paris Peace Conference.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Manila, First Battle of; Merritt, Wesley; Peace, Protocol of

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Manila, First Battle of

Event Date: August 13, 1898

Last battle fought during the Spanish-American War on August 13, 1898, in Manila. The engagement, which pitted troops of the U.S. Army VIII Corps against Spanish forces, was waged after the Protocol of Peace of August 12 had been signed in Cuba, which ostensibly ended hostilities. At the time, the cable linking Manila with Hong Kong had been cut, so field commanders in the Philippines were unaware of the truce agreement.

Manila, the capital and most important city of the Philippines, is located on the east side of Manila Bay on the island of Luzon. As the capital, Manila was the center of Spanish power in the archipelago and understandably the focal point of Filipino nationalists' efforts to overthrow Spanish rule. Following his breathtaking defeat of the Spanish naval squadron at Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, Commodore George Dewey realized that Manila could and should be seized; however, he had no available landing force to undertake such a mission and therefore could only remain in place and await the army's arrival.



Members of the U.S. Army Signal Corps using flags to communicate from an artillery position outside the city of Manila. (Library of Congress)

The Philippine Expeditionary Force (VIII Corps) reached the Philippines in three contingents, departing from San Francisco as ship availability permitted. The first contingent of 2,500 men, under Brigadier General Thomas Anderson, arrived at the end of June, followed in mid-July by 3,500 additional men under Brigadier General Francis V. Greene. The final contingent, numbering some 4,800 troops and commanded by Brigadier General Arthur MacArthur, reached the islands at the end of July, as did commander of VIII Corps Major General Wesley Merritt.

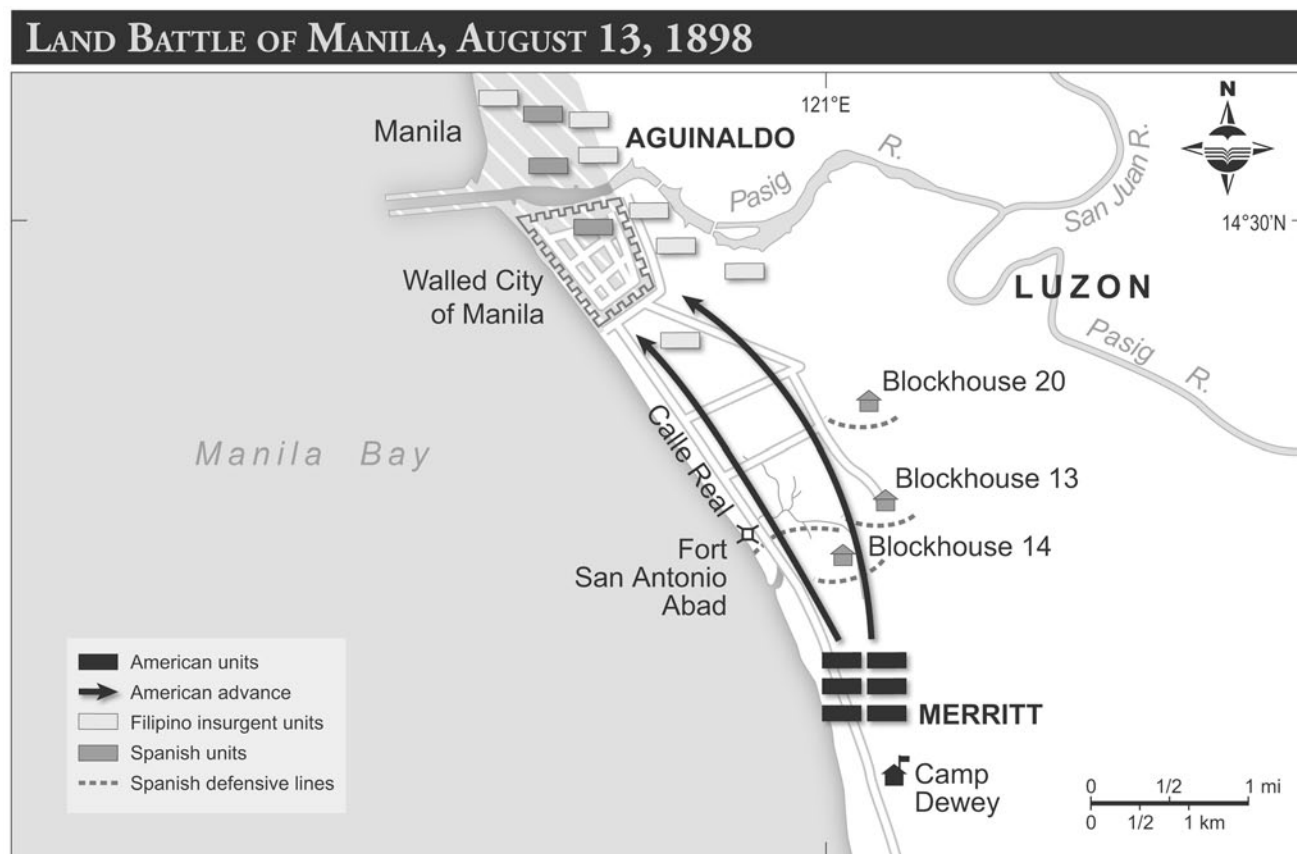
At the end of July, the Spanish still controlled Manila and much of its environs. The city proper was split by the Pasig River, south of which stood the old walled city of Fort Santiago. The Spanish defensive line, known as the Zapote Line, was located 1.5 miles to the south from where a large blockhouse, Number 14, on the Pasay Road extended west to a stone structure known as Fort San Antonio de Abad, located near the shore of Manila Bay. A line of entrenchments connected these two strong points.

Opposing the Spanish positions were some 10,000 Filipino nationalist troops under the overall command of General Emilio

Aguinaldo y Famy, who had formally proclaimed the Republic of the Philippines on June 12. Through the early summer, the nationalists had managed to isolate Manila from its source of supplies, in effect leaving it a city under siege. In Manila, food was scarce and mainly consisted of a little horseflesh and some water buffalo. At night the nationalists and the Spanish defenders maintained lively fire between the two lines but undertook no serious offensive movements.

During the course of the U.S. buildup, Greene's troops constructed a series of entrenchments and moved into some of the works created by the nationalists, who abandoned these positions only reluctantly when Greene persuaded them to do so. The arrangement was irregular, however. In places the nationalist forces actually occupied trench works in between the Americans and the Spaniards.

During the two weeks preceding the attack on Manila, heavy rains of the monsoon season had drenched the area. The period was also characterized by frequent exchanges of artillery and rifle fire between the Americans and the Spanish, with Greene's units



sustaining a number of casualties. In addition, relations between the Americans and Aguinaldo's men, at first cordial, began to deteriorate, as the latter had grown increasingly suspicious of U.S. intentions in the islands.

During the latter part of July, Dewey, now a rear admiral, became convinced that the Spanish would surrender Manila through negotiations. Thus, he met first with Captain-General Basilio Augustín y Dávila and later with his successor, Fermín Jáudenes y Alvarez, to explore possible arrangements. Nevertheless, Greene urged naval gunfire on Spanish positions to relieve the pressure on his command. His troops had dug a line of trenches south of Fort Abad and were taking casualties from Spanish fire every day. General Merritt supported Greene in this request. Dewey, however, was reluctant to open fire from his warships, fearing that doing so would destroy any chance of securing the city by negotiation, an arrangement that he still believed to be entirely possible. Dewey suggested that perhaps the troops could be withdrawn from the trenches until a general attack became necessary. The admiral, however, did agree to support Greene should this prove absolutely necessary. In that eventuality, Greene was to burn a blue light on the beach, and the ships would open fire. Dewey hoped that it would not be necessary.

Merritt had arrived in the Philippines under orders from President William McKinley not to involve the nationalists in taking Manila because to do so would mean including them as partners in future treaty negotiations with Spain. Fermin Jáudenes y Alvarez, who had recently replaced Basilio Augustín as Spanish commander

in Manila, had taken over with orders to hold the city. Inasmuch as peace negotiations were about to get under way, Spain's bargaining position would be weakened by a surrender of the city.

On August 9, 1898, Merritt and Dewey sent an ultimatum to Jáudenes demanding that he surrender Manila. They warned that if he did not, U.S. forces would attack. Jáudenes responded by convening a meeting of his subordinate commanders, putting the issue to a vote. Seven voted in favor of immediate negotiations for a surrender, while seven were opposed. Jáudenes broke the tie, with a decision to continue the present delaying tactics. He informed the Americans that he had no authority to surrender and asked to be able to communicate with Madrid through Hong Kong. On August 10, Dewey and Merritt rejected the suggestion.

In the meantime, Dewey pursued separate negotiations with Jáudenes, working through Belgian consul in Manila Edouard André. Jáudenes then agreed to consider surrendering Manila to U.S. forces but insisted that it would have to appear that a genuine effort had been made to defend the city in order to salvage Spanish honor. Perhaps most important, the Filipino nationalists could not be allowed to enter the city, as Jáudenes feared that they would show no mercy to the Spanish defenders. He also did not want to make it appear as if Spain were surrendering to the Filipinos. Thus, Spain and the United States each had its reasons for wanting to keep Aguinaldo's men from entering Manila.

Finally, the two sides agreed that the Spanish would offer a token defense of their outer works but not of the walled city itself.

However, neither of the U.S. commanders who were to lead the attack, Generals Greene and MacArthur, had been made aware of the pact because General Merritt feared that if they had known of the arrangements, their respective attacks would have lacked authenticity.

Following expiration of the 48-hour truce, Merritt's forces prepared to move. The axis of their attack would be south to north in two essentially parallel columns. Greene's brigade would advance along the northern flank nearest Manila Bay, while MacArthur's brigade was to move along the southern flank. By prearrangement, Dewey's flagship, the *Olympia*, would fire a few token rounds at the heavy stone walls of Fort San Antonio de Abad before raising the international signal flag calling for Spain's surrender.

On the morning of August 13 amid a heavy rain, reveille was sounded. Following the naval bombardment, directed against Fort San Antonio de Abad as agreed, the American artillery opened fire, and the assault moved forward, with the troops advancing under what had turned into a drenching deluge. The Spanish resistance turned out to be heavier than Merritt had expected although not sufficient to thwart the advance. The Spanish defenders gradually fell back, and Greene moved into the city unopposed to accept the Spanish surrender.

On the right flank MacArthur found the going much tougher, exacerbated by Filipino nationalists determined to be involved in the capture of the city. As MacArthur's troops moved north along the Singalong Road, Spanish infantry positioned in a blockhouse inflicted numerous casualties on a regiment of Minnesotans. MacArthur's biggest challenge, however, was in keeping the nationalists from entering the city. As his troops moved closer to Manila, their ranks became increasingly intermingled with those of the Filipinos, and MacArthur was compelled to have his commanders hold the nationalists back from the city.

By the end of the day, U.S. troops had occupied all of Manila proper, but outside the city, Aguinaldo's troops, angry at being denied entrance, were in an ugly mood. Fortunately for the Americans, the heavy tropical storm served to help defuse the hostile mob. On August 14, a joint group of American and Spanish officers agreed to a formal capitulation agreement supplementing a preliminary agreement signed by Merritt and Jáudenes the day before.

The U.S. capture of Manila yielded some 13,000 Spanish prisoners. In addition, the United States garnered 22,000 stands of small arms, 10 million rounds of ammunition, and 70 pieces of artillery. Because Manila had been seized after the Protocol of Peace had been signed, Spanish negotiators in Paris during the autumn of 1898 argued that the U.S. capture of Manila was not valid, a point that the U.S. peace commissioners countered successfully.

JERRY KEENAN

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Augustín y Dávila, Basilio; Dewey, George; VIII Corps; Greene, Francis Vinton; MacArthur, Arthur; Manila; Manila Bay, Battle of; Merritt, Wesley

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Manila, Second Battle of

Event Date: February 4, 1899

The U.S. Army capture of the city of Manila in the Philippines. Relations between the United States and Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy's Philippine Revolutionary Army were strained almost from the arrival of the first elements of VIII Corps in the Philippines in late June 1898. In large part, the friction resulted from the lack of a clear policy on the part of President William McKinley, who was undecided as to exactly what the U.S. role in the Philippines ought to be once Spain was defeated. Interwoven into this political tapestry was a racial bias on the part of U.S. troops against the Filipino people, whom many soldiers regarded as inferior. In addition to vague political directives, there was an attitudinal problem that did not bode well for future relations.

For his part, Aguinaldo sought U.S. recognition of the Philippine Republic and a full partnership in defeating Spain. The McKinley administration, however, was unwilling to recognize any republican government. Indeed, General Wesley Merritt, commanding the Philippine Expeditionary Force, was specifically directed not to enter into any political arrangements with Aguinaldo. Although Merritt's instructions were otherwise ambiguous, McKinley was clear on that point.

During the summer of 1898, however, both sides were largely occupied with the task of defeating Spanish forces around Manila. During the First Battle of Manila (August 13, 1898), the relationship between the forces of Aguinaldo and Merritt deteriorated further when the Americans denied the Filipino revolutionary forces access to the old walled city of Manila; their aim was to shut out Aguinaldo's Army of Liberation from any role in determining the ultimate disposition of the Philippines during later treaty negotiations. Nonetheless, in the nearly five months following the Spanish surrender of Manila in August and the signing of the Treaty of Paris in December 1898, U.S. occupation troops and the Philippine Army of Liberation managed to more or less coexist, although the situation remained volatile.

In the aftermath of Manila's surrender, the United States insisted that the Army of Liberation retract its lines from in front of the capital city as a preventive measure in order to avoid possible exchanges with U.S. troops. Aguinaldo grudgingly acceded to the

U.S. demands, but there were frequent verbal exchanges between Americans and Filipinos, suggesting that a full-scale eruption perhaps was not far off.

That eruption occurred on the night of February 4, 1899. Exactly who fired the first shot remains a matter of dispute. The evidence suggests that the fighting was simply the result of an explosive situation awaiting only the spark needed to ignite a war that was inevitable. At any rate, in the Santa Mesa District northeast of Manila, a patrol of U.S. troops fired on some Filipino troops, supposedly as retaliation against the latter's incursion into what had been agreed to as a neutral zone. The exchange set off what would prove to be a three-year war between the United States and Aguinaldo's republican forces.

The U.S. response to the fighting was swift. On Sunday, February 5, 1899, Brigadier General Arthur MacArthur attacked along his 2nd Division front. Supported by artillery and naval gunfire, some elements of the division advanced through rice paddies, encountering minimal opposition and seizing nationalist positions. Other units had to contend with more difficult terrain and heavy Filipino fire. By the end of the second day of fighting on February 6, MacArthur's troops had driven the nationalists back and secured the high ground north of Manila.

Meanwhile, also on February 6, Brigadier General Thomas Anderson's division attacked Army of Liberation positions south of Manila. Anderson's troops—composed largely of volunteers from

the U.S. western states—were also supported by artillery as they steadily advanced. At an old Spanish position on the Pasig River, strong Filipino fire stalled Anderson's advance until supporting cross fire from a California regiment got things moving again. Then, in short order, Army of Liberation forces were in full retreat.

As the Filipinos fled, the U.S. attack lost its cohesiveness in the melee of the pursuit. Units became mixed, and organizational control was temporarily lost. General Anderson had intended to trap the Filipino forces between his two brigades, but the strategy fell apart when the attack splintered. Contributing to the confusion was a breakdown in communications all the way down the chain of command.

The fighting of February 5–6 was heavy, and by the end of the second day, the U.S. forces, and Anderson's in particular, were widely dispersed. Although the area over which much of the action of February 6–7 had taken place was largely secured, pockets of resistance remained, with considerable fighting. On February 16, for example, the Filipinos attacked one of Anderson's brigades in grand style—with trim ranks, bugles blaring, and flags flying—only to be devastated by the Americans' disciplined defensive firepower. On February 19, California and Washington troops, supported by fire from the gunboat *Laguna de Bay*, devastated Filipino positions south of Manila.

In the wake of the fighting of February 5–6, most of the Army of Liberation had fallen back to Caloocan, a dozen miles north of



Filipino insurgents outside the city of Manila in 1898. (Library of Congress)

Manila. MacArthur's plan to strike Caloocan had to be postponed, however, because of an anticipated uprising in the city of Manila itself. Finally, on February 10, MacArthur's division, supported by the guns of Rear Admiral George Dewey's squadron, attacked the Filipino positions in Caloocan, and by day's end the Americans had secured that important rail center on the line to Malolos, the newly proclaimed capital of the Philippine Republic.

Meanwhile, the uprising in Manila, which the United States had learned about through captured nationalist documents, enabled the provost guard of Major General Elwell S. Otis to arrest known revolutionaries and thus shut down the revolt before it really got started. Although some street fighting ensued, it fell far short of a full-scale revolt. The failure of the revolt to materialize—some said because of poor organization within the Army of Liberation—effectively ended the Second Battle of Manila. The next phase of General Otis's effort to defeat Aguinaldo's Army of Liberation began with a spring campaign against the capital of Malolos.

JERRY KEENAN

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Anderson, Thomas McArthur; Dewey, George; Filipino Nationalist Army; MacArthur, Arthur; McKinley, William; Merritt, Wesley; Otis, Elwell Stephen

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Manila Bay, Battle of

Event Date: May 1, 1898

The Battle of Manila Bay was the decisive naval engagement of the Spanish-American War. Commodore George Dewey's U.S. Asiatic Squadron was at Hong Kong when he was informed on April 23 by the British acting governor, Major General Wilson Black, that war had been declared. Black then issued a proclamation of British neutrality and ordered Dewey's ships to leave Hong Kong's territorial waters by noon the next day.

Dewey repaired to Mirs Bay, an anchorage in Chinese waters, and there received a cablegram from Washington ordering him to the Philippines. It instructed him to "commence operations at once, particularly against the Spanish fleet. You must capture vessels or destroy. Use utmost endeavors."

Dewey's squadron consisted of the protected cruisers *Olympia* (flagship), *Baltimore*, *Boston*, and *Raleigh*; the gunboats *Concord* and *Petrel*; and the *McCulloch*, a revenue cutter that was pressed into service. Dewey left behind the old paddle wheeler *Monocacy*,

but two colliers also accompanied the squadron. He was concerned about his ammunition supply, for when the squadron departed for the Philippines, the ship magazines were only about 60 percent of capacity. Before sailing, he conferred with the former U.S. consul to the Philippines, Oscar Williams, who had left Manila under threat of his life on April 23. Williams briefed Dewey and his commanders on board the *Olympia* only an hour before their departure on April 27, confirming that the American squadron was superior to that of the Spanish, which would most likely be found in Subic Bay, 30 miles from Manila.

That same afternoon, the Americans ships departed Chinese waters. They made landfall at Cape Bolineau, Luzon, at daybreak on April 30. Dewey detached the *Boston* and *Concord*, later reinforced by the *Baltimore*, to make a quick reconnaissance of Subic Bay. The Americans soon determined that the Spanish squadron was not present. Reportedly, Dewey was pleased at the news and remarked, "Now we have them."

Dewey then ordered his ships to steam to Manila Bay, which the squadron entered on the night of April 30. He chose to ignore the threat of mines and the fortifications guarding the entrance to the bay. He selected Boca Grande channel, and the ships steamed in single file with as few lights as possible. Not until the squadron had passed El Fraile rock did the Spanish discover the American presence. Both sides then exchanged a few shots but without damage. The American ships were now into the bay. Detaching his two supply ships and the *McCulloch*, Dewey proceeded ahead, although he did not intend to engage the Spanish until dawn.

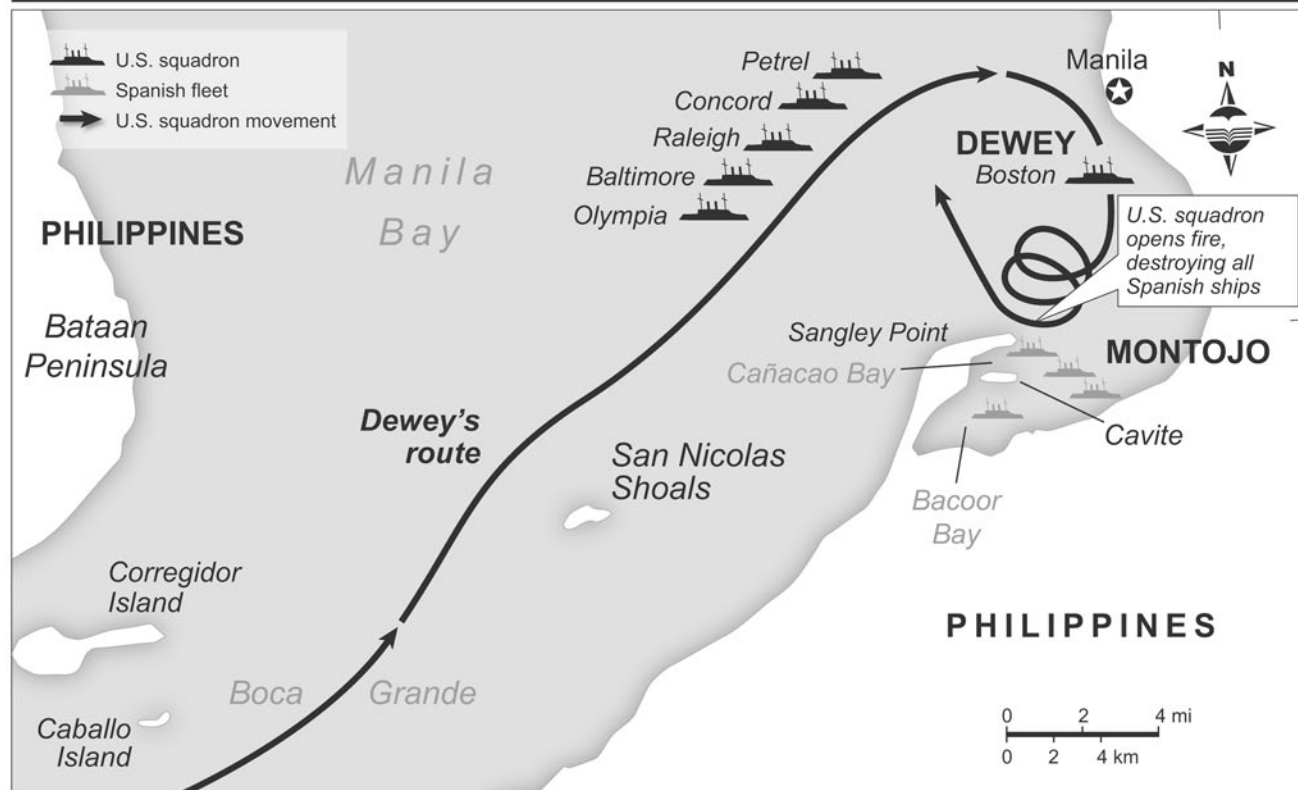
The Spanish had some 40 naval vessels in and around Manila, but most were small gunboats. Spanish rear admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón's squadron consisted of six ships: the two large cruisers *Reina Cristina* and *Castilla* (of about 3,000 tons each and the latter of wood) and the five small cruisers *Don Juan de Austria*, *Don Antonio de Ulloa*, *Isle de Cuba*, *Marqués del Duro*, and *Isle de Luzon*. Each of these was a very small cruiser of less than 1,200 tons, and none had more than four 4.7-inch guns in its main battery. Other ships were undergoing repairs. The Spanish warships were greatly inferior in armament to the American squadron, the crews of which were also better trained.

Montojo originally had his ships at Subic Bay during April 26–29, but its promised shore batteries were not yet in place, and the harbor entrance had not been mined. The water there was also 40 feet deep. Pessimistic about his chances and reportedly deciding that if his ships were to be sunk he would prefer it to occur in shallower water, Montojo had returned them to Manila Bay. His captains concurred with the decision.

Estimated Casualties of the Battle of Manila Bay

	<i>Killed in Action</i>	<i>Wounded</i>
Spain	167	214
United States	0	8

NAVAL BATTLE OF MANILA BAY, MAY 1, 1898



To help offset his weakness in firepower, Montojo anchored his ships in Cañacao Bay just south of Manila off the fortified naval yard of Cavite so that they might be supported by land batteries. There the water was only 25 feet deep, and if the ships were sunk or had to be scuttled, the Spanish crews would stand a better chance of escape. Not believing that there was any immediate threat from the Americans, Montojo went ashore for the night only to be alerted to their presence by the sounds of the exchange of gunfire on Dewey's ships entering the bay.

Early on the morning of May 1, only a week after the declaration of war, Dewey's ships steamed toward Manila, with the *Olympia* leading followed by the *Baltimore*, *Raleigh*, *Petrel*, *Concord*, and *Boston*. Off Manila a little after 5:00 a.m., the Spanish shore batteries opened up with wildly inaccurate fire that inflicted no damage. The *Boston* and *Concord* returned fire. Dewey then turned his ships toward the Spanish squadron. As the American ships advanced in single line, two Spanish mines exploded at some distance away from the *Olympia* and without effect. Advancing to about 5,000 yards of the Spanish line, at 5:40 a.m. Dewey turned to his flag captain Charles Gridley of the *Olympia* and said, "You may fire when you are ready, Gridley."

The ships of the American squadron then closed to about 3,000 yards and turned to the west, running parallel back and forth along the Spanish line and pounding it with their guns. The 8-inch guns of the U.S. cruisers, hurling 150-pound shells, exacted the most damage. The Spanish ships and shore batteries responded but failed

to inflict significant damage. Dewey then called a halt to assess damage and the status of ammunition stocks, and at the same time he ordered breakfast served to the crews.

At 11:16 a.m., the U.S. ships stood in again to complete their work. Within little more than an hour they had sunk the remaining Spanish vessels firing at them and had secured the surrender of the naval station at Cavite. Dewey then sent a message to the Spanish commander at Manila that if the shore batteries did not cease fire, he would shell and destroy the city. Shortly thereafter, the city's guns fell silent.

In the ships and at Cavite, the Spanish lost 167 dead and 214 wounded, all but 10 aboard the ships. Three of the Spanish ships were later salvaged and pressed into service by the Americans. The Americans had no men killed and only 8 wounded. Rarely was a victory more cheaply obtained.

Dewey then took Cavite and blockaded the city of Manila while awaiting troops to take it. On June 30, Major General Wesley Merritt and 10,000 men arrived. On August 13, the troops, assisted by naval gunfire from Dewey's squadron and Filipino guerrillas under Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, attacked Manila. After a short nominal defense, the city surrendered. In only 10 weeks' time, the United States had secured an empire from Spain, and it was control of the ocean that had enabled it to do so. The Philippines were secured to provide a bargaining chip to persuade Spain to conclude peace, but in the final peace agreement the United States decided to keep the islands. This led to a war with Filipino nationalists who wanted

independence and set up the future confrontation between the United States and Japan.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Dewey, George; United States Navy

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Manzanillo, Cuba, Actions at

Start Date: June 30, 1898

End Date: August 12, 1898

Series of U.S.-Spanish clashes at Manzanillo, Cuba, during June 30–July 1, July 18, and August 12, 1898, involving American and Spanish ships. Manzanillo lies approximately 85 miles west of Santiago de Cuba on the Gulf of Guacanayabo. Although surrounded by malarial swamps, during the Spanish-American War it possessed strategic importance because it lay astride an overland supply route to Santiago de Cuba during the U.S. naval blockade of Cuba. U.S. naval squadrons attempted to destroy the Spanish naval forces based at Manzanillo on June 30 and July 1 but were repulsed. A stronger U.S. naval squadron destroyed 10 ships in Manzanillo's harbor on July 18 and bombarded the city on August 12 but ended fire once the armistice had been signed that same day.

Manzanillo also served as a substantial trading port, and as soon as North Atlantic Squadron commander Rear Admiral William T. Sampson obtained shallow-draft naval vessels, he took steps to include Manzanillo in the blockade. On June 30, several small ships—the armed yachts *Hist* and *Hornet* and the armed tug *Wompatuck*—began a reconnaissance of Manzanillo. On their approach, the U.S. squadron encountered and engaged a Spanish armed launch, the *Centinela*, that subsequently sank after being hit by U.S. fire. When the American squadron approached the port of Manzanillo late that afternoon, they were met by the Spanish gunboats *Delgado Perrado*, *Estrella*, *Guantánamo*, and *Guardian*; the disabled gunboats *María* and *Cuba Española*; and a shore battery. In the ensuing exchange of fire, the *Hornet* was hit and immobilized, and both the *Wompatuck* and *Hist* were also hit several times. The *Wompatuck* was able to tow the *Hornet* to safety, and the U.S. squadron retired. The U.S. squadron suffered only three injuries (all on board the *Hornet*), while Spanish forces reported two dead and six injured aboard two ships and in Manzanillo itself.

The next day, on July 1, with the Americans believing that they had inflicted much more damage than was the case and that only the Spanish shore battery remained a threat and with the other U.S. ships having gone to Guantánamo to coal, the armed yacht *Scorpion* and the armed tug *Osceola* steamed to Manzanillo to engage the shore battery. Twenty minutes of firing caused no damage to the shore battery, but the *Scorpion* was struck a dozen times by return fire in the 23-minute engagement. Miraculously, it suffered no casualties. The U.S. squadron then withdrew, postponing further attacks until additional ships could be marshaled.

On July 18, 1898, the U.S. gunboats *Wilmington* and *Helena* along with the *Hist*, *Hornet*, *Scorpion*, *Wompatuck*, and *Osceola* steamed into Manzanillo Harbor. Remaining out of range of Spanish shore guns, they proceeded to destroy 10 Spanish ships in the harbor. The Spanish were outgunned and unable to retaliate effectively. Later they transferred remaining naval guns to the shore. U.S. forces suffered no casualties in the engagement, while the Spanish sustained casualties of 3 dead and 14 wounded.

On August 12, 1898, U.S. Navy captain Caspar F. Goodrich called upon the Spanish commander at Manzanillo to surrender. When the latter refused, Goodrich ordered the ships in his squadron—which included the cruiser *Newark*; the auxiliary gunboats *Hist*, *Osceola*, and *Suwanee*; the transport *Resolute*; and the captured Spanish gunboat *Alvarado*—to shell the port. At the same time, Cuban insurgents attacked by land. The bombardment began in late afternoon and continued intermittently through the night. When Goodrich received word the next morning that the armistice had been signed, he ordered fire ended. This action resulted in no American casualties. Spanish casualties were 6 dead and 31 wounded. Goodrich then sent men ashore to take possession of Manzanillo.

ANDREW BYERS

See also

Cuba, U.S. Naval Blockade of; Goodrich, Caspar Frederick; Sampson, William Thomas

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María Cristina, Queen Regent of Spain

Birth Date: July 21, 1858

Death Date: February 6, 1929

Second queen consort of Spanish king Alfonso XII (1879–1885) and queen regent of Spain from 1885 to 1902. María Cristina was born on July 21, 1858, to Archduke Ferdinand of Austria and his wife Archduchess Elisabeth Franziska at Zidlochovice Castle near Brno,



María Cristina, queen regent of Spain during 1885–1902. (James Rankin Young and J. Hampton Moore, *History of Our War with Spain*, 1898)

Moravia (in what is now the eastern part of the Czech Republic). María Cristina was tutored privately and became betrothed to King Alfonso XII, whose first wife had died after less than two years of marriage. The union had produced no heirs.

On November 29, 1879, Alfonso and María Cristina were married in Madrid. Their marriage produced three children (two girls and a boy). The boy was born in May 1886 shortly after his father died and would become Alfonso XIII at the age of 16. Beginning in 1885, María Cristina ruled Spain as queen regent until her son came of age and ascended the throne in 1902.

By most accounts, María Cristina's reign was a smooth one except for some domestic unrest as a result of the Spanish-American War. As a conservative force in Spanish politics, she hoped to maintain what was left of Spain's once grand empire. Complicating her reign were the frequent shifts in Spanish governments, from liberal to conservative and back again. As the situation in Cuba deteriorated during the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898), the queen made it clear that she not only disapproved of Governor-General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau's heavy-handed tactics but also believed that he was one of the most pernicious men in the Spanish Empire. Nor did she have much use for the policies of conservative prime minister Antonio Cánovas del Castillo y Vallejo.

As events careened toward war in late 1897 and early 1898, María Cristina tried several times to avert war with the United States by enlisting the help of other European powers. She wrote to Britain's Queen Victoria (the two women were cousins) requesting her assistance in drumming up international support for Spain. Although Victoria would view U.S. motives in the Spanish-American War with suspicion and the war as a potential threat to the British Empire, her views were not shared by Lord Salisbury's cabinet. Consequently, she rebuffed her cousin's plea. María Cristina did not stop there. She also requested aid from both France and tsarist Russia but was again politely rebuffed.

Not willing to give up the last vestiges of the Spanish Empire, María Cristina sullenly agreed to the war with the United States in the vain hope that Spanish troops might prevail. When that did not occur, she quickly approved the Treaty of Paris in March 1899 over the strenuous objections of many of her advisers.

When her son came of age and ascended the throne as Alfonso XIII in 1902, María Cristina largely retired from the public spotlight, although Spaniards continued to respect and honor her for her service to their country. After 1902, she busied herself with family affairs and charitable work. María Cristina died in Madrid on February 6, 1929.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Alfonso XII, King of Spain; Alfonso XIII, King of Spain; Cánovas del Castillo y Vallejo, Antonio; Cuba, Spanish Colonial Policies toward; Cuban War of Independence; France; Gascoyne-Cecil, Robert Arthur Talbot; Great Britain, Policies and Reactions to the Spanish-American War; Spain; Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano

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Mariana Islands

The northernmost component of Micronesia, the Mariana Islands are an archipelago of 15 islands located in the northwestern Pacific Ocean between the 12th and 21st latitudes. The Mariana Islands encompass just 389 square miles and have a small population. Guam is by far the largest island, covering some 200 square miles. The islands are the southern part of a submerged mountain range that extends over 1,500 miles from Japan to Guam. Geographically, the Mariana Islands can be divided into two categories. The 10 northern islands (Agrihan, Almagan, Anatahan, Asuncion, Farallon de Medinilla, Farallon de Pajaros, Guguan, Maug, Pagan, and Sari-

gan) are volcanic, while the five southern islands (Aguijan, Guam, Rota, Saipan, and Tinian) are limestone islands surrounded by coral reefs. Because of volcanic activity, the northern islands are virtually uninhabited. Most people, therefore, live on Guam or Saipan. Rising to 2,700 feet, the volcano on Agrihan is the highest point in the Marianas. Except for Farallon de Medinilla and Farallon de Pajaros, the vegetation on the islands is densely tropical and resembles that of the Philippines.

Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan, sailing in the service of Spain, discovered the Mariana Islands on March 6, 1521. He promptly engaged in trade with the local Chamorro people in order to procure fresh supplies. The Chamorro people mistakenly assumed that the Europeans had also traded one of their landing boats, and the confusion resulted in a skirmish with the Spaniards. Three days after arriving, Magellan fled the islands under attack. The European sailors subsequently dubbed the islands the *Islas de los Ladrones* (Islands of the Thieves). As a result, many sailors simply referred to the islands as the *Ladrones*. Subsequent navigators and sailors also referred to the islands as the San Lazarus Islands, the *Jardines*, and the *Prazeres*.

In 1665, Spanish Jesuit missionary Diego Luis de San Vitores, who had visited the islands in 1662, convinced King Philip IV and Queen Mariana to establish a mission in the archipelago. In 1668, San Vitores named the archipelago Las Marianas in honor of the widow of Spanish king Philip IV. Although the Marianas initially had an indigenous population of more than 50,000 people, they were quickly decimated by diseases brought by the Europeans for which the natives had no immunity. Within 100 years, as a result of disease and miscegenation, less than 2,000 pure Chamorro people remained. During the 19th century, however, the indigenous population, augmented with colonists from the Caroline Islands and the Philippines, increased. The Mariana Islands remained a subsidiary of the Spanish colonial government in the Philippines until the Spanish-American War.

In December 1898, Spain formally ceded Guam to the United States. German protests against U.S. efforts to acquire all of the Mariana Islands with the 1898 Treaty of Paris resulted in Spain's continued political control over the remaining 14 Mariana Islands. On February 12, 1899, Spain sold the remaining islands to Germany for \$4 million. The Germans then incorporated the 14 islands and their 2,646 inhabitants into the German Protectorate of New Guinea.

For the Americans, the occupation of Guam was key to their efforts to project power into Asia, protect trade routes, and administer and supply their newfound holdings in the Philippines. Possessing a commodious and accessible harbor, Guam served as a strategic coaling station and became home to a sizable U.S. naval base. Since 1898, Guam has served almost continuously as a key American naval base in the Pacific.

During World War I, Japan invaded the Mariana Islands (except Guam). After the war, the League of Nations gave the Japanese a mandate over the islands. During World War II, Japan occupied Guam for almost three years while the United States sought the is-

lands as a base from which to attack the Japanese mainland. In August 1945, U.S. Boeing B-29 bombers *Enola Gay* and *Bockscar*, which dropped the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, respectively, flew from Tinian Island.

After World War II, the islands were administered by the United States as part of the United Nations Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. In 1978, the Northern Mariana Islands became a commonwealth associated with the United States. Guam, meanwhile, remains an unincorporated territory of the United States administered by the Department of the Interior's Office of Insular Affairs.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Coaling Stations; Germany; Guam; Japan; Paris, Treaty of; Philippine Islands

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Mariel, Cuba

Cuban port city situated about 25 miles south-southwest of Havana and the initial U.S. proposed landing and staging site for a ground invasion of Cuba. Mariel lies along the southeast portion of Mariel Bay and is the closest major port to the continental United States. Because of Mariel's proximity to Havana and the United States, U.S. military planners envisioned using the city as a staging area from which American forces would launch an assault against Havana, which was at the heart of the Spanish colonial government. Even before formal hostilities commenced in April 1898, an army-navy advisory board had seen Mariel as key to a ground invasion of Cuba via Havana.

During the second week of May 1898, however, President William McKinley held a series of strategy sessions with his key military advisers. These included Secretary of War Russell A. Alger, commanding general of the army Major General Nelson A. Miles, and Secretary of the Navy John D. Long. The sessions were often contentious mainly because of constant bickering between Long and Alger and interservice rivalry.

The White House, along with the U.S. Navy, advocated a prompt invasion of Cuba, using Mariel as the first landing and staging area. Miles demurred on an immediate invasion, primarily because he knew that the U.S. Army was still ill-prepared for such an expedition. Alger disagreed with Miles and also pushed for an immediate ground assault. The navy, in fact, believed itself prepared for an immediate descent on Cuba, and Long took considerable relish in reminding Miles and Alger of this fact.

Annoyed by Long's posturing, Alger precipitously tasked Miles with preparing for a major ground assault aimed at occupying Havana. Miles was told to prepare for the expedition, which would commence with a landing at Mariel with about 75,000 troops. Miles was frustrated with Alger's impatience but nevertheless began to assemble such a force.

The final plan had U.S. regular forces landing at Mariel, capturing it, and creating a staging area there. That was to be followed by the arrival of reinforcements (largely U.S. volunteer forces) and a joint effort against Havana. On May 10, 1898, V Corps, then still in Florida, was ordered to begin the offensive by landing and taking Mariel. The plan, however, was never implemented.

Several problems led to this plan being shelved. First, the logistics involved in supplying such a large expeditionary force so far from American shores proved daunting. Second, few U.S. Army volunteer units were ready to deploy. Indeed, many of these had been only partly trained, and even more had yet to be properly armed and equipped. Finally, the Spanish decision to deploy its naval forces at Santiago de Cuba meant that those naval assets would have to be defeated or otherwise immobilized before an invasion could take place at Mariel. It was in fact the naval war that decided the U.S. ground strategy in Cuba.

Reducing the Spanish squadron at Santiago de Cuba became a joint army-navy affair, and following the July 3, 1898, U.S. naval victory at Santiago, U.S. invasion forces entered Cuba chiefly through that port, rather than Mariel. Indeed, Havana itself saw almost no action during the brief war, in stark contrast to what might have been the case had the Mariel invasion plan been carried out.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; V Corps; Havana, Cuba; Long, John Davis; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign

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Marinduque

Philippine island located 11 miles from the coast of Luzon where United States armed forces trained soldiers in pacification tactics and carried out a pacification campaign during the Philippine-American War (1899–1902). Somewhat circular in shape, Marinduque is a small island of 370 square miles in the Sibuyan Sea, south of Luzon's Tayabas Bay in the Philippine archipelago. Despite a rugged topographical interior that inhibits travel, the is-

land is blessed with palm-lined coastlines, green highlands, and dry as well as rainy seasons.

At the start of the insurgency, about 50,000 Filipinos lived on Marinduque. They spoke Tagalog; produced hemp, rice, and coconuts; and raised cattle. The island's landowning and commercial elite exercised political, social, and economic authority and governed from Boac, the provincial capital, through 7 other towns and 96 villages.

The upper classes of Marinduque supported the war of liberation against the Americans. The insurgent leader for the Philippine Republic on Marinduque was Martin Lardizabal, and the insurgent military commander was Lieutenant Colonel Maximo Abad. Abad led the Marinduque Battalion as well as a poorly armed militia. He had at least nominal control of as many as 2,500 part- and full-time guerrilla fighters.

In early 1900, Major General John C. Bates, commander of U.S. forces in southern Luzon, decided to occupy Marinduque to prevent its use as a haven and supply base for Filipino insurgent forces. He also hoped to seize the island's cattle to feed Manila's population. On April 25, 1900, Colonel Edward E. Hardin's battalion of the 29th U.S. Volunteer Infantry Regiment arrived at Marinduque and was later reinforced by Major Charles H. Muir's Company D of the 38th U.S. Volunteer Infantry Regiment. On May 20, Muir defeated Filipino fighters at Santa Cruz and mounted an operation into the interior before being replaced by Captain Devereux Shields's Company F of Hardin's battalion. Filipino harassment and another American campaign into the Santa Cruz area followed, with Shields and 52 soldiers and a hospital corpsman being ambushed in the interior on September 13, 1900, by a force of 250 riflemen and some 2,000 bolomen. After Shields was wounded, the command surrendered.

Santa Cruz then came under insurgent siege, and Bates directed Colonel George S. Anderson to reinforce the garrison. Believing that many of Marinduque's inhabitants supported the guerrillas, Anderson requested additional troops.

In October 1900, Major General Arthur MacArthur ordered two battalions of the 1st U.S. Infantry under Brigadier General Luther R. Hare to Marinduque. MacArthur sent orders to Hare to treat the entire adult male population of the island who were older than 15 years of age as hostile and to arrest as many of them as he could and hold them as hostages until the insurgents surrendered. Hare secured Shields's freedom, arrested all the adult males he could find, and destroyed villages and food stocks. General Bates encouraged Lieutenant Colonel A. W. Corliss, Hare's successor, to continue such aggressive policies. Corliss proceeded to lay waste to much of the island in a series of 30 expeditions during December 1900–January 1901. In the process, Governor Lardizabal was arrested, and many of the elite surrendered. The installation of civil government and Philippine police patrols, including detachments of the Philippine Constabulary, brought some quiet to the island's largest communities.

Major Frederick A. Smith took charge on February 6, 1901, and embraced Corliss's methods with two exceptions. Smith stopped the devastation of livestock and hemp, and he concentrated the population in American-held towns. All civilians were now gathered in six concentration centers to keep them from aiding the guerrillas. Those found to be aiding the insurgency were labeled as enemy combatants and jailed. Reminiscent of the Spanish *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) policy in Cuba, the American tactic did help U.S. officials assert control over the island. Separated from popular support and menaced by repeated U.S. forays into the interior, Abad gave up on April 15, 1901. By early May, Philippine commissioners confirmed the island's pacification and the institution of civilian rule. During the pacification campaign on Marinduque, U.S. forces suffered 27 casualties, apart from the more than 50 men captured. Abad's guerrillas sustained some 100 casualties, while 200 others were taken captive.

RODNEY J. ROSS

See also

Bates, John Coalter; MacArthur, Arthur; Pacification Program, Philippine Islands; Philippine-American War; Philippine Islands

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Martí y Pérez, José Julián

Birth Date: January 28, 1853

Death Date: May 19, 1895

Cuban independence leader, poet, and writer. Considered by many to be the national hero of Cuba, José Julián Martí y Pérez is often called the Apostle of Cuban Independence. Born in Havana, Cuba, on January 28, 1853, he was the son of a professional soldier. Although he was too young to participate in the Ten Years' War (1868–1878), that futile struggle of Cuban nationalists against Spain had an enormous impact on the young Martí, who cultivated and nurtured democratic ideals and the goal of Cuban independence.

A talented painter, Martí enrolled in a professional school in Havana for sculpting and painting. He also began to write inflammatory essays and plays that were critical of Spanish authority and promoted Cuban independence. He published his first political writings in the only edition of the newspaper *El Diablo Cojuelo* in 1869. His well-known sonnet "10 de Octubre" was also written that same year.

In March 1869, the Spanish authorities closed Martí's school and in October arrested him on a charge of treason. Four months later, he was convicted and sentenced, at age 16, to prison for six



Considered by many Cubans to be their national hero, José Martí y Pérez led the fight for independence from Spain. He was killed in battle with Spanish troops in 1895. (Library of Congress)

years. He fell ill and was sent to the Isla de Pinos in lieu of imprisonment. In 1871, he was paroled and sent to Spain, where he studied law and secured a bachelor of arts degree. He also continued to write in support of a free and independent Cuba. He then spent some time in France and also traveled in Latin America.

In 1877, Martí returned illegally to Cuba under an assumed name. In Havana, he continued to agitate for Cuban independence. Arrested and again deported to Spain in 1878, in 1880 he traveled to New York City, where he acted as the joint consul for Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

Martí traveled the East Coast of the United States, cultivating assistance for the Cuban cause especially from among the Cuban exile community in Florida. In January 1892, he established the Partido Revolucionario Cubano (Cuban Revolutionary Party). He also edited the party's newspaper, *Patria*. His efforts made him the central figure in the Cuban revolutionary movement. While in New York City, he also published his greatest literary works, including his collections of poetry, *Versos Sencillos* and *Versos Libres*.

An idealist and visionary whose life was dedicated to the Cuban cause, Martí firmly believed that Cuba should be built on democratic principles, to apply regardless of an individual's race. He insisted that all citizens should both exercise their political rights and undertake obligations owed to the state. He drew to his ranks other

notable Cuban revolutionaries, including Máximo Gómez y Báez and Antonio Maceo Grajales.

The Cuban War of Independence began with the Grito de Baire in February 1895. On March 25, Martí and Gómez issued the “Manifesto of Montecristi” calling for Cubans to take up arms in the fight for independence. Martí arrived in Cuba from Florida with Gómez on April 11 only to be killed in battle with Spanish troops at Dos Ríos on May 19, 1895. His loss was a tremendous blow to the revolutionary cause. However, in no small part due to his unceasing labors on its behalf, the revolution was able to carry on without its most eloquent and determined spokesman. Martí wrote extensively (one edition of his complete work runs 28 volumes). The most popular have been his books for children, of which the best known is *La Edad de Oro* (The Golden Age). José Martí International Airport at Havana and the city of Martí in Cuba are named for him.

JERRY KEENAN AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cuban Junta; Cuban Revolutionary Party; Cuban War of Independence; Gómez y Báez, Máximo; Maceo Grajales, Antonio; Ten Years' War

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Martínez de Campos, Arsenio

Birth Date: December 14, 1831

Death Date: September 23, 1900

Spanish military officer, politician, and captain-general of Cuba (1876–1879, 1895–1896). Arsenio Martínez de Campos was born in Segovia, Spain, on December 14, 1831. After receiving a military education, he joined the officer corps in 1852 and served in Morocco from 1858 to 1860. He also participated in the 1861 joint British, French, and Spanish seizure of the Veracruz customhouse after Mexican President Benito Juárez declared a moratorium on the payment of his nation's international debt.

In 1868, at the outbreak of the Ten Years' War (1868–1878), Martínez posted to Cuba. He attained the rank of brigadier general in 1869. Believing that the draconian policies orchestrated by Captain-General Blas Villate would be counterproductive to quelling Cuban resistance, Martínez returned to Spain in 1872. He



Spanish general Arsenio Martínez de Campos was Spanish captain-general of Cuba during 1895–1896. Believing that a military victory against the Cuban rebels was impossible without inhumane methods, Martínez resigned his position. He was replaced by General Valeriano Weyler. (Library of Congress)

then fought against the Carlists in the Third Carlist War (1872–1876). In charge of the military garrison in Valencia, he secured several victories against the Carlists in eastern Spain.

On December 29, 1874, Martínez, troubled by the continued inability of the republicans to restore order, announced his support for King Alfonso XII, which led to many other Spanish generals declaring their support for the son of exiled Queen Isabella II. This ultimately resulted in the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in 1875.

After the defeat of the Carlists in 1876, Alfonso XII sent Martínez to Cuba to end the Ten Years' War. While serving as the captain-general of Cuba from October 1876 to February 1879, Martínez signed the Pact of Zanjón with the Cuban revolutionaries on February 10, 1878. Indicative of his belief that conciliatory gestures would be more successful than force, the Pact of Zanjón granted the Cubans more autonomy and emancipated those slaves who had participated in the revolution. Although the peace treaty failed to attain Cuban independence or the complete end of slavery on the island, it did, albeit temporarily, end hostilities in Cuba. Cuban

discontent with the Pact of Zanjón, however, led to the Little War (Guerra Chiquita) from 1879 to 1880, which erupted in August after Martínez had returned to Spain.

Martínez initially supported the Conservative Party led by Antonio Cánovas del Castillo and briefly served as prime minister from March 7 to December 9, 1879, but was forced to leave the Conservative Party after he announced that slavery would be abolished in the Spanish Empire by 1888. Martínez then supported the Liberal Party, led by Práxedes Mateo Sagasta, who made him minister of war in 1881. Martínez founded the Academia Militar General (General Military Academy) in Zaragoza in 1884. He also successfully led Spanish troops in Morocco from September 1893 to January 1894 and negotiated the Treaty of Marrakech, which ended the war with Morocco on January 29, 1894.

Following Cánovas's return to power in March 1895, the Conservative prime minister sent Martínez to Cuba in April 1895 to end the Cuban War of Independence. Unwilling to implement harsh policies, Martínez, who became convinced that a military victory in Cuba was impossible, resigned his post in January 1896 and was replaced by General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, who implemented the notorious *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) system. Rather than defeating the Cuban rebels, Weyler's plan led to U.S. intervention in the Cuban War of Independence. Martínez returned to Spain and served as president of the Supreme War and Navy Council until his death in Zarauz, Spain, on September 23, 1900.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Alfonso XII, King of Spain; Cánovas del Castillo y Vallejo, Antonio; Cuba; Cuban War of Independence; *Reconcentrado* System; Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo; Ten Years' War; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano; Zanjón, Pact of

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Massiquisie, Battle of

Event Date: September 13, 1900

Battle between U.S. forces and Filipino insurgents during the Philippine-American War of 1899–1902. The engagement took place near the town of Massiquisie on the island of Marinduque on September 13, 1900. Marinduque, an island of about 400 square miles in size, lies just 11 miles off the southern coast of Luzon, southwest of Quezon Province.

Marinduque possesses a rugged, mountainous interior and experiences both rainy (June into October) and dry (November into February) seasons. In 1900, Marinduque, with a population of some

50,000 people, was administered through 5 municipalities, including the capital of Boac, and 96 barrios (towns or villages). Its chief products were hemp and rice. Reportedly, some 250 active guerrilla fighters on the island enjoyed the support of as many as 2,000 part-time insurgents. The principal guerrilla leaders were Martin Lardizabal and Lieutenant Colonel Máximo Abad. In April 1900, Major General John C. Bates, commander of the U.S. military campaign in southern Luzon, deployed a battalion of the 29th U.S. Volunteer Infantry Regiment to Marinduque, and over the next two years the island was occupied by various army units. Although these units conducted patrols in the interior, Abad steadfastly refused to engage in pitched battle with the Americans.

Captain Devereux Shields, commander of Company F of the 29th Volunteer Regiment, was determined to pursue aggressive action. He established a base at Santa Cruz on Marinduque's northeastern corner and carried out 13 operations during July and August. None of these ventured more than 10 miles from Santa Cruz, however. Aided by the local populace and Marinduque's rugged terrain, Abad evaded Shields with little difficulty.

In early September, the presence of the U.S. Navy (ex-Spanish) gunboat *Villalobos* gave Shields the opportunity to deploy his forces to Torrijos, located on Marinduque's southeastern coast. Ordering First Lieutenant M. H. Wilson and 41 soldiers to defend Santa Cruz, Shields and 51 others traveled via the gunboat by water to land on September 11 near Torrijos. There the Americans scattered a group of 20 guerrillas and demolished their compound.

On September 13, Shields and his troops marched into the interior, intending to return to Santa Cruz. Abad then massed virtually his entire insurgent force of some 250 men with rifles and another 2,000 with bolos beside a vertical height overlooking the path. Shields led his detachment right into the trap. Following several hours of fighting, he ordered a withdrawal into a concealed gorge. But this soon became a dash through a rock-strewn stream as he and his men struggled to flee the insurgent flanking columns that were attempting a double envelopment. After withdrawing for more than 3 miles, the harassed Americans took cover in a rice paddy close to the town of Massiquisie; guerrilla rifle fire compelled them to seek shelter behind paddy dikes. Shields was among the wounded.

With no other recourse, Shields surrendered his entire force. Four Americans died in the action, and all others were taken prisoner, 6 of them wounded. The Americans estimated that 30 insurgents had perished in the fight, but this figure was never verified. Following months of stealth, in less than a day of fighting Abad had eliminated a third of the U.S. force on Marinduque.

The Battle of Massiquisie prompted sharp reprisals from the Americans, who reinforced their garrisons on the island and launched a number of stronger punitive raids, which did little to cripple guerrilla activities.

RODNEY J. ROSS

See also

Bates, John Coalter; Marinduque; Pacification Program, Philippine Islands; Philippine-American War

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Matanzas, Cuba

City and province located in the northwestern part of Cuba. The city of Matanzas is located approximately 50 miles east of Havana. The Spanish word *matanzas* means "massacre" and is a reference to a massacre of Spanish soldiers as they attempted to cross one of the city's rivers during the early colonial period.

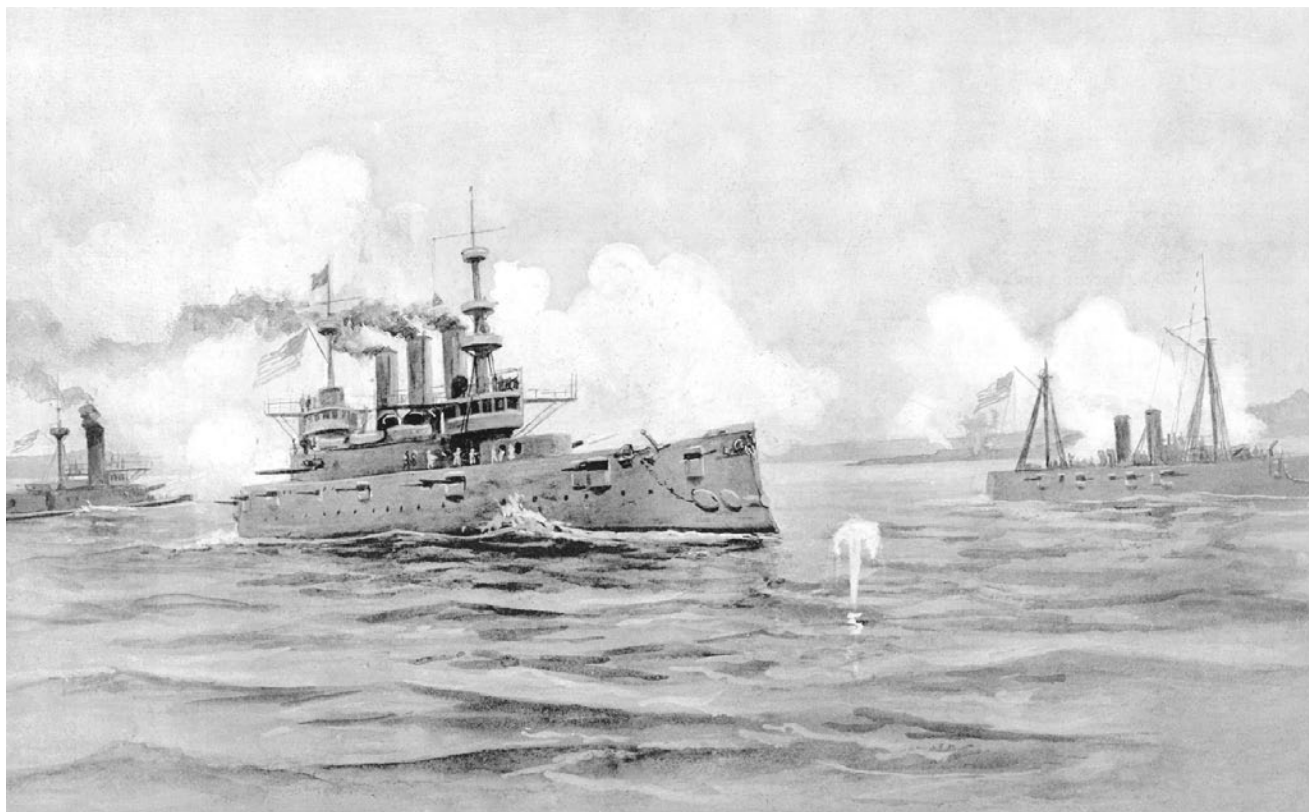
Besides the city of Matanzas, the province's other major cities include Jovellanos, Veradero, and Cárdenas, the latter the site of a brief naval engagement between U.S. and Spanish forces in May 1898. Cuba's second largest province in terms of land mass, Matanzas Province consists of relatively flat terrain. It has a long coastline to the north and south. The northern coast is known for its many small cays (keys, or small islands) and its enormous mangrove swamps. Cárdenas is located on the province's northern coast and sits along Cárdenas Bay (Bahía de Cárdenas), a commodious if shallow body of water. Along the province's southern coast is a huge

marsh, Ciénaga de Zapata, and a peninsula with the same name. Matanzas's southern shoreline also includes the Bay of Pigs (Bahía de Puercos), the site of the failed U.S.-backed Cuban invasion of April 1961.

Matanzas Province served as the center of the sugar and sugar-refining industries. The city of Matanzas, situated along the province's northern shore, has long been noted for its rich Afro-Cuban folklore and is sometimes referred to as the "city of bridges" because of the three rivers that run through it.

Jovellanos, located in the interior section of Matanzas Province, was mainly an industrial area where sugar-processing facilities abounded. Veradero, located on the Hicacos Peninsula, is situated on the eastern end of the peninsula and is renowned for its beautiful beaches. During the 20th century, this seaside resort developed into a major tourist destination and was among the largest resorts in the Caribbean.

Formally established only in 1828, Cárdenas grew quickly owing to the rich surrounding lands and its access to Cárdenas Bay, a wide but shallow body of water that limited access to smaller vessels only. Cárdenas is protected by a large promontory and is strategically positioned between the ocean to the north and hills to the south and southeast. In 1850, the city became momentarily famous when the Venezuelan soldier of fortune Narcisco Lopez launched a filibustering expedition there. After occupying the town for nearly a day, he abandoned it when it had become clear that the locals were not



The armored cruiser *New York* and other U.S. warships shelling the batteries of Matanzas, Cuba, on April 27, 1898. The drawing is by Rufus F. Zogbaum, who was on board the *New York*. (*Harper's Pictorial History of the War with Spain*, 1899)

flocking to his cause. It had been Lopez's intention to free Cuba from Spanish colonial rule.

Although the bay at Cárdenas was too shallow for most naval vessels, including blockade runners, U.S. North Atlantic Squadron commander Rear Admiral William Sampson sought to prevent supplies from reaching the Spanish through Cárdenas or Matanzas. In late April 1898, just days after the declaration of war, a minor naval skirmish took place off the coast of Cárdenas between American and Spanish ships. That same month, U.S. ships blockaded Matanzas, which also came under fire from the battleship *New York*, the protected cruiser *Cincinnati*, and the double-turreted monitor *Puritan*.

The following month, on May 8, 1898, the U.S. torpedo boat *Winslow* entered the bay at Cárdenas and fired on a Spanish gunboat and armed tugs that were present there in an effort to draw them out of the bay where the cruiser *Wilmington* and gunboat *Macias* were lying in wait. This attempt failed, but three days later, on May 11, the *Wilmington*, *Macias*, and *Winslow* and the revenue cutter *Hudson* returned to Cárdenas. The American ships duelled with the Spanish shore batteries and the gunboats *Alerta* and *Ligera* and the armed tug *Antonio López*. The *Winslow* was seriously damaged in the exchange with a Spanish shore battery and had to be towed out to sea by the *Hudson*. Five crewmen died, and three others were wounded. Among the dead was Ensign Worth Bagley, believed to be the first naval officer killed in the war. On the Spanish side, two ships were damaged, part of Cárdenas was set on fire, and seven people were killed.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cárdenas, Cuba; Cuba, U.S. Naval Blockade of; Sampson, William Thomas; United States Navy

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Mayagüez, Battle of

Event Date: August 11, 1898

Brief skirmish between American and Spanish forces at Mayagüez, Puerto Rico. Mayagüez was located on the west coast of Puerto Rico. At the time the fourth largest city in Puerto Rico with a population of 28,000 people, Mayagüez was unfortified. On August 1, Spanish colonel Julio Soto Villanueva commanded the Mayagüez district with a force of 1,362 men.

Opposing him was a U.S. brigade under Brigadier General Theodore Schwan, assigned to Major General John R. Brooke's I Corps. Schwan's brigade consisted of three battalions of the 11th

U.S. Infantry Regiment, the 1st Kentucky Volunteer Infantry Regiment, Troop A of the 5th U.S. Cavalry Regiment, and two batteries of artillery from the 3rd and 5th Artillery Regiments, in all some 2,900 men.

Schwan's brigade had landed at Ponce, Puerto Rico, on July 31 and then moved westward along the coast to Guánica. The men met only light resistance along the way. Schwan's orders called on him to secure western Puerto Rico. In the process, his men advanced 92 miles in less than nine days, captured nine towns, engaged in two brief battles, and took 192 Spanish prisoners. On August 10, Schwan's brigade took part in the Battle of Silva Heights, the brigade's first real engagement, near Hormigueros, seven miles south of Mayagüez. The Spanish suffered perhaps 50 casualties, while the Americans reported only 17. The Spanish then withdrew, opening the way for the Americans to move into Mayagüez. Colonel Soto Villanueva chose not to fight for the city.

The Americans were well received in Mayagüez. Having secured the city, Schwan's brigade departed the next day and pursued withdrawing Spanish forces toward La Marías, where a skirmish was fought on August 13. Word was then received of the Protocol of Peace of August 12, ending hostilities.

ANDREW BYERS

See also

Brooke, John Rutter; Hormigueros, Battle of; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Peace, Protocol of; Puerto Rico; Puerto Rico Campaign; Schwan, Theodore

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McCalla, Bowman Hendry

Birth Date: June 19, 1844

Death Date: May 6, 1910

U.S. navy officer. Born in Camden, New Jersey, on June 19, 1844, Bowman Hendry McCalla was appointed to the United States Naval Academy, then temporarily located in Newport, Rhode Island, during the American Civil War in November 1861. He graduated fourth in his class in November 1864. His initial service was with the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron.

Following the Civil War, Bowman served successively with the South Pacific Squadron, the Home Squadron, and the European Squadron through 1874. During this period, he experienced rapid promotion, becoming a lieutenant commander by March 1869. He then served as an instructor at the Naval Academy. Following three years as executive officer of the steamer *Powhatan*, he served from



U.S. Navy commander Bowman H. McCalla, who commanded the cruiser *Marblehead* in the blockade of Cuba and whose crewmen cut the cable lines at Cienfuegos. (*Harper's Pictorial History of the War with Spain*, 1899)

1881 to 1887 as the assistant chief of the Bureau of Navigation. He first came to public prominence in April 1885 when he led an expeditionary force of marines and sailors in Panama to protect American interests during an uprising against Colombian control.

From 1888 to 1890, Commander McCalla commanded the steam sloop *Enterprise* in the European Squadron. Known as a strict disciplinarian, he faced a highly publicized court-martial upon his return to the United States for striking an enlisted man and for other discipline-related charges. Convicted on all five counts, he was suspended from duty for three years, losing several places on the navy's seniority list in the process. Upon his restoration to duty in 1893, he served for more than three years as equipment officer at the Mare Island Navy Yard in San Francisco, California. He assumed command of the Montgomery-class cruiser *Marblehead* in 1897.

With the beginning of the Spanish-American War, McCalla commanded U.S. naval forces blockading Havana and Cienfuegos, Cuba, and shelled the port city of Cienfuegos on April 29, 1898. On May 11, members of his ship's crew, along with sailors from the cruiser *Nashville*, cut two of the three telegraph cables located at

Cienfuegos. McCalla later made arrangements with local Cuban insurgents regarding ship-to-shore communications but failed to pass word of the arrangements on to his superiors. This contributed to Commodore Winfield Scott Schley's delay in establishing the blockade of Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron at Santiago de Cuba, as Schley erroneously feared that Cervera had taken refuge at Cienfuegos and could not communicate with the insurgents on shore.

The *Marblehead* participated in the blockade before being detached to reconnoiter and seize Guantánamo Bay in southeastern Cuba. McCalla bombarded Spanish positions there on June 7, capturing the outer harbor for use as a supply base for the American blockading squadron. He later supported the landings by the 1st Marine Battalion on June 10. With the *Marblehead*, he remained on station while the marines solidified their positions, taking part in the effective bombardment of a Spanish fort at Cayo del Toro in Guantánamo Bay. In appreciation of his actions, the marines named their encampment Camp McCalla in his honor.

In the dispensation of honors following the war, McCalla was advanced six numbers in grade, restoring him to the seniority he had held before his court-martial. Promoted to captain in April 1899, he commanded the Navy Yard at Norfolk, Virginia, before assuming command of the cruiser *Newark* in September 1899 for service on the Asiatic Station. He then participated in the campaign against Filipino insurgents in the Philippine-American War (1899–1902) and took part in the events of the Boxer Rebellion in China in 1900. He delivered reinforcements to the American legation in Peking in late May 1900 and then led 112 sailors and marines as part of the Seymour Relief Expedition, which unsuccessfully tried to relieve the now-besieged foreign legation in June 1900.

Wounded during the expedition, McCalla received commendations for bravery from Congress, Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany, and King Edward VII of Great Britain. Following a final tour of sea duty commanding the battleship *Kearsarge* and serving as chief of staff to the commander of the North Atlantic Squadron, McCalla finished his career ashore commanding the Mare Island Navy Yard. Promoted to rear admiral on October 11, 1903, he oversaw the navy's immediate response to the San Francisco earthquake of April 1906, sending ships and men to the aid of the stricken city. He retired in June 1906 and remained in the San Francisco area, where he helped welcome the ships of the Great White Fleet in 1908. McCalla died in Santa Barbara, California, on May 6, 1910.

STEPHEN SVONAVEC

See also

Boxer Rebellion; Cables and Cable-Cutting Operations; Camp McCalla; Cienfuegos, Naval Engagements off; Cuba, U.S. Naval Blockade of; 1st Marine Battalion; Guantánamo, Battle of; Philippine-American War; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Schley, Winfield Scott

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McClerland, Edward John

Birth Date: December 29, 1848

Death Date: February 9, 1926

U.S. Army officer. Edward John McClerland was born in Jacksonville, Illinois, on December 29, 1848. His father was Major General John A. McClerland, who commanded the U.S. Army VIII Corps during the American Civil War. After an education in local schools, the younger McClerland entered the United States Military Academy, West Point, graduating in the class of 1867. He saw much service in the American West during various Indian wars and was attached to the 2nd U.S. Cavalry on June 15, 1870. He soon gained a well-earned reputation as a tenacious fighter and was awarded the Medal of Honor for his gallantry at the Battle of Bear Paw Mountains (September 30–October 5, 1877) in Montana during the Nez Perce War.

When the Spanish-American War began, McClerland was a lieutenant colonel, and on May 9, 1898, he became assistant general adjutant of volunteers. He was subsequently assigned to serve on the staff of Major General William Shafter, commander of V Corps during the Cuba Campaign. As the Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign began in late June 1898, Shafter's considerable weight (300 pounds), an attack of gout, and the tropical heat made it impossible for him to take command in the field. As such, he designated McClerland to act as his liaison with his field commanders.

During the Battle of San Juan Hill (July 1, 1898), McClerland had the unenviable task of transmitting Shafter's orders to the battlefield and reporting back to Shafter on events as they unfolded. At the height of the battle, Brigadier General Jacob Ford Kent criticized McClerland, alleging that he had acted indecisively, but McClerland was not in a position to issue orders; indeed, he was merely acting as a go-between for Shafter.

On July 2, when General Shafter was about to withdraw from the siege of Santiago de Cuba out of fear that his men might fall victim to yellow fever season, it was McClerland who suggested that he immediately demand the city's surrender. Shafter took McClerland's counsel, and the Spanish capitulated on July 17. This move all but ended the war, and Shafter was able to contemplate a withdrawal before tropical disease season set in.

When the fighting was over in the Caribbean, McClerland was assigned to the Philippines, where he was for a time military governor of Cebu Province. He subsequently served in a variety of other army posts and was advanced to brigadier general on August 27, 1912. He retired from active service that December and took up residence in Easton, Pennsylvania, staying active in military matters and writing about his experiences in the Indian

Wars and the Spanish-American War. McClerland died on February 9, 1926.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

V Corps; Kent, Jacob Ford; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba, Capitulation Agreement; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Shafter, William Rufus

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McCoy, Frank Ross

Birth Date: October 29, 1874

Death Date: June 4, 1954

U.S. Army officer and diplomat. Frank Ross McCoy was born on October 29, 1874, in Lewistown, Pennsylvania. He graduated from the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1897 and was commissioned a second lieutenant. When the Spanish-American War began in April 1898, he transferred to the 10th Cavalry Regiment (the Buffalo Soldiers), a unit comprised of African American soldiers with white officers. The unit left for Cuba two months later.

During the Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign, McCoy fought at the Battle of Las Guásimas on June 24 and received a leg wound on July 1 at Kettle Hill, part of the Battle of San Juan Hill waged outside Santiago de Cuba. While lying wounded under a tree on the battlefield, he by chance met Colonel Leonard Wood, who came to have a major impact on McCoy's military career. Wood, a physician as well as a field commander, stopped to rebandage McCoy's wound.

After recovering in the United States, McCoy rejoined his unit before it returned to Cuba as part of the occupation force in April 1899. The next year, Wood, who had been appointed military governor of Cuba, requested McCoy as his aide. McCoy reorganized the military government's finances and in June 1901 was promoted to first lieutenant. When the Cuban occupation ended in May 1902, McCoy continued as Wood's aide.

In early 1903, Wood had become the military commander of the Department of Mindanao and governor of Moro Province in the Philippines with McCoy as his aide. In August 1903, McCoy rose to captain. He served at various times as acting secretary and provincial engineer in the Moro legislative council.

As the intelligence officer of the Department of Mindanao, McCoy was often called upon to fight against the Moros. In October 1904, he planned the defeat of the powerful Datu Ali, the last of the hostile Moro chieftains, using American infantry and Philippine Scouts and suffering only one casualty. Both Wood and President Theodore Roosevelt praised McCoy highly for this victory.

On leave in late 1905, McCoy visited Japan and Canton, China, gathering intelligence before returning to Manila in January 1906.

He departed for the United States that June. Later that same year, he served as an aide to the provisional governor of Cuba, William Howard Taft, and his successor before becoming President Theodore Roosevelt's chief military aide in 1907.

McCoy commanded troops along the American-Mexican border during the Mexican Revolution (1915–1916) and became American attaché in Mexico City in 1917. When the United States entered World War I, he transferred to France in the summer of 1917. He fought in several battles and ended the war as a temporary brigadier general. He then served in various diplomatic assignments, including Armenia, Latin America, and Japan. Later he served on the League of Nations Lytton Commission that tried to resolve the Manchurian Crisis.

In 1920, McCoy worked for Wood's unsuccessful campaign for the Republican nomination for president. The following year, McCoy again joined Wood when the latter was appointed governor of the Philippines. McCoy was promoted to brigadier general in 1922 and married Wood's niece Frances Judson in 1924 before returning to the United States in 1925.

McCoy retired from the army as a major general in October 1938. He served as the president of the Foreign Policy Association until 1945. During World War II, he was recalled twice to active duty, and he chaired the Far Eastern Commission in October 1945, overseeing the Allied occupation of Japan and serving in that capacity until November 1949. McCoy died in Washington, D.C., on June 4, 1954.

GREGORY C. FERENCE

See also

African American Soldiers; Las Guásimas, Battle of; Mindanao; Moros; Philippine-American War; Philippine Scouts; Roosevelt, Theodore; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Taft, William Howard; Wood, Leonard

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McKinley, William

Birth Date: January 29, 1843

Death Date: September 14, 1901

U.S. politician, congressman, governor of Ohio, and president of the United States (1897–1901). The pivotal figure of the Spanish-American War, William McKinley Jr., was born in Niles, Ohio, on January 29, 1843. In his late teens, he attended Allegheny College, but he did not graduate. As with many others of his generation, his



William McKinley, the pivotal figure of the Spanish-American War, was president of the United States during 1897–1901. (Library of Congress)

American Civil War service as a young Ohio Volunteer officer had a profound impact on his life, and he developed a deep hatred of war. Nevertheless, he performed his duty ably and emerged from the war a brevet major of volunteers.

After the war, McKinley studied law at the Albany Law School in Albany, New York, and was admitted to the Ohio bar in 1867. In 1876, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives as a Republican. As chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, he authored the McKinley Tariff of 1890, which raised tariff rates on many imports, especially sugar, that negatively affected the Cuban economy, already in significant turmoil. That same year, he lost his congressional seat. He went on to serve as governor of Ohio from 1892 to 1896. With the United States mired in the economic depression of 1893–1897, McKinley's longtime mentor, Mark Hanna, worked to secure the Republican presidential nomination for McKinley. In November 1896, McKinley defeated Democratic presidential nominee William Jennings Bryan to become the 25th president of the United States.

Although the campaign of 1896 had focused primarily on monetary policy—McKinley favored the gold standard, while Bryan championed free silver—McKinley's administration would be dominated by foreign policy. When he took the oath of office on

March 4, 1897, the Cuban War of Independence was already two years old and was rapidly becoming a popular issue in the United States. Although the press of the day painted increasingly negative portrayals of Spain's treatment of the Cubans, McKinley nevertheless moved cautiously in forming an official position about Spain. He was not given to falling headlong into a conflict for dubious reasons or because of popular sentiments.

By June 1897, McKinley, who had come to favor Cuban independence, officially demanded of Spain that Cubans be treated in a humane way. In so doing, the president departed from the position of strict neutrality adhered to by his predecessor, Grover Cleveland. As a result of McKinley's prodding, Spain did make an effort to improve relations with the Cubans by offering autonomy and repealing the hated *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) policy. Neither McKinley nor the Cuban revolutionaries, however, were willing to accept anything less than full independence.

During the ensuing months, as tensions with Spain mounted, McKinley ordered the U.S. Navy's Atlantic Squadron to Key West, Florida, as a signal to the Spanish government that the United States regarded the situation as serious business. In addition, he directed the War Department and the Navy Department to prepare war plans.

In February 1898, the infamous Dupuy de Lôme–Canalejas Letter was published. Enrique Dupuy de Lôme, Spanish ambassador to the United States, wrote a dispatch to José Canalejas that was highly critical of McKinley. The communication was intercepted and made available by the Cuban revolutionary junta to the *New York Journal*, which promptly printed it. In his dispatch, Dupuy de Lôme had called McKinley a spineless politician. Amazingly, McKinley himself remained remarkably composed about Dupuy de Lôme's remarks. Publication of the letter was followed by the second and far more provocative event that month, when the U.S. battleship *Maine* blew up in Havana Harbor on the night of February 15. Many Americans blamed the Spanish government for the deed, further inflaming public opinion against Spain.

After the destruction of the *Maine*, McKinley pushed through congressional legislation known as the Fifty Million Dollar Bill, designed to prepare the nation's military services for war. The day after the report of the board of inquiry concerning the loss of the *Maine* concluded that the ship had been sunk by an external mine, McKinley sent to Madrid an ultimatum demanding an immediate armistice, the release of prisoners, and American mediation between Spain and Cuba. Although Spain's formal reply was not satisfactory, the Spanish government did not want war with the United States, and on April 9, Spanish officials in Cuba offered an armistice to the insurgents. The next day, the American minister at Madrid, Stewart L. Woodford, cabled Washington that if nothing was done to humiliate Spain, he could obtain a settlement on the basis of Cuban autonomy or independence or even cession of the island to the United States.

McKinley did not want war, but the Young Republicans in Congress were eager for it, and expansionists saw this as an opportunity

to expand American power. McKinley gave in to the view that if he did not give way, the Republican Party would be split. After much prayer and hesitation, he yielded to the interventionists. A year later, the president confessed, "But for the inflamed state of public opinion and the fact that Congress could no longer be held in check, a peaceful solution might have been had."

On April 11, 1898, McKinley requested a declaration of war from Congress, which passed a joint resolution authorizing armed intervention in Cuba on April 19. Three days later, on April 22, the president initiated a naval blockade of Cuba and on April 25 signed the official war declaration against Spain, effective as of April 21.

Overall, McKinley's conduct of the war was efficient, especially in the area of communications. Indeed, he created the nation's first official war room in the White House using the latest technology. President Abraham Lincoln had spent hours in the military telegraph office keeping himself updated on the progress of the American Civil War. McKinley, however, took that concept to the next level. The war room was set up to accommodate 25 telegraph lines and 15 special telephone lines through which he kept close tabs on developments in Cuba. He was in constant and direct contact with his field commanders, usually via telephone.

With the exception of Secretary of War Russell Alger, McKinley's relationship with his cabinet was generally harmonious. Alger, who had performed well enough in a prewar bureaucratic environment, proved to be a poor choice to manage the War Department under the stress of conflict, however. McKinley came to rely on him less and less. The president also came to avoid commanding general of the army Major General Nelson A. Miles, whose frequent squabbling with Alger caused McKinley to turn increasingly to Adjutant General Henry Corbin for military advice. By contrast, McKinley worked well with Secretary of the Navy John D. Long.

Militarily, the war proved to be far less challenging than negotiating the final peace treaty with Spain, and the Philippines turned out to be the sticking point. Had it not been for the U.S. acquisition of the Philippines, McKinley's role in history surely would be much less controversial. At one point early on, he professed to not knowing the exact location of the Philippines, a remark that he perhaps did not intend to be taken literally. He seems to have agonized a great deal as to whether the United States should retain just the port city of Manila, the island of Luzon, or the entire Philippine archipelago.

A strong argument arose against the United States annexing any part of the Philippines because to do so would run counter to U.S. constitutional philosophy. In the end, McKinley reasoned that the islands should not be returned to Spain and that if the United States did not take them, Germany or Japan surely would. Thus, he concluded that the United States should take all of the Philippines, and he instructed his peace commissioners in Paris to stand firm on that point. Because Spain had little bargaining power, it had no choice but to sell the Philippines in exchange for \$20 million. In addition to the Philippines, the United States also acquired Puerto Rico and Guam in the Marianas. The terms of the Treaty of Paris further required Spain to evacuate Cuba and

called for the United States to oversee that island's preparation for independent government.

If McKinley was not the most controversial occupant of the White House, he was certainly one of the most difficult presidents to know. Pleasant and affable with a wry sense of humor and a fondness for cigars, he somehow appeared more like a country judge than a president of the United States. For all that, however, he was an astute politician who was fully in charge, even if he seemed at times indecisive. His office was open to nearly everyone who wished to see him, and he was the first president to establish a regular format for providing the media with White House news.

In 1900, McKinley ran for reelection, again contesting with Bryan. Enormously popular in the aftermath of the war and having lifted the U.S. out of a serious economic depression, McKinley easily defeated Bryan. McKinley's second term was to last only six months, however, for he was shot on September 6, 1901, while attending the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, by an anarchist Leon Czolgosz. McKinley was struck by two bullets. One did little harm and was readily removed by doctors. The second, however, had caused extensive damage and would have been exceedingly difficult to extricate. McKinley appeared to be rallying, so doctors decided to leave the second bullet in place rather than risk a serious operation. However, on September 14, 1901, McKinley went into shock and died in Buffalo. This tragic event ruled out the possibility of his further elaborating on some of the controversial issues of his presidency, such as the acquisition of the Philippines. It also resulted in the impetuous vice president, Theodore Roosevelt, becoming president. Many Americans, even Republicans, wondered whether the 42-year-old Roosevelt had the requisite wisdom and foresight to lead the nation at that time.

In the century since the Spanish-American War, historians have debated and sharply differed over McKinley's presidency. In the first two decades following the war, scholars largely supported the McKinley administration for its able prosecution of the war and for the results of the Treaty of Paris, by which the United States acquired its first territorial possessions. Beginning about 1920, however, opinions began to diverge. Some saw McKinley as a reluctant expansionist, but others viewed him as a president who employed clever means to expand U.S. interests, a crafty politician who adroitly managed the acquisition of territorial possessions seemingly without wanting to do so.

The controversy is attributable in large part to the fact that historians have little knowledge of McKinley as a man. He left behind almost nothing in the way of personal correspondence, memos, or a diary through which historians might gain some access to his inner thoughts and feelings. Instead, to evaluate his presidency, scholars have had to rely on the recollections and observations of those with whom he worked closely. As a consequence, he remains something of an enigma, a controversial occupant of the White House during a key transitional period when the United States moved onto the stage of international affairs.

JERRY KEENAN

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; Bryan, William Jennings; Cuban War of Independence; Dupuy de Lôme-Canalejas Letter; Economic Depression; Hanna, Mark; Long, John Davis; *Maine*, USS; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Paris, Treaty of; *Reconcentrado* System; Roosevelt, Theodore; Spanish-American War, U.S. Public Reaction to; Telephone and Telegraph; Woodford, Stewart Lyndon

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Medicine, Military

The U.S. Army Medical Department was anything but ready for the Spanish-American War. Just four years earlier, Congress had stripped 15 commissioned surgeons and the entire allotment of contract surgeons from a corps that had consistently and justifiably complained that it was incapable of meeting even peacetime requirements.

The Medical Department's organizational structure had not changed since the 1860s. Each regiment had its own surgeons and each division its own hospital. All were under a corps-level chief surgeon. Physicians had an advisory role only over matters directly pertaining to medical care of patients. Hospital administration and evacuation of the wounded were the province of line officers. Even worse, so were camp locations, arrangement, and sanitation.

The department, which still counted 14 veterans of the American Civil War, was led by Surgeon General George Sternberg, an internationally renowned bacteriologist with almost no administrative experience. Besides a severe shortage of physicians, he had no nurses, which left hospital care to a woefully undermanned, untrained, and largely unmotivated collection of stewards assigned to the Hospital Corps. The Medical Department had no transportation resources of its own, being entirely dependent on the Quartermaster Corps. Although war was a near certainty after the February 15 sinking of the U.S. battleship *Maine* at Havana, Sternberg was legally barred from spending any more money to stockpile supplies than had already been budgeted for 1898. He had barely sufficient equipment, hospital supplies, and medicines on hand to take care of the 27,000-man prewar force. The March 9 Fifty Million Dollar Bill intended to fund the war (mostly in the form of coastal defenses) allocated only \$20,000 to the Medical Department. Even when purchases were authorized after the declaration of war in April, goods and drugs were almost entirely unavailable on such short notice.

In April 1898, the army numbered 2,143 officers and 26,040 enlisted men. In two calls issued by August, Congress authorized an increase to 2,232 officers and 56,365 enlisted men in the regular army and another 8,785 officers and 207,244 enlisted men in a volunteer army that was to be drawn primarily from the National Guard, supplemented by 3 volunteer cavalry regiments, 1 engineering regiment, and another 10 regiments composed largely of African Americans from the South who were presumed to be immune to yellow fever. On April 22, President William McKinley commissioned 77 surgeons in the Medical Corps and authorized each volunteer regiment to hire 1 surgeon and 2 assistant surgeons. The contract surgeon program was reinstituted, and 700 men eventually served in that capacity, although only 177 of those possessed any military experience. Even at that, the positions proved hard to fill, and the army ultimately closed its medical school and activated the faculty primarily in order to train newly recruited physicians. Operationally, these men fell under the command of Colonel Charles R. Greenleaf to whom they reported for matters pertaining to professional activity, but they remained subordinate to line officers for virtually every other aspect of their day-to-day lives. The contract surgeons, because they had neither rank nor military background, were typically accorded the same level of respect as hired teamsters and packers.

The volunteer regiments were authorized “one acting hospital steward and one private, one hospital and one common tent, one ambulance and necessary animals fully equipped in order to preserve the regimental organization.” Their physicians were in no way superior to the contract surgeons. Most had obtained their positions through political influence, and since Abraham Flexner’s reform of medical education was still a decade away, their professional training and qualifications were wildly variable and, with distressing frequency, wholly inadequate.

Surgeons were instructed to bring their own instruments, supplies, and medications. What they lacked their regiments lacked as well. To make matters worse, there was no standard pharmacopoeia, and the volunteer surgeons complained incessantly about the lack of their favorite compounded remedies. Of the various state units, none had a complete medical kit, and 16 had no medical supplies at all, a situation they shared with the majority of the regular regiments.

After Congress authorized purchases, supply depots were established at Lytle, Georgia, and at Tampa, Florida. But because of the difficulty in buying what was needed and transporting it, noth-



A dentist at work in a U.S. Army camp during the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

ing arrived in either place for more than a month. When the trains finally started coming in, the system was overwhelmed. Cars were backed up all the way from Tampa to Charleston, South Carolina. Freight was seldom labeled, and one complete field hospital was found only after the war had ended. Still, to their great credit, Sternberg and his staff found and distributed 272,000 first-aid packets, 7,500,000 quinine pills, 18,185 cots, 23,950 blankets, and 2,259 liters in 1898.

The flood of regulars and volunteers had to be collected and trained, and to that end, the army established training camps in the southern United States to acclimate the men to a hot, damp climate: Camp Alger in Fairfax County, Virginia; Camp Thomas at the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park in North Georgia; and Camp Cuba Libre at Jacksonville, Florida. In the first few weeks, disease was not a problem, but no one yet realized that typhoid could be carried by asymptomatic individuals, and the disease tore through camps crowded with men unaccustomed to the necessities of outdoor sanitation. By August, 260 of the 15th Minnesota’s 1,323 men were infected. More than 90 percent of the volunteer regiments had typhoid within eight weeks of arriving in camp, and not a single regiment escaped the disease. In the end, far more men died in camp than in battle, and 80 percent of those succumbed to what was likely typhoid, although the disease was often confused with malaria.

The Medical Corps initially planned for 1 percent of the volunteer force to require hospitalization while in camp, but the folly of that estimate was quickly evident, and a network of military hospitals had to be created. General hospitals were built at Key West,

Comparison of Casualties between the U.S. Army and the U.S. Navy during the Spanish-American War

	<i>U.S. Army</i>	<i>U.S. Navy</i>
Killed in action or died of wounds or injuries	345	47
Died of disease	2,565	56
Wounded	1,577	68



Nurses with the U.S. Army VII Corps mobilized in Savannah, Georgia, during the Spanish-American War, 1898. (National Library of Medicine)

Fort McPherson in Atlanta, Fort Monroe in Virginia, at Chickamauga, and in Washington, D.C. In addition, post hospitals in New York City, at the Presidio in San Francisco (later Letterman General Hospital), and at Vancouver Barracks in Washington state were enlarged enough to be essentially general hospitals. Two more hospitals were later opened at Manila and Honolulu (later to become Tripler General Hospital). On July 17, a 300-bed general hospital was opened in the newly captured city of Santiago, Cuba. After July, a number of civilian hospitals—especially in Philadelphia and New York City—were employed, and a number of the sick and injured were simply discharged to seek care at facilities near their homes. Transport within the United States was assisted by a 10-car hospital train operated by the Medical Department.

At the war's outset, Sternberg decided to replace the regimental hospitals with 200-bed division hospitals staffed with 6 officers, 99 enlisted men, and an ambulance company comprising 6 more officers and 114 enlisted men responsible for getting men to dressing stations and then on to rear-area hospitals. The regiments were left with only 1 surgeon, 1 steward, and a Hospital Corps private, the remainder being seconded to the division hospital, a decision that proved efficient but profoundly unpopular both with the physicians and the soldiers.

When the war began, nursing care was provided by the 791 non-commissioned officers and privates of the Hospital Corps since the Medical Corps had no female nurses. It proved much more difficult to get volunteers for the Hospital Corps than for line regiments, a deficit that was often made up by forced transfer of unwilling sol-

diers. To help alleviate the problem, Congress authorized the hiring of female nurses on contract, and the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) was recruited to find and hire those women. The DAR committee led by Anita Newcombe McGee, a physician and vice president of the organization, included the wives of both Sternberg and Secretary of War Russell Alger. In August 1898, the Army Nurse Corps Division of the Surgeon General's Office was formed and placed under Dr. McGee, who was made an acting assistant surgeon. A total of 1,563 women were hired, with a maximum of 1,158 serving at any one time, but since the first American nursing school had only been founded 25 years earlier, the supply of trained nurses was quite limited.

Besides their service in hospitals in the United States, 76 members of the Nurse Corps were sent to Cuba, 9 to Puerto Rico, 30 to the Philippines, 6 to Honolulu, and 8 to the hospital ship *Relief*. Typhoid struck 140 of the nurses, and 12 died from the disease. One nurse, Clara Maass, died of yellow fever acquired as a result of the Reed Commission's experiments. By the end of the war, nurses had largely been accepted as important to patient care in ways other than seeing to adequate diets and clean linen.

Although the Army Dental Corps was not established until 1901, army steward J. W. Horner, who was serving in VII Corps, set up a free tooth extraction clinic for soldiers stationed at Camp Cuba Libre.

When Major General William Shafter's V Corps left Tampa for Cuba, it took with it 79 medical officers and 89 newspaper correspondents. At the time of embarkation, most of the force's drugs

were still lost on trains scattered north from Florida. A system dating to Jonathan Letterman's American Civil War plan called for stretcher bearers to carry men to collecting stations two or three miles behind the lines, where they could be dressed and transferred to ambulances that would take them another two or three miles to a base hospital. There was, however, a general shortage of litters, with few regiments having more than two and some having none at all. All but three ambulances were left in Tampa, and those that were taken had been disassembled and were not taken off the transports. The general lack of equipment would turn out to be immaterial to the initial landing at Daiquiri since the harbor was unprotected and the single dock was not even adequate for unloading military animals and equipment. Draft animals were simply shoved overboard with the hope that they would swim ashore. Many were lost. Chief surgeon Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin A. Pope and his division surgeons Majors Marshall W. Wood, Henry S. Kilbourne, and Valery Havard were largely left to their own devices.

By the time of the initial skirmish at Las Guásimas, there was no facility for the 52 wounded ashore, so those needing more than minimal care were transferred to the *Olivette*, a freighter converted to a hospital ship. Later, a field hospital was established at Siboney, and the wounded from San Juan Heights and El Caney were treated there. That facility had an adequate supply of surgical instruments and dressings and was able to keep six operating tables working around the clock. Men in the field had a good supply of first-aid packs and splints, and most of the men—who were transported to Siboney on a short-haul railroad pressed into service for that purpose—were well splinted and well dressed.

A combination of antisepsis, anesthesia, and relatively clean wounds from the high-velocity Spanish Mauser rifles resulted in cleaner injuries and better surgical results than in prior wars. Of the 1,142 men wounded in the Battle of San Juan Hill and the Battle of El Caney, the War Department reported a mortality of less than 1 percent. The Surgeon General's Report for 1898, however, said that 1,457 men were injured by guns that year, with a mortality rate of 6 percent. Regardless, the death rate from gunshot wounds was strikingly less than in prior wars.

Although the number of battle injuries was relatively low and the complications less frequent than in earlier wars, disease was a major problem. By mid-July, V Corps had 1,500 men sick with fever, and 10 percent of those had yellow fever. The death rate from disease peaked at 6.14 per 1,000 in August, with malaria being the most common problem and yellow fever the most feared.

As many as 75 percent of the American forces in Cuba may have ultimately suffered from malaria, with typhoid, dysentery, and other diarrheal diseases also common. In 1898, there were 217,072 cases of disease or injury among the men serving in the U.S. Army. The rate of men reporting for sick call was 2,146 per 1,000 per year. Battle wounds were numerically almost insignificant. In fact, significantly more men were disabled by rupture (the contemporary term for cases of inguinal hernia) than by gunshot wounds. Dis-

ease, however, became such a problem that in late July the city of Siboney was burned to the ground as a sanitary measure.

The land-based facility at Siboney had been largely replaced by three hospital ships, the *Olivette*, *Relief*, and *Missouri*. The *Olivette* was a former commercial passenger steamer that accompanied V Corps from Tampa and, because it also carried hospital equipment, was quickly converted to a 280-bed floating hospital after its arrival at Cuba. The *Missouri* was a former cattle boat given 10 days to convert to medical use. Its entire below-deck plumbing consisted of a hole in the deck and a funnel that had been used as a shower for the former captain. The *Relief* had been the Long Island passenger steamer *John Englin* before being sent to Cuba.

One immediate effect of the outbreak of disease was the Round-Robin Letter in which Shafter and his general officers demanded the immediate return of the American force to the United States. Because there was a widespread fear that returning soldiers would bring yellow fever with them, the decision had been made to build what was in essence a quarantine facility at Camp Wikoff on eastern Long Island. The Round-Robin Letter led to a hurried transfer of almost all of Shafter's troops to that facility in spite of the fact that transport ships were disastrously underequipped and the camp not nearly finished. The facility was divided into five detention camps for 1,000 men each and one 500-bed general hospital.

The short Puerto Rico Campaign resulted in only 3 enlisted men being killed and 4 officers and 36 enlisted men being wounded. There were no large concentrations of men, and as a result, no serious infectious disease outbreaks.

Although Commodore George Dewey had defeated the Spanish Navy in Manila Harbor on May 1, 1898, he lacked the manpower to occupy the capital. A force of 13,000 regulars and 2,000 volunteers under Major General Wesley Merritt left San Francisco two weeks before Shafter left Tampa. VII Corps was better organized than the Cuban invasion force. Chief surgeon Lieutenant Colonel Henry Lippincott's force (Ashburn called Lippincott "a kindly old man nearing retirement") was well staffed except for stewards and was well supplied. The force arrived on July 25, 1898, and, after a brief and prearranged battle, took the city from the Spanish on August 13. The medical purveyor to the expedition noted that every man was comfortably dressed and in bed by 7:00 p.m. after the engagement. No Americans were killed, and only 50 were wounded.

There were a handful of military medical innovations attributable to the Spanish-American War. Difficulty in identifying dead and seriously wounded men led to the use of metal identification tags subsequently worn by all soldiers. X-rays were used both in hospitals in the United States and on hospital ships to locate metallic foreign bodies and to visualize fractures. But the biggest changes came as a result of the postwar investigation of shortcomings in medical care led by Major General Grenville Dodge. Colonel Jefferson R. Kean called the resultant Dodge Commission Report the Medical Department's charter. The report recommended a sharp increase in the number of commissioned medical officers and the

establishment of a volunteer hospital corps and a permanent corps of trained nurses. It also recommended maintenance of a stockpile of medical stores sufficient to supply an army four times as large as that maintained in peacetime and a separate transport service dedicated to medical needs. Virtually all of the commission's recommendations were adopted, and the changes in the Medical Department formed the basis of its preparation for the larger wars to come.

JACK MCCALLUM

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; Camp Wikoff; Casualties; Daiquiri Beachhead, Cuba; Dewey, George; Dodge Commission; Dysentery; El Caney, Battle of; Fifty Million Dollar Bill; Hospital Corps; Las Guásimas, Battle of; Malaria; Manila, First Battle of; Manila Bay, Battle of; Merritt, Wesley; Round-Robin Letter; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Sternberg, George Miller; Typhoid Fever; Yellow Fever

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Menocal, Mario García

Birth Date: December 17, 1866

Death Date: September 7, 1941

Cuban engineer, soldier, politician, and third president of the Republic of Cuba (1913–1921). Mario García Menocal was born in Hanábana, Matanzas Province, Cuba, on December 17, 1866. His father owned a sugar plantation. When Menocal was only about 2 years old, his father was forced to flee Cuba with his family because of his revolutionary activities. The family went first to the United States and then settled in Mexico. There Menocal's father resumed his livelihood of growing sugarcane at San Juan Bautista, in Tabasco. At age 13, Menocal left Mexico to be educated in the United States, first at the Chappaqua Institute in New York and then at the Maryland College of Agriculture. In 1884, he entered Cornell University, graduating with an engineering degree in 1888.

Menocal spent nearly three years working with his uncle Aniceto Menocal on the commission studying the possible construction of an isthmian canal across Nicaragua. In 1891, the younger Menocal returned to Cuba, a stranger to his native land. For a time he worked as an engineer for a French Company that owned salt works and banana plantations on Cayo Romano Island. Then he worked in railroad construction, doing surveying for a rail line from Camagüey to Santa Cruz del Sur.



Mario García Menocal served in the Cuban revolutionary forces during the Spanish-American War and served as president of Cuba during 1913–1921. (Library of Congress)

Menocal was also soon in the middle of Cuban revolutionary activities. When the Cuban War of Independence began in 1895, Menocal joined forces under General Máximo Gómez y Báez. He continued to serve in the field until the final victory following U.S. intervention as a consequence of the Spanish-American War of 1898. Menocal served under three well-known Cuban generals: Máximo Gómez, Mayía Rodríguez, and Calixto García y Iníguez. Menocal won recognition in the battles of Yerba de Guinea, La Piedra, and La Aguada and also in the capture of Fort Loma de Hierro, for which he won special distinction and was rewarded with the rank of colonel. For his participation in the siege and capture of Guáimaro in Camagüey, he was advanced to brigadier general in the Cuban revolutionary forces. The Battle of Victoria de las Tunas marked the climax of his military career.

Following the Spanish-American War, Menocal helped organize the Lighthouse Service, a post he held for a short time. He then worked for the Cuban American Sugar Company helping to construct its factory at Chaparra, said to be the largest sugar factory in the world at the time. He also became a leading figure in the Conservative Party. In 1908, he received his party's nomination for the presidency but failed to win the election. In 1912, he again ran for the presidency from the Conservative Party and this time won.

Menocal served as president of Cuba from May 20, 1913, to May 20, 1921. As president, he championed closer ties with the United States, administrative and financial reform, and strict fiscal conservatism. He was criticized in some quarters for his strong support of large corporations and businesses and rampant corruption. He won reelection in 1916, but the race was so close that members of the opposition Liberal Party took to the streets in an armed uprising, which for a time threatened to overturn the government and was put down only with some loss of life and property destruction. Menocal's close relations with the United States may be seen in the fact that Cuba declared war on Germany on April 7, 1917, only a day after the U.S. declaration. Menocal left office in 1921. He ran again for the presidency, without success, in 1924. Attempting a revolution in 1931, on its failure he went into exile in the United States. He returned to Cuba within five years and in 1936 again ran unsuccessfully for president. Menocal died on September 7, 1941.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cuban War of Independence; García y Iñiguez, Calixto; Gómez y Báez, Máximo

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Merriam, Henry Clay

Birth Date: November 13, 1837

Death Date: November 18, 1912

U.S. Army officer and commander of the Department of California during the Spanish-American War. Henry Clay Merriam was born in Houlton, Maine, on November 13, 1837. After attending Colby College, in 1862 during the American Civil War, he enlisted in the army and raised a volunteer company from Houlton. He was then commissioned a captain, in command of Company H, of the 20th Maine Regiment. He saw action in various engagements during the Civil War, including the Battle of Antietam and a daring assault on Fort Blakely on April 9, 1865, during which 600 Confederates were captured. For this action, he was awarded the Medal of Honor.

Following the Civil War, Merriam briefly read for the law but then again cast his fortunes with the military, becoming a major of the 38th Infantry Regiment. He was involved in numerous campaigns against Native Americans and served in a variety of frontier posts. On June 30, 1897, he was promoted to brigadier general.

When the Spanish-American War began in April 1898, Major General Wesley Merritt, VIII Corps commander, employed Merriam and his staff in the Department of California to help muster men into VIII Corps and organize what would become the Philippine Expeditionary Force. San Francisco was Merriam's headquarters, so he and his staff were well placed to assist. Some of

Merriam's tasks included housing, supplying, and training the troops of VIII Corps. In so doing, he worked closely with Merritt's chief deputy, Major General Elwell S. Otis.

On May 7, 1898, Camp Merriam—named as was customary for its commander—was officially established. The camp was located on a series of hills just beyond the Lombard Street entrance to the San Francisco Presidio. Conditions at the camp were deemed satisfactory, and there were ample supplies of fresh water and adequate bathing facilities. However, Camp Merriam was not a large facility in area and soon became overcrowded.

Shortly after Camp Merriam opened, the U.S. Army decided to increase the size of VIII Corps and designated San Francisco to be the staging area for the Philippine Islands Expeditionary Forces. In consequence, toward the end of May, a second camp, located along the northern border of Golden Gate Park, was established and was named for Major General Wesley Merritt. The camp was probably known as Camp Richmond prior to Merritt becoming commander. Toward the end of May, most of the soldiers from Camp Merriam were moved to Camp Merritt as the new recruits began arriving en masse. At that time, Merriam turned command of the camps over to Merritt. Unlike the sometimes chaotic planning for the Caribbean expeditions, planning in San Francisco for the Philippine expedition was both smoothly executed and well organized, thanks in good measure to General Merriam's assistance.

In May 1898, Merriam was promoted to major general of volunteers. In February 1899, he was advanced to major general (regular army), and from 1900 to 1901, he commanded the Department of Colorado. Merriam retired from active service in February 1903 and settled in Portland, Maine, where he died on November 18, 1912.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Camp Merriam and Camp Merritt; Merritt, Wesley; Otis, Elwell Stephen

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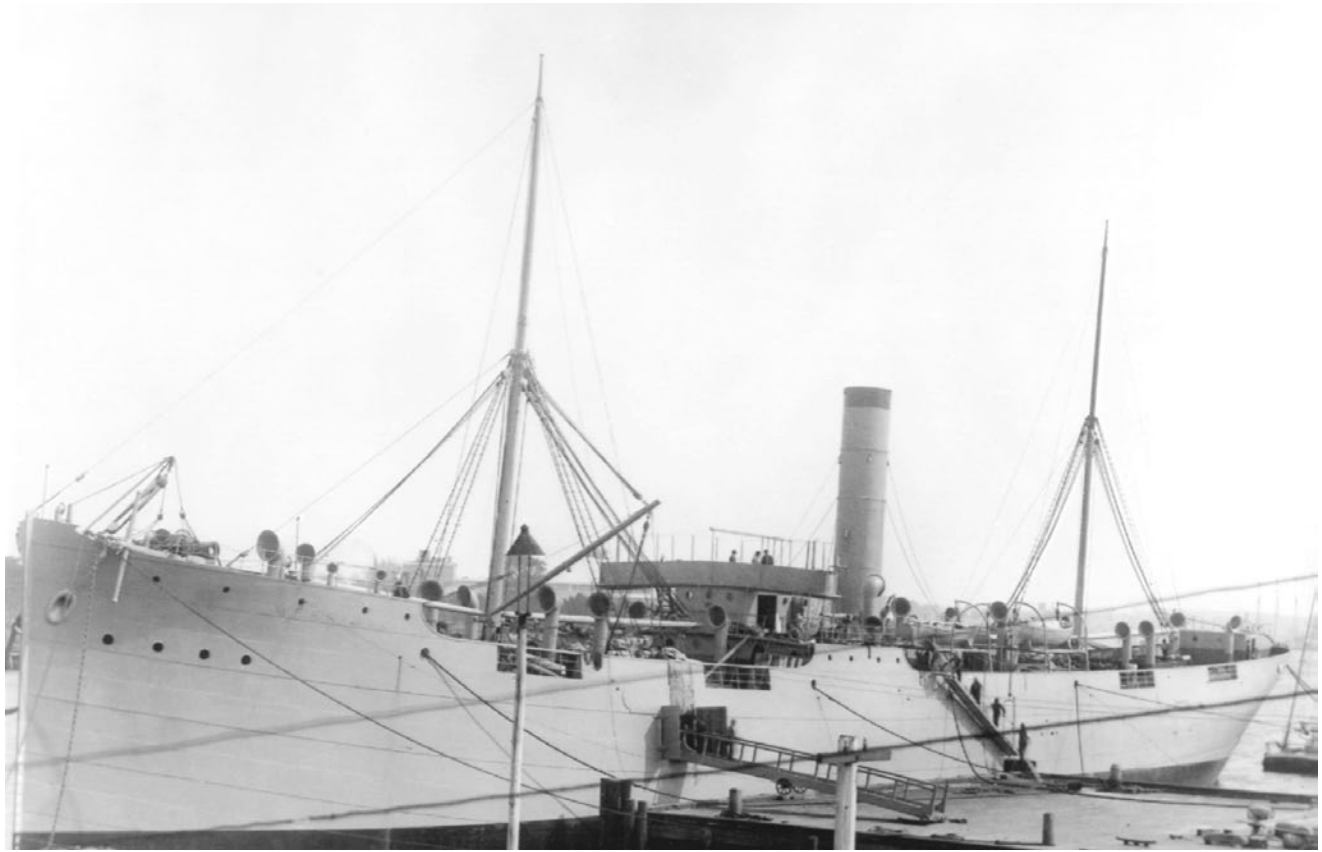
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Merrimac, USS

U.S. Navy collier (a coal-carrying ship designed to resupply other ships) scuttled in an attempt to block the channel to the harbor of Santiago de Cuba in order to bottle up the Spanish squadron there. The mission occurred on June 3, 1898. The *Merrimac* had been the Hogan line *Solvieg* before the U.S. Navy purchased it for \$342,000 on April 12, 1898. It was renamed in honor of the U.S. Navy steam frigate secured by the Confederates and turned into the ironclad ram *Virginia*.

In late April 1898, a Spanish squadron commanded by Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete departed the Cape Verde Islands,



The U.S. Navy collier *Merrimac*, shown here at the Norfolk Navy Yard early in 1898. In a daring operation, the ship was scuttled in an unsuccessful effort to block the channel to Santiago Harbor. (Naval Historical Center)

ultimately anchoring in the harbor of Santiago de Cuba. Once its presence was known to the United States, the far superior North Atlantic Squadron, commanded by Rear Admiral William T. Sampson, established itself off the narrow harbor entrance. In order to thwart an escape attempt at night by Cervera's squadron, the American ships illuminated the harbor channel during hours of darkness with searchlights.

The entrance and much of the harbor were protected naturally by high cliffs. The meandering ship channel varied in width from 350 to 450 feet. Over the years, the Spanish had erected a number of batteries along both sides of the entrance, and they had sowed the channel with electronically detonated mines. These mines and American intelligence estimates of the strength of the Spanish defenses led Sampson to attempt to incapacitate Cervera's squadron by blocking it in the harbor instead of taking it on directly. To accomplish his plan, conceived prior to his leaving Key West, Florida, Sampson selected the collier *Merrimac* to be scuttled at a strategic spot at the channel mouth. The *Merrimac*, which had frequently broken down and had to be towed to Santiago, was on the list of expendable U.S. Navy ships.

Lieutenant Richmond Pearson Hobson of the battleship *New York* commanded the attempt. When a call went out for men to assist Hobson in what many regarded as a suicidal mission, hundreds

volunteered. Six were selected, while a seventh man stowed away in order to participate.

To scuttle the *Merrimac*, 10 electronically detonated mines, each filled with 78 pounds of gunpowder, were lashed to the port side of the ship below its waterline. The plan called for Hobson and his crew to steer the *Merrimac* toward the harbor entrance, pass Morro Castle, then turn to port, drop anchors fore and aft, and detonate the charges. Because the *Merrimac* was 333 feet long, if properly positioned it would completely block the channel for larger ships. Their mission accomplished, the crew were to escape via a lifeboat that was towed astern.

Problems delayed an attempt on the night of June 1–2, and it was then called off. The mission was rescheduled and began at 3:00 a.m. on June 3. It started out well, with the *Merrimac* able to proceed up the channel some distance before it was discovered by a Spanish picket boat. It and Spanish shore batteries then opened fire. The Spanish also exploded a number of their electronically detonated mines, according to Hobson six in the first line and two in the second. Also, one of the Spanish shots disabled the *Merrimac*'s steering. Hobson ordered the sea cocks opened; the mines exploded, but only two went off. Both the bow and stern anchor were dropped, but the stern anchor was shot away, and the bow anchor cable parted under the strain. The strong current straightened out the sinking vessel, which

finally went down inside Santiago Harbor but past the entrance. The placement of the ship did not block egress for ships.

In the exchange of fire, the Spanish suffered a number of casualties from cross fire, while the Americans involved received only minor injuries in the operation. Hobson and his crew were picked up by a Spanish steam launch at 6:00 a.m. and taken prisoner. The Spanish praised the men for their brave deed, and that afternoon Captain Joaquín Bustamante y Quevedo came out under a flag of truce to inform Sampson that all the crewmen were safe and prisoners.

The failure of the attempt with the *Merrimac* forced Sampson into a close blockade. A month later, the Spanish squadron sortied only to be destroyed in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba. The crew of the *Merrimac* was released in an exchange of prisoners on July 6. All were subsequently awarded the Medal of Honor.

GREGORY C. FERENCE AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Hobson, Richmond Pearson; Morro Castle; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of

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Merritt, Wesley

Birth Date: June 16, 1836

Death Date: December 10, 1910

U.S. Army officer. Wesley Merritt was born in New York City on June 16, 1836. He attended the United States Military Academy, West Point, graduating in the middle of his class in 1860. Following graduation, he served in Utah with the 2nd Dragoons. The American Civil War brought Lieutenant Merritt's transfer to the East. There he turned out to be a superb cavalry officer. As a captain, he distinguished himself in the Gettysburg Campaign in the Battle of Brandy Station (June 9, 1863), the largest cavalry engagement in the history of North America. Receiving further notice, he was breveted brigadier general of volunteers and commanded the reserve cavalry of the Army of the Potomac.

Assigned temporary command of a division in May 1864, Merritt again fought with distinction in the Battle of Todd's Tavern on May 7, the largest dismounted cavalry engagement of the war. Following further distinguished service, especially the Battle of Yellow Tavern on May 11, he received permanent command of the 1st Cavalry Division of Sheridan's Army of the Shenandoah, leading it in a number of important Union victories. During the Appomattox Campaign of April 1865, Merritt commanded the Cavalry Corps as a brevet major general of Volunteers.



During the Spanish-American War, U.S. Army major general Wesley Merritt (shown here as a brigadier general) commanded VIII Corps, the expeditionary force sent to the Philippines. (Chaiba Media)

Following the Civil War, Merritt remained with the regular army as a lieutenant colonel and commander of the 9th Cavalry Regiment, one of two African American regiments in the army. This began 17 years of service on the frontier and extensive fighting against hostile Native Americans in the West. In 1876, he received promotion to colonel and took command of the 5th Cavalry Regiment, fighting in the Great Sioux War of 1876, the pursuit of the Nez Perce and in the Bannock War (1877–1878), and the Ute War (1879).

In 1882, Merritt became superintendent of West Point, serving in that position until his promotion to brigadier general in 1887. He then assumed command of the Department of the Missouri at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas. From 1895 to 1897, he commanded the Department of the Missouri, the Department of Dakota, and Department of the East, respectively. In 1893, he wrote a book, *The Armies of Today*. In the book and in articles, he advocated a large and modern regular U.S. Army. He also supported U.S. imperial expansion.

Nearing retirement age at the beginning of the Spanish-American War, Major General Merritt was the second-ranking officer in the army. On the outbreak of war, he asked for command of VIII Corps. Appointed to that position on May 12, he was informed

that the corps would be headed to the Philippines. On May 19, he received his instructions to defeat the Spanish, pacify the islands, and hold them for the United States but not to ally his forces with those of Filipino insurgent leader Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy. Although the instructions left vague the future of the islands, Merritt assumed that they would be annexed by the United States.

Merritt did what he could to organize his corps prior to departure, making it a point to secure suitable tropical uniforms and supplies for the soldiers, which may have reduced deaths from heat-related illness and disease. He sailed for the Philippines in the *Newport*, departing San Francisco on June 29 and arriving at Manila in late July.

Styling Aguinaldo a "Chinese half-breed adventurer," Merritt followed his instructions of operating independently of the insurgent forces, which had surrounded Manila. Rear Admiral George Dewey negotiated with the Spanish commander, General Fermín Jáudenes y Alvarez, agreeing to stage a small symbolic battle on August 13 to satisfy Spanish honor while at the same time excluding the Filipino revolutionaries. The occupation of Manila on August 14 proceeded smoothly, and Merritt's troops quickly established order in the city. He issued a proclamation promising support and protection to all those cooperating with the U.S. troops.

On August 30, Merritt transferred command of VIII Corps to Major General Elwell S. Otis and departed the islands for Paris to brief the U.S. peace commissioners meeting with their Spanish counterparts in Paris. There, Merritt told the commissioners that it was his opinion that the United States should annex the Philippines and that the majority of Filipinos would welcome American rule.

In December 1898, Merritt assumed command of the Department of the East. He retired from the army in 1900 and died in Natural Bridge, Virginia, on December 10, 1910.

DAWN OTTEVAERE NICKESON AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; VIII Corps; Filipino Revolutionary Movement; Manila, First Battle of; Spain, Army; United States Army

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material and carried no title. Much to Hubbard's surprise, the essay, which praises the initiative taken by an American soldier at the outset of the Spanish-American War, became an instant success. Before long, Hubbard republished it as a stand-alone pamphlet and then in book form.

The essay recounts the actions of Andrew Summers Rowan, a U.S. soldier and 1881 graduate of the United States Military Academy, who was ordered to carry a message to Cuban revolutionary Calixto García y Iñiguez just prior to combat operations in Cuba. García, who had been struggling for Cuban independence since the Ten Years' War (1868–1878), had repeatedly sought American assistance in liberating Cuba from Spanish colonial rule. U.S. military officials hoped to contact García to coordinate the U.S. Army's land invasion of Cuba. In his essay, Hubbard applauds Rowan's dogged dedication to duty and his willingness to accomplish his task without asking questions or raising any objections. Rowan's success in delivering the letter to García made him the prototype of the American can-do mentality. For many years, even after World War II, Hubbard's inspiring story became a popular cultural allusion, showcasing Yankee ingenuity and self-reliance. Leaders in both the military and business frequently used "A Message to Garcia" to motivate their subordinates.

More than 4 million copies of the essay have been published in 37 languages, and it was required reading for all U.S. servicemen during both world wars. The essay was the basis of two motion pictures: a silent film released in 1916 and another one in 1936 that starred Wallace Beery, Barbara Stanwyck, and Alan Hale.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

García y Iñiguez, Calixto; Hubbard, Elbert; Journalism; Ten Years' War

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Middletown, Pennsylvania

See Camp Meade

"Message to Garcia, A"

Event Date: February 22, 1899

Essay written by American writer and publisher Elbert Hubbard on February 22, 1899, to extol the virtues of self-reliance. First published in the March 1899 issue of *Philistine* magazine, which Hubbard was then editing, "A Message to Garcia" was meant as filler

Midway Island

A coral atoll in the North Pacific Ocean annexed by the United States in August 1867 as the Unincorporated Territory of Midway Island and administered by the U.S. Navy. Midway Island is located in the north central Pacific Ocean at 28°12' north latitude and 177°12' west longitude, about one-third of the way between

Honolulu and Tokyo. It is considered a distant part of the Hawaiian Islands chain.

Midway, just 2.4 square miles in area, is almost circular and surrounds a shallow lagoon about 15 miles in circumference. The largest and most important parts of Midway are two islands, Sand and Eastern, that lie on the southern edge of the lagoon. Midway has a subtropical climate that is characterized by warm, dry summers and cool (but not cold), wet winters. Its native flora includes beach morning glory and bunchgrass. The most common animal life consists of seabirds such as the tern and albatross.

U.S. Navy captain N. C. Middlebrooks discovered the uninhabited atoll in July 1859, but the tiny island chain was largely ignored in the ensuing years despite general interest in Pacific islands for their deposits of guano, which was commonly used as fertilizer. In August 1867, the Department of the Navy sent Commander William Reynolds to take possession of Midway Island for use as a coaling station, and the United States annexed Midway later that year. The relatively early acquisition of Midway kept it out of the reach of other seagoing powers such as Great Britain and Germany, which were seeking to acquire coaling stations in the North Pacific. The possession of Midway and America's new land acquisitions resulting from the Spanish-American War helped contain Germany's strategic influence in the Pacific.

After 1903, Midway became a cable station along the Guam-to-Hawaii portion of the first transpacific telegraph cable. In the late 1930s, the island served as a stop on Pan American Airline's civilian air route between San Francisco and Manila. The U.S. Navy began constructing a submarine base and an air station on Midway Island in 1940 as war clouds loomed. As such, it was an important part of the American war effort in the Pacific during World War II. There were two seaplane landing areas carved into the coral of the lagoon's bottom, and although many parts of Welles Harbor on the western side of Sand Island were adequate to accommodate many ships, oceangoing vessels used a man-made channel between the two islands to berth at the larger island. President Franklin D. Roosevelt assigned control of the airspace and ocean surrounding Midway to the navy in 1941. The atoll is perhaps most famous for the Battle of Midway, fought near there during June 4–7, 1942. Midway Island remains a U.S. possession. Since 1996, it has been administered by the Department of the Interior.

MATTHEW J. KROGMAN

See also

Coaling Stations; Hawaiian Islands

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Miles, Evan

Birth Date: 1838

Death Date: 1908

U.S. Army officer. Born in 1838, Evan Miles saw service in the American Civil War and remained in the U.S. Army afterward, assigned to the 21st Infantry Regiment as a captain. Serving in the American West, he took part in the Bannock War in 1878. Rising to the rank of major, during the Spanish-American War he first commanded the 1st Infantry Regiment and then the 2nd Brigade of the 2nd Division in V Corps during the Santiago Campaign. The 2nd Brigade comprised the 1st, 4th, and 25th Infantry Regiments. Initially held in reserve, the brigade saw service at El Caney on July 1, 1898. Advanced to brigadier general of volunteers on October 6, 1898, Miles retired from the army in 1899 and died in 1908.

JAMES R. MCINTYRE AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

El Caney, Battle of; V Corps

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Miles, Nelson Appleton

Birth Date: August 8, 1839

Death Date: May 15, 1925

U.S. Army officer and commanding general of the army during the Spanish-American War. Nelson Appleton Miles was born on a farm near Westminster, Massachusetts, on August 8, 1839. After attending public school, in 1856 he moved to Boston, where he worked as a store clerk. Interested in the military, he received some instruction from a retired French colonel.

At the outbreak of the American Civil War, Miles recruited some 100 men for the Massachusetts Regiment of Volunteers and was commissioned a captain. At first considered too young for battlefield command, he initially served in a staff position during the 1862 Peninsula Campaign. He soon demonstrated a natural capacity for battlefield leadership and began a meteoric advance in rank. After the Battle of Seven Pines (Fair Oaks), he was promoted to lieutenant colonel. He then fought in the Seven Days' Campaign and the Battle of Antietam (Sharpsburg). Promoted to colonel, he was wounded in the Battle of Fredericksburg and again in the Battle of Chancellorsville. For his actions at Chancellorsville, he received the Medal of Honor in 1892. He commanded a brigade of II Corps in the 1864 Overland Campaign and saw combat in the Battle of the Wilderness and the Battle of Spotsylvania Court House, after which he was breveted a brigadier general of volunteers in May 1864. He commanded a division in the Siege of Petersburg and, briefly (at age 26), a corps. He suffered his fourth wound of the war in the Battle of Reams Station.



U.S. Army major general Nelson A. Miles distinguished himself in the American Civil War and in fighting against Native Americans in the West. He was commanding general of the army during the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

Following the war, in October 1865 Miles was advanced to major general of volunteers and assumed command of II Corps. In the reorganization of the army in 1866, he became a colonel and commander of the 40th Infantry Regiment, an African American unit. In 1869, he took command of the 5th Infantry Regiment. He saw extensive service in the American West and became renowned as one of the army's finest commanders in the ensuing Native American wars. He was largely responsible for the quick end of the Red River War of 1874–1875. In 1876 and 1877, he fought in the Sioux Wars and the Nez Perce War, and he personally took the surrenders of Sioux war chief Crazy Horse and Nez Perce chief Joseph.

Miles was promoted to brigadier general in the regular army in December 1880. From 1880 to 1885, he commanded the Department of the Columbia, and from 1885 to 1886, he had charge of the Department of the Missouri. In 1886, he took command of the Department of Arizona, overseeing the final surrender of Geronimo and the Chiricahua Apaches in September 1886. Miles then engaged in a public dispute with Brigadier General George Crook over the subsequent exile of the Apaches, including the loyal scouts, to Florida.

In 1888, Miles took command of the Division of the Pacific. He was promoted to major general in April 1890 and commanded the Department of the Missouri. He had overall charge of the suppres-

sion of the Sioux Ghost Dance Uprising but was angered by the bloodshed at Wounded Knee on December 19, 1890. He wanted to court-martial Colonel John W. Forsyth, in command during that action. Although Miles relieved Forsyth from command, the War Department reinstated him. In 1894, Miles was called upon to employ troops in suppressing the Pullman Strike. He next commanded the Department of the East. On October 5, 1895, he succeeded Lieutenant General John M. Schofield as commanding general of the army.

Miles opposed the Spanish-American War, believing that diplomacy could resolve the differences between Spain and the United States. He also held that fighting the war would be best left to the regular army rather than recruiting a volunteer force. Thus, he thought that the invasion of Cuba should be carried out by regular troops with volunteers replacing the regulars at home, where they would garrison the coast defense works against a possible Spanish attack. Unlike Secretary of War Russell Alger with whom he was continually at odds, Miles recognized the impracticality of expanding the nation's army to several times its prewar strength and expecting to employ it virtually overnight. He opposed an invasion of Cuba during the summer, the tropical disease season, and believed that initially the United States should rely on a naval blockade and support for the Cuban insurgents.

Originally, U.S. strategy focused on Havana, but Miles persuaded President William McKinley that the city was not a good choice because it was the strongest Spanish position on the island. The revised strategy settled on an assault against Santiago de Cuba. Miles urged postponing any invasion until the Spanish squadron there had been destroyed. He seemed to have a realistic understanding of the problems in creating and organizing a large army, and his recommendations regarding it were generally sound.

Miles supported the choice of Major General William R. Shafter to command the Cuban Expeditionary Force of V Corps. In July 1898, Miles, undoubtedly chafing at not having a more active role in the war, visited Shafter in Cuba but, to his credit, did not interfere in operations there even though as commanding general of the army he was Shafter's superior.

Once Santiago was secured, Miles received approval to proceed with his own invasion of Puerto Rico, an assignment he had sought early on. Indeed, he had originally argued for an invasion of Puerto Rico before attempting to seize Cuba. Originally, he had planned to land at Fajardo on the eastern coast but en route changed his mind because of anticipated heavy losses. On July 25, 1898, his troops came ashore at Guánica on the southwestern coast. Miles conducted a highly successful campaign in Puerto Rico but was angered that the armistice of August 12 denied him the capture of San Juan.

In the aftermath of the war, Miles was the central figure in the notorious Embalmed Beef Scandal. He alleged that the Commissary Department had issued spoiled beef to the troops, but others claimed that the meat was safe, just not very palatable. On December 21, 1898, Miles gave sensational testimony before the Dodge Commission, headed by former Civil War general and railroad builder Grenville Dodge, investigating the scandal.

Miles's allegations brought a strong response from Brigadier General Charles P. Egan, the army's commissary general, who called him a liar in the hearings. Egan was severely reprimanded for his outburst, but Miles did not escape unscathed. He too was reprimanded by the Dodge Commission for making charges that were proven to be substantially unfounded. Miles's old enemy, Secretary of War Alger, sought to take advantage of the situation by requesting that Miles be relieved of his command, which President McKinley rejected.

In February 1901, Miles was promoted to lieutenant general. President Theodore Roosevelt, who called him a "brave peacock" for his love of excessive uniform display, also crossed swords with Miles, as did Secretary of War Elihu Root, who found Miles in sharp opposition to his plan to create a general staff and do away with the position of commanding general of the army, substituting for it the new position of chief of staff.

While Root was carrying out his reforms, Miles was sent on an inspection tour of the Philippines in 1902 to get him out of Washington. From the Philippines he wrote to condemn the U.S. Army's torture of prisoners in order to extract information from them. Such criticism was not welcome in Washington and was suppressed.

Miles retired from the army on his 64th birthday in 1903. Combative, vain, and ambitious, he was, despite his leadership qualities in battle, a commanding general who displayed little political sense and did not fit in well with the new 20th-century army. In 1917 when the United States entered World War I, he offered his services, but the offer was not accepted. In retirement, he wrote articles and several books, including a two-volume memoir. Miles died in Washington, D.C., on May 15, 1925.

JERRY KEENAN AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

McKinley, William; Roosevelt, Theodore; Root, Elihu; Shafter, William Rufus

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Academy, West Point, in 1887, ranking 20th in a class of 64, and was commissioned a second lieutenant of artillery. His initial assignments included Fort Adams in Rhode Island; Fort Schuyler in New York; and the Presidio in San Francisco. While stationed at Fort Schuyler, he graduated from Columbia Law School in 1889. In 1894, he was promoted to first lieutenant.

In 1897, Miley became aide-de-camp to Major General William Shafter, who at the beginning of the Spanish-American War in April 1898 took command of V Corps. Shafter then led V Corps with more than 15,000 troops from Tampa, Florida, to Cuba, with the taking of Santiago de Cuba his primary strategic task.

U.S. forces landed at Daiquirí, east of Santiago, during June 22–24, 1898. By July 1, they had advanced to San Juan Heights, which dominated the approaches to Santiago. Since arriving in Cuba, Shafter's size (he weighed 300 pounds), the frenetic activity of the campaign, and the hot climate all combined to cause him serious health problems. He was thus forced to rely extensively on his aides to bring him reports and relay orders. Early on the morning of July 1, as the assault on San Juan Heights was about to begin, General Shafter and Lieutenant Miley visited the troops and surveyed the area. By the time the attack began at approximately 10:00 a.m., however, Shafter had taken ill and was unable to personally direct operations. Miley and Colonel Edward J. McClernand, Shafter's adjutant, set up a forward command post at El Pozo, about four miles east of San Juan Heights, and employed messengers to relay situation reports and orders between Shafter at general headquarters, a mile farther east, and his subordinate commanders.

Miley was positioned with the troops and served as Shafter's forward observer and coordinator for the operation. Miley's most distinct contribution came as American units were forming at the base of the hill complex and taking heavy casualties from Spanish rifle fire from the top of the hills. At that point, assault unit commanders Brigadier Generals Jacob F. Kent, Samuel S. Sumner, and Hamilton S. Hawkins met with Miley. Hawkins reported that his command was taking heavy casualties and was unable to withdraw because of congestion on the trails behind them. Kent considered delaying the assault until the arrival of Brigadier General Henry Ware Lawton's 2nd Division, but Miley concurred with Hawkins that a withdrawal was not practical and that the troops could not continue to maintain their exposed positions indefinitely. The lieutenant then gave the command to the generals, under the authority of General Shafter (but without his input), to initiate the assault that ultimately resulted in Hawkins's brigade securing San Juan Hill and Sumner's cavalry division securing Kettle Hill.

Following the Battle of San Juan Hill, Miley led an expedition to secure the surrender of outlying Spanish garrisons. This assignment was accomplished without further fighting. Later, he was appointed a member of the U.S. commission that negotiated for the Spanish surrender of Santiago de Cuba.

Following the war, Miley wrote a book, *In Cuba with Shafter* (1899). He transferred to the Philippines in 1899, where he was promoted to lieutenant colonel of volunteers and became inspector

Miley, John David

Birth Date: September 1862

Death Date: September 19, 1899

U.S. Army officer. John David Miley was born in Belleville, Illinois, in September 1862. He graduated from the United States Military

general for Major General Elwell S. Otis, commander of U.S. forces in the Philippines. Miley died in Manila on September 19, 1899, from complications of typhoid fever, which he had contracted in Cuba soon after the conclusion of the campaign there. In 1900, the military reservation on Point Lobos in San Francisco was renamed Fort Miley in his honor.

LOUIS A. DiMARCO

See also

Hawkins, Hamilton Smith; Kent, Jacob Ford; Lawton, Henry Ware; McClelland, Edward John; Otis, Elwell Stephen; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba, Capitulation Agreement; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Shafter, William Rufus; Sumner, Samuel Storrow; Typhoid Fever

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Military Intelligence

In the period leading up to and during the Spanish-American War, the organized gathering of military intelligence was still in its infancy. The United States had no civilian government agency charged with information gathering. Although the U.S. Army and U.S. Navy had their own intelligence agencies, there was little coordination between them. Organized espionage became a uniformly acceptable method of gaining intelligence only in the period after the American Civil War. To supplement the data from the intelligence agencies, individual military commanders created and utilized their own espionage networks to gain tactical information, often through local insurgents. Counterintelligence did exist and was handled by a civilian agency, the Treasury Department's U.S. Secret Service.

The most successful intelligence agency was the U.S. Navy's Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI), founded in 1882. Prior to the war, the agency confined its activities to the compiling of data on foreign naval capabilities through reports from naval attachés serving with the diplomatic corps in various countries. The attachés provided data on the state of preparedness as well as on strength and movements of naval forces through such sources as open observation and newspaper accounts. Later, as the war appeared inevitable and the clash began, the ONI, headed by Commander Richardson Clover, successfully supplemented the data with information gathered through espionage. The ONI managed to provide fairly accurate data on the condition, location, and order of battle of the Spanish naval forces.

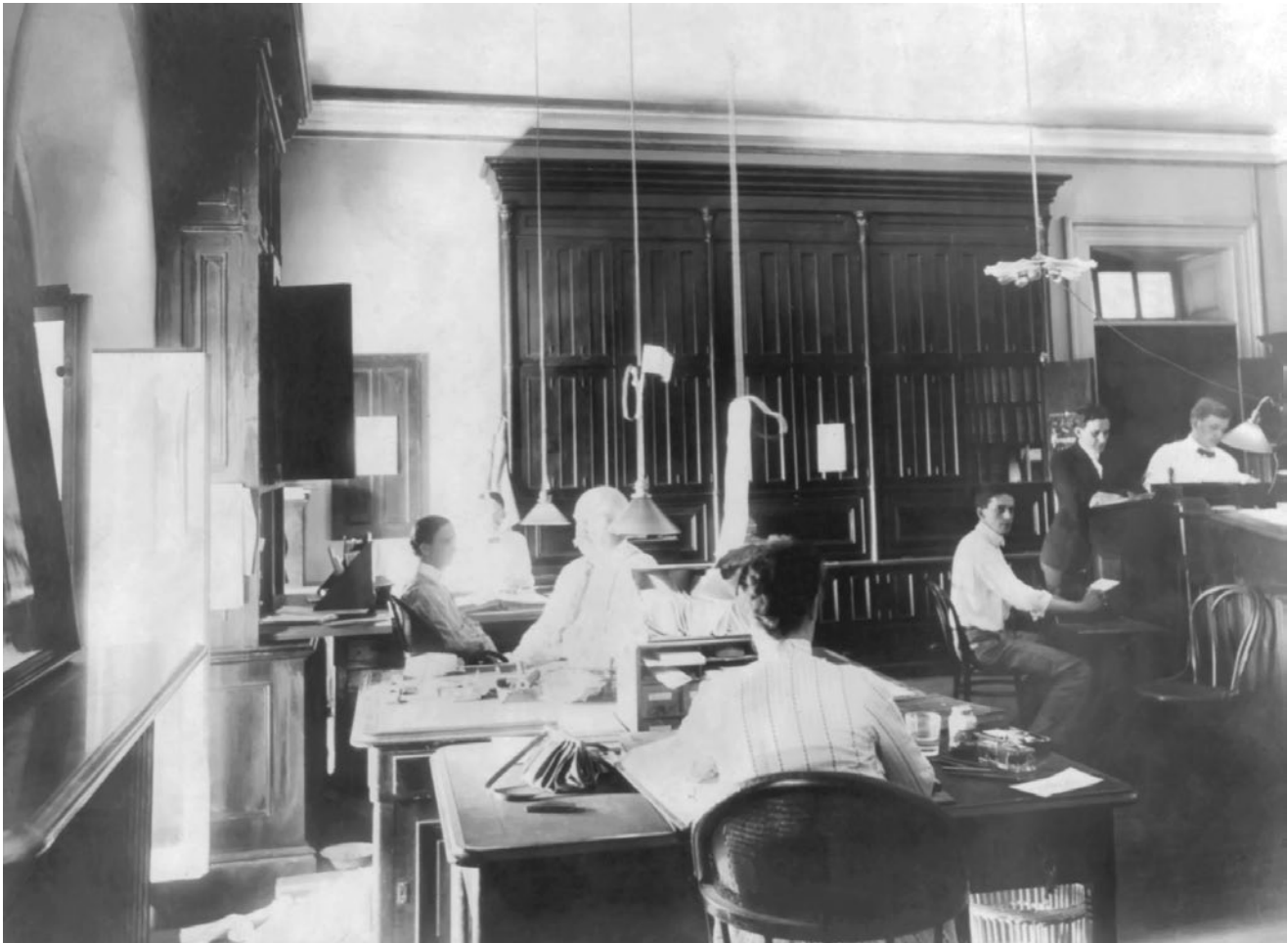
The ONI's most successful espionage effort was that of Lieutenants William Sims and John Colwell in Europe. Although not necessarily working together, the pair created spy networks that were able to gain information from all over Europe and as far away as Egypt. The network's efforts at espionage, disinformation, and direct action became particularly important in dealing with the threat posed by Spanish admiral Manuel de la Cámara's y Libermore's squadron to the U.S. Asiatic Squadron in the Philippines.

The U.S. Army's intelligence wing was the Military Information Division (MID), which was organized in 1885. Like the ONI, the MID collected reports from military attachés and similar sources. During the Spanish-American War period, the MID, headed by Major Arthur Wagner, was generally successful, with its greatest achievements being in Cuba, where it determined the Spanish order of battle and gained useful information on the island's geography and topography.

To supplement the official data from their respective intelligence agencies, individual commanders created their own espionage systems. Commodore George Dewey supplemented official reports from the Philippines, such as those from U.S. consul Oscar Williams, with data from American businessmen operating in the area and from his own aide, Ensign Frank Upham. Upham, posing as an inquisitive civilian traveler, would meet incoming ships arriving at Hong Kong from the Philippines and question the crews regarding conditions there. The navy also landed in Cuba men such as Lieutenant Victor Blue, who infiltrated the Spanish lines to verify the arrival of Cervera's squadron at Santiago de Cuba. The army used similar methods. Lieutenant Henry Whitney was sent to Puerto Rico under the guise of being a British sailor traveling and gaining important data on climate, topography, harbors, and the attitude of the population. Lieutenant Andrew Rowan aided the army by posing as an English traveler to gain access to Cuba, where he met with the Cuban insurgents, gaining data from them and through direct observation. Rowan's actions became popularized in *A Message to Garcia*.

The greatest coup in military intelligence, however, was not the result of the efforts of either the ONI or the MID. Through an acquaintance of U.S. Navy captain Charles Sigsbee, who commanded the battleship *Maine*, a system was set up to obtain information directly from the palace of the Spanish governor-general in Havana, Cuba. The system, eventually turned over to the U.S. Signal Corps, utilized a Cuban agent, Domingo Villaverde, who was a telegraph operator within the governor-general's palace. Villaverde relayed data obtained from communications of high-level Spanish officials to a contact at a subsidiary of the Western Union Telegraph Company. The data was then forwarded directly to the White House. The existence of this connection was such a closely guarded secret that even U.S. secretary of the navy John D. Long did not know of it.

Although uncoordinated and limited, the intelligence-gathering efforts during the war were generally successful. Failures did occur, however. The most dramatic failure of intelligence was that in-



U.S. Secret Service employees at work, circa 1906. The Secret Service of the Treasury Department carried out counterintelligence operations in the United States during the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

volving the independence movement in the Philippines. The strength of the movement for an independent Philippines was greatly underestimated by the Americans. This lack of understanding led to failed policies toward the movement, which ultimately precipitated the Philippine-American War.

During the Philippine-American War, little centralized military intelligence was initially gained and passed to the field commanders to aid them in pursuing the war. To overcome this lack of information about the Philippine independence movement and its forces, Major General Elwell Otis created the Bureau of Insurgent Records (BIR) to translate and interpret captured documents. The small agency was completely overwhelmed with the amount of data, however, and little useful information was passed back to field commanders. In 1900, Brigadier General Arthur MacArthur reorganized the BIR into the Division of Military Information (DIM), which finally began providing useful data to field commanders. Eventually, a system was created by which field commanders also provided data back to the DIM to allow for more comprehensive understanding of the overall conditions.

Counterintelligence efforts in the United States were directed by the U.S. Treasury Department's Secret Service. The Secret Ser-

vice's most notable success was the destruction of a Spanish spy network being organized in Canada. After departing the United States as war approached, the former naval attaché of the Spanish Washington legation, Lieutenant Ramon Carranza, traveled to Montreal. There he began creating a spy network that included former U.S. Navy cruiser *Brooklyn* crewman George Downing, former artillerist Frank Mellor, and others. The ring was successful in obtaining data on the movement of naval vessels, etc. However, the major informants in the United States were caught and jailed. Carranza was forced to leave Canada but was still transmitting data as late as June 15, 1898.

The Spanish-American War prompted a significant improvement in military intelligence gathering. With the war, the government changed from relying solely on reports available through its diplomatic corps to using organized espionage to gain important information. Improvements were made in espionage methods and practices, although no central agency was charged with coordinating and disseminating military intelligence. The agencies of the U.S. Navy and the U.S. Army were, however, generally successful in gaining useful but limited military intelligence.

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See also

Blue, Victor; Cámara y Libermore, Manuel de la; Dewey, George; MacArthur, Arthur; "Message to Garcia, A"; Otis, Elwell Stephen; Rowan, Andrew Summers; Sigsbee, Charles Dwight; Sims, William Sowden; Whitney, Henry Howard

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Militia, Naval

Personnel from state naval militias who augmented the U.S. Navy during the Spanish-American War. The modern naval militia system began in 1889 when the Massachusetts and New York legislatures each passed measures establishing state naval militias, the first such organizations since the Revolutionary War. Recognizing the need for a source of trained, experienced seamen for use in wartime, U.S. naval and congressional leaders in the late 1880s attempted to secure funding to organize a federal naval reserve force. Failing in this endeavor, Congress supported the two fledgling state naval militias by instituting what became an annual appropriation for arms and equipment in March 1891.

In 1894, Congress bolstered its support for the naval militia program and authorized the loaning of ships to the then 11 state militias for training purposes. By 1898, 16 states sponsored naval militias with federal assistance, providing a potential source of trained maritime manpower for use by the U.S. Navy.

In January 1898, the U.S. Navy numbered 1,232 officers and had an authorized strength of 11,750 enlisted men. At peak strength in the Spanish-American War, the U.S. Navy numbered 2,088 officers and 24,123 enlisted men, 4,316 of whom came from state naval militias for employment in naval operations and coastal defense. At this time, there was no legal mechanism for mustering these forces into federal service, so state governors allowed state naval militiamen to temporarily resign their state obligations or granted them leave to allow them to serve in the U.S. Navy.

Naval militiamen during the Spanish-American War served either in the Coast Signal Service or the Auxiliary Naval Force (sometimes referred to as the Mosquito Squadron). The Coastal Signal Service, part of the U.S. Coastal Defenses, was manned entirely by state naval militia forces. The service established 36 signal stations

along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts cooperating closely with personnel from the Life Saving Service, the Weather Bureau, and light-houses. These forces kept lookout for the approach of enemy vessels and used various methods of communication including telephone, telegraph, torches, and International Code flags.

Naval militiamen also augmented crews of U.S. naval vessels during the course of the war and provided the entire crew for four naval auxiliary cruisers. The Auxiliary Naval Force was formally established by Congress on May 26, 1898, as a temporary measure to strengthen the naval ship complement for the protection of U.S. cities and ports on the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific coasts for the duration of the war. Ten American Civil War-era recommissioned monitors, joined by 31 purchased, chartered, or donated vessels in nine districts along the coasts, patrolled local waters, conducted target practice, protected minefields, and enforced quarantine regulations. Almost entirely manned by naval militiamen, these forces were augmented by a small percentage of merchant mariners.

Naval militiamen entirely manned the four naval auxiliary cruisers *Dixie*, *Prairie*, *Yankee*, and *Yosemite*. The personnel came from the state naval militias of Maryland, Massachusetts, New York, and Michigan, respectively. The cruisers served in blockade duty, in engagements, and as transports to and from Cuba, Puerto Rico, and other areas of the Caribbean theater. The naval militia programs of several states continued with federal support until World War I and served as a precursor to today's Naval Reserve Service.

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See also

Coastal Defenses, U.S.; Naval Vessels, U.S. Auxiliary; United States Auxiliary Naval Force; United States Navy

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Militia Act of 1903

U.S. congressional legislation passed on January 21, 1903, that marked the beginning of federal funding and recognition of the National Guard, composed of the Reserve Militia and the Organized Militia (National Guard). The Militia Act of 1903 is also known as the Dick Act for its sponsor, Republican senator Charles W. Dick, also a general in the Ohio National Guard. The act offered federal funds to each state to train and equip its own contingent of National Guardsmen. Also under the provisions of the act, the Organized Militia could be deployed upon presidential order for an initial period of nine months. The states, however, operated both reserve and organized militias. The Militia Act was part of Secretary of War Elihu Root's efforts to reorganize, reform, and streamline the American military establishment, a need that had been sorely apparent

during the often chaotic and tumultuous mobilization for the Spanish-American War.

Militia units had been part of the American defense system since December 1636, when the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony organized three militia regiments to defend the settlements against the growing threat of Native American attacks. The term “national guard” was first used by Marie Joseph Motier, Marquis de Lafayette, to describe citizen forces mobilized during the French Revolution in the 1790s. The militia was initially patterned after the British militia systems and was later regulated by the Militia Act of 1792. Yet the federal government provided no funding for the militias, and most states allowed their militias to deteriorate, which made them quite ineffective in subsequent wars. By 1903, it was clear that a militia act that was more than 100 years old had to be revised.

In 1902, Dick became president of the National Guard Association. He was determined to elevate the National Guard to the same level as the regular army. However, the final version of the law was a compromise between the association’s demands for better funding and training and the government’s request to free the militias from complete state control. The 1903 Militia Act consisted of 26 sections, which set forth provisions that had previously applied only to the regular army. Among other things, male citizens between the ages of 18 and 45 were divided into the Organized Militia (National Guard) and the Reserve Militia. Furthermore, Congress mandated that within five years the National Guard’s organizational structure, pay scale, equipment, and discipline had to be identical to that of the regular army. Membership in the National Guard units remained voluntary, and state governors retained control over their National Guard regiments’ mobilization. To be eligible for federal funds, the states’ National Guard units were obliged to undertake 24 drills and 5 days of summer training camps per year, allow for federal inspections, conform to U.S. Army rules, and meet all federal requirements.

Federal funding for the National Guard increased substantially within the next few years. Whereas the militia’s budget in 1887 had been a meager \$400,000, Congress allocated \$53 million to the National Guard between 1903 and 1916. To supervise training, the U.S. War Department created the Division of Militia Affairs. In 1908, the Militia Act was amended to allow guardsmen to serve outside the United States and nullified the nine-month cap for active duty. The June 1916 National Defense Act further expanded the National Guard’s role and increased federal regulation of it. This act stipulated that National Guard regiments could be called into federal service, at which point they would be part of the regular army and not the state militia. In addition, the term “National Guard” became mandatory, and the president was given the power to deploy the National Guard in case of war or other national emergency.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Roosevelt, Theodore; Root, Elihu

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Mindanao

Second largest island in the Philippine archipelago. Geographically, Mindanao is the southernmost Philippine island and encompasses some 36,000 square miles, about the size of the state of Indiana or one-third of all of the landmass of the Philippines. At the time of the Spanish-American War, much of the island was mountainous and heavily forested and was rich in natural resources such as gold, nickel, and copper.

Mindanao has the highest peak in the Philippines, Mount Apo, that soars to 9,692 feet above sea level. The island includes the Sulu Archipelago, which runs to the southwest of the main island. To the north is the Visayas island chain. The island’s principal city is Davao in the south. Mindanao is currently home to about 18 million people and is divided into 6 administrative regions and further subdivided into 25 provinces.

Mindanao’s social formation has been distinct from the rest of the Philippines because of its unique history. Spanish colonization beginning in 1565 left Mindanao and the smaller islands of Sulu and Tawi-Tawi virtually untouched. At best, they were only weakly integrated to Las Islas Filipinas, the Spanish term for the Philippine Islands. By 1898, about one-third of Mindanao’s inhabitants were Muslims, or Moros as the Spanish called them. In the nearly five centuries between Spanish colonization and the Spanish-American War, the Moros waged frequent warfare against their colonial overlords in an attempt to keep themselves separated from the rest of the Filipino population, much of which was Christian by the early 1800s.

Economically, Mindanao was and still is an important region. At the turn of the 20th century, it was a great source of fertile lands officially classified as belonging to the public domain. Most of its land was available for agricultural use except for a few patches occupied by Moros and various tribal groups, whose combined population was only about 380,000 people according to the 1903 census. Thus, the frontier on Mindanao offered a vast potential for agricultural development. American colonial administration initiated steps to open this region by encouraging foreign venture capitalists to invest in the region and invited settlers onto the island to harness its rich, largely untapped resources.



Field artillery on the move at Camp Vicars on the island of Mindanao in the Philippines. (Library of Congress)

While no fighting occurred on Mindanao during the Spanish-American War, the island was the scene of periodic and pitched engagements between rebellious Moros and U.S. Army forces during 1902–1903. The Moros, who steadfastly refused to yield to American governance, continued their long tradition of resisting rule by outside forces. In 1902 and 1903, U.S. forces under Colonel Frank Baldwin and then Captain John J. Pershing conducted a series of punitive raids against entrenched Moro encampments in the Lake Lanao region of the island. Thanks to Pershing's intrepid military skills and sharp diplomatic savvy, the threat posed to U.S. forces by the Moros was sharply diminished after the Lake Lanao Campaigns. Mindanao has remained a hotbed of rebel agitation, however, into the 21st century.

Today, Mindanao is host to various industries engaged in extracting or producing agricultural products (coconuts, pineapples, bananas, sugar, abaca, rubber), deep-sea fishing, mining, and other industrial ventures. The Davao Province was once dominated by Japanese colonists, who pioneered abaca plantations that ushered in the development of this province during the 1930s until the outbreak of World War II.

Following World War II and after the Philippines gained its independence, Mindanao attracted millions of landless settlers from Luzon and the Visayas seeking to acquire and develop its abundant lands. The government passed laws to encourage such mass migration, which contributed largely to the peopling of the southern frontier during the 1950s–1970s. Between 1948 and 1960, for instance, Mindanao's population grew at a rate more than double the national average of 2.9 percent. This pattern of migration eventu-

ally diluted the indigenous culture and overshadowed the native peoples, who became minorities in their own homeland.

Today, Mindanao has become a mainly Christian community except for five predominantly Muslim provinces and a few towns inhabited mostly by tribal communities. Mindanao has become a source of political strain and warfare associated with the secessionist struggle waged by the Moros since the 1970s. Since then, the Philippine government has been engaged in a peace process with the Moro National Liberation Front and lately with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. The Armed Forces of the Philippines also conducts periodic punitive operations against militant Islamic elements on Mindanao, notably the Abu Sayyaf Group and the Rajah Soliman Movement, which emerged in the 1990s.

FEDERICO MAGDALENA AND PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Baldwin, Frank Dwight; Bayang, Battle of; Lake Lanao Campaigns; Moros; Pershing, John Joseph; Philippine-American War; Philippine Islands

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Mines

The 19th century saw development of the modern mine and the automotive torpedo, both of which came to have profound impact on war at sea. The first mines were known as torpedoes, after the electric ray fish that shocks its prey. Modern underwater mine warfare may be said to have originated during the American Revolutionary War when Yale University student David Bushnell released floating kegs of powder in the Delaware River. These contact mines were triggered by a flintlock arrangement inside the keg; the hammer was released by the shock of the mine striking an object. The mines took too long to reach their target, and premature explosion of one of them apparently alerted the British.

During the Napoleonic Wars, the American Robert Fulton tried to interest first the French and then the British in mines of his invention. These were intended to drift down in pairs on their target, be caught by the anchor chains of a target vessel, and then explode by means of a timer on a delay of up to four hours. In October 1804 and again in October 1805, Fulton tried the mines against the French at Boulogne with no apparent effect. In October 1805, he used a mine to blow up the 200-ton captured Danish brig *Dorothea*, the first time in history that such a large vessel had been destroyed by a mine. In another such test in July 1807, he blew up a 200-ton



During the Spanish-American War, U.S. seaports were protected by tethered mines that could be electrically detonated from the shore or that exploded when a ship came into contact with them. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

brig in New York Harbor. During the War of 1812, the Americans made several attempts to destroy British ships with mines, but none were successful.

During the Crimean War of 1853–1856, the Russians used mines to try to prevent Allied access to their coastal forts. In 1839, Tsar Nicholas I appointed Prussian émigré Moritz-Hermann Jacobi as head of a scientific committee to conduct experiments in the development of a galvanic (electronic) mine. As early as 1782, Tiberius Cavallo had demonstrated that gunpowder could be detonated by means of an electric current. Building on the work of Cavallo, Americans Fulton and Samuel Colt and Russian baron Pavel L'vovich Schilling von Cannstadt, Jacobi developed working mines by the time of the Crimean War. The Russians subsequently deployed these mines to help protect access to St. Petersburg. Jacobi's mines consisted of zinc canisters filled with gunpowder and were set off by a detonator, a glass tube filled with acid, that when broken ignited the main charge. During the war, the Russians used chemical, contact, and electrical command-detonated mines in both the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea. Although several of the mines went off against British ships, they were too small to inflict significant damage.

The Confederacy made extensive use of mines during the American Civil War. Influential Confederate Navy officer and scientist Matthew Fontaine Maury was an early proponent of mines and conducted experiments with them. Civil War naval mines and torpedoes were of a variety of types. Either scratch-built or constructed from barrels as casings, they were essentially stationary weapons, a sort of buoy held in place at an appropriate distance from the surface by a cable anchored to the sea bottom by a weight. The Confederates positioned them in rivers or harbors to explode against the hulls of Union warships. The two basic types of detonation were contact and electricity. The first type detonated when horns surrounding the charge were broken; this set off a chemical reaction that ignited the charge. The second was fired by means of electrical

connections from batteries on shore. The first type was more certain to explode but was unable to distinguish its victim and hence was also dangerous to friendly vessels. The second type could only be employed close to shore.

More often than not, such early mines failed to explode as a result of faulty detonating equipment or becoming waterlogged, or they were swept away by the current. Powder charges in Civil War mines ranged from approximately 50 pounds to up to a ton of explosive. In all, 50 ships were sunk or damaged by mines during the war, four-fifths of them Union vessels. Only one Confederate ship, the *Albemarle*, was lost to a Union mine. Most of the Confederate vessels sunk were victims of their own mines.

The Royal Navy in 1870 brought into service a towed mine known as the Harvey torpedo after its inventors, Captain John Harvey and Commander Frederick Harvey, both of the Royal Navy. They merely updated the Fulton concept. The Harvey torpedo made use of the principle that an object towed from the bow of a ship usually diverges from the vessel's course at a 45-degree angle. The towing vessel approached the target vessel at a maximum speed of 10 knots and then veered off to the side while the torpedo swung in a wider arc, struck the target ship, and exploded against it. Various chemical fuses were used to ignite the 33 pounds of gunpowder in the torpedo explosive charge; later this was increased to 66 pounds of wet guncotton. Another version was fired by electricity. However, there were many problems with the Harvey torpedo, including the low approach speed by its delivering vessel and difficulties with the torpedo parting its tow and prematurely exploding.

Despite the proven effectiveness of mines during the Civil War, the U.S. Navy largely ignored their use thereafter. Although the Spanish employed mines during the Spanish-American War in both the Philippines (at Subic Bay and off Manila) and in Cuban waters, these mines were either avoided or failed to explode. Mines produced no casualties during the war. This may have been the result

of maintenance problems or incorrect mooring depths or locations. Of course, the perception that a Spanish mine had destroyed the U.S. battleship *Maine* had a great deal to do with bringing on the war in the first place.

Mines really came into their own during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905. During World War I, both sides deployed vast numbers of mines with considerable effect. A total of some 309,800 mines were reportedly laid during the war. Of this number, some 45,000 German mines reportedly claimed more than 1 million tons of Allied shipping sunk.

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See also

Maine, USS; *Maine*, USS, Inquiries into the Loss of; Torpedo Boats; Torpedoes, Automotive

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Missionaries

In the immediate aftermath of the Spanish-American War, Protestant missionaries traveled in large numbers to the Philippines and Cuba in an effort to evangelize foreign nationals. As early as the 16th century, shortly after the arrival of Spanish explorers, Catholic missionaries—usually monks or young priests—had spread Christianity in Cuba and throughout the Philippine Islands. With the exception of the people of Mindanao, which retained Islamic influences, the Filipinos converted en masse to the new religion while still keeping their cultural and animist roots. Local and foreign Catholic leaders quickly established powerful positions within communities and local governments.

Missionary efforts had long been part of the Protestant evangelical tradition, which required an individual and enthusiastic conversion in order to receive salvation. Most Protestant missionaries believed that Catholics were not true Christians, so they became targets for missionary evangelism. Additionally, Protestant missionary efforts often targeted nonwhite, or so-called heathen, populations as being less civilized than whites and therefore in greater need of the morality and discipline that religious practice and salvation would provide. The roots for such evangelical missions can be seen in early Protestant efforts to evangelize and civilize frontier Indian populations and immigrants. Thus, these Protestant missionaries fit well within the paradigms of imperialism, expansionism, ethnocentrism, and Progressivism of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Most missionary efforts to the Philippines and to Cuba began after major fighting had ceased.

In 1899, the American Missionary Society publicly announced praise for Rudyard Kipling's poem "The White Man's Burden," which suggested that white people had a God-given mandate to civilize nonwhite societies as part of God's plan for the world. Soon after the Spanish-American War, President William McKinley, himself a Methodist, addressed the General Mission Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church and explained his reasoning for annexing the Philippines. In addition to diplomatic and strategic reasons, he suggested that it was the mission of the United States to educate, uplift, civilize, and Christianize Filipino society. His public statement clearly emphasized the extent to which missionary and political objectives converged.

American churches responded to the annexation of the Philippines and continued involvement in Cuba by sending hundreds of missionaries to both countries. In 1899, the Foreign Christian Missionary Society, an organization of the Christian Churches, Churches of Christ, and the Disciples of Christ, sent two couples to Cuba. Sending couples into the mission field was a common practice for many Protestant denominations. In Cuba, Protestant missionaries met with limited success, as most Cubans were deeply instilled with Catholic beliefs and dogma.

In the Philippines, however, missionaries were in a more precarious situation. The Philippine-American War (1899–1902) placed American missionaries in the middle of a contest for control of the Philippines. Most important, American missionaries and their churches in the United States had to respond to Philippine nationalism. They had to balance American fears of Filipino nationalism and self-government with the need to train Filipino nationals as clergy and lay church leaders. Even in the second area, however, white missionaries consistently expressed doubt that Filipino nationals could effectively lead churches. In 1902, Filipino leader Gregorio Aglipay led a schism against the Catholic Church in the Philippines and established the Iglesia Filipina Independiente (Independent Filipino Church). Protestant reactions to the schism were mixed: some supported this nationalist movement against the Catholics, while others viewed the movement and its leader as opportunistic and bound to stir up unrest.

According to some scholars, missionary efforts such as these should also be viewed within a larger context of American cultural imperialism. In their assessment, missionaries to foreign countries preceded the cause of the flag and advanced the creation of new markets and imperialism. For example, Sanford Ballard Dole, the leader of the Americans who overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893, was the son of Protestant missionaries. In addition to spreading American ideas about religion, democracy, and culture throughout the Philippines and Cuba, missionaries also acted within the United States to create a national consensus about expansionism in general. Others contest the idea that missionaries were directly implicit in the hegemonic and imperialist policies of 19th-century politicians, but they generally recognize that religion constitutes an inseparable part of the larger culture. Therefore, some argue that even if missionaries' efforts were purely theologi-

cal or religious in nature, their actions cannot be considered apart from the wider imperial context.

JACQUELINE E. WHITT

See also

Churches and the War; Dole, Sanford Ballard; Expansionism; Hawaiian Islands; Imperialism; Kipling, Rudyard; McKinley, William; Progressivism; Social Gospel Movement; White Man's Burden

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Monroe Doctrine

Seminal principle of U.S. foreign policy enunciated on December 2, 1823, by President James Monroe during his annual message to Congress. Monroe's declaration came just eight years after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, which had resulted in the dissolution of much of the Spanish Empire and the declarations of independence of several Latin American countries between 1810 and 1822. The United States now perceived a threat from France and Spain, together with the Holy Alliance of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, to return colonial rule to many of these new republics. Washington was also concerned over Russia's intentions in northwestern North America. Indeed, Tsar Alexander I had recently declared the waters off Alaska closed to foreign ships.

Concerns in Washington were also shared in London. The British wanted to expand trade with Latin America. In September 1822, British foreign secretary George Canning suggested to the American minister to London, Richard Rush, that Britain and the United States issue a joint declaration designed to prevent European intervention in the New World. Although Secretary of State John Quincy Adams persuaded Monroe to go it alone, Canning later boasted that he had “called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old.” Any declaration by the Americans would have the support of Britain's Royal Navy, the world's most powerful navy.

Monroe's speech included three primary positions. First, European powers ought not to attempt to establish colonies in the continents of North or South America. Second, European monarchs should not meddle in the internal politics of the Americas, especially to attempt to overthrow republics and replace them with monarchies. Third, the United States would continue to refrain

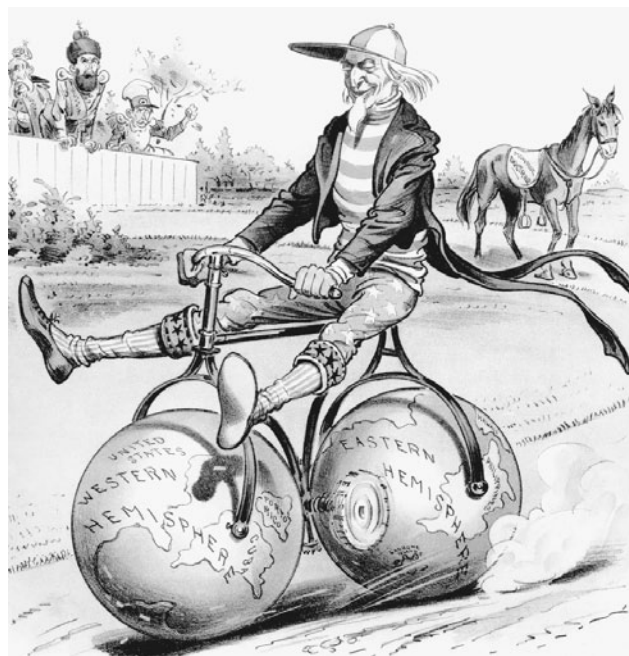
from interfering in the internal politics of any European power. Monroe warned that European interference in the Americas would be viewed by the United States “as dangerous to our peace and security” and “as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.” While not enforced at first, the Monroe Doctrine became a basic tenet of American foreign policy and a justification for American intervention throughout the Western Hemisphere.

Monroe's declaration was a response to these specific threats rather than the formulation of a fundamental doctrine governing American foreign policy. In fact, for two decades the United States did not act decisively to uphold Monroe's principles despite the fact that European powers continued to meddle in the politics of the Americas. Even if U.S. leaders had chosen to enforce Monroe's dictates, however, the nation lacked the military power to do so.

President Monroe's declaration began to be transformed into a doctrine in 1845 when President James K. Polk invoked it during the dispute with Mexico over the boundary of Texas, which the United States had annexed in March 1845. Texas had declared independence from Mexico in 1836, but Mexico had not ratified the treaty imposed on General Antonio López de Santa Anna after the Battle of San Jacinto. Consequently, Mexico recognized neither Texas independence nor its claim of the Rio Grande as the boundary with Mexico when the United States annexed Texas. Concerned over European potential interference in Texas and in Mexico generally (which included the territory of California, where both Britain and France had interests) and similarly concerned over British interests in the Oregon territory, Polk explicitly invoked Monroe's principles and warned European powers not to intervene militarily or interfere politically. Polk also enlarged those principles by prohibiting European powers from acquiring territories in the Americas through peaceful transfers (e.g., of California to Britain) but allowing such territorial transfers to be made to the United States (e.g., Texas). Finally, Polk warned that the United States would vigorously enforce these policies in North America even though the Monroe Doctrine had not been upheld in Central and South America heretofore.

American public support for the Mexican-American War (1846–1848) was bolstered by a belief in Manifest Destiny, the concept that divine providence had destined the United States to span the entire continent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The annexation of Texas was seen as partial fulfillment of this destiny. American victory in the war forced Mexico to transfer more than half its territory to the United States, including present-day California, Arizona, and New Mexico and parts of Colorado, Nevada, and Utah. This immense territorial acquisition further strengthened belief in Manifest Destiny, which lent additional support to the Monroe Doctrine. The outcome of the war also effectually defended the principles of the Monroe Doctrine as a preemptive action that kept European powers from establishing colonies in that territory or acquiring it through transfer.

Now established and enlarged, the Monroe Doctrine was directly challenged during the American Civil War (1861–1865) when



This 1896 political cartoon, originally captioned “The old horse was too slow for Uncle Sam,” criticizes U.S. foreign policy. To the anger of other countries, Uncle Sam has abandoned the horse, whose saddle says “Monroe Doctrine,” in favor of “coasting” on a bicycle with “Eastern Hemisphere” and “Western Hemisphere” for wheels. (Library of Congress)

France invaded Mexico, overthrew the republic, and established a puppet monarchy headed by Austrian prince Ferdinand Maximilian. While at the time the United States was unable to forcibly resist these events, Secretary of State William Seward negotiated with France to withdraw its forces, which led to the overthrow of Maximilian in 1867. Although the Monroe Doctrine was not explicitly invoked during this dispute, Seward’s diplomacy was most certainly guided by its principles.

The Monroe Doctrine finally found respect in Europe after a dispute between Great Britain and the United States over the boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela. In 1895, Secretary of State Richard Olney invoked the Monroe Doctrine explicitly in his correspondence with Great Britain demanding that it accept U.S. arbitration over the boundary dispute. While the British initially refused to acknowledge the authority of the Monroe Doctrine in international law, they ultimately submitted to American arbitration, which further vindicated the doctrine.

The Monroe Doctrine was again invoked and further extended by expansionists in favor of the Spanish-American War in 1898. The United States had long been interested in Cuba, where the Cuban War of Independence against Spanish rule commenced in 1895. In 1854, the Americans had attempted to purchase the island from Spain, which declined the offer. The revolution provided an opportunity to help force Spain out of Cuba and perhaps out of the Caribbean entirely, goals that further extended the Monroe Doc-

trine by intervening in the internal politics of a European power already possessing a colony in the Americas.

At the successful conclusion of the Spanish-American War, the United States acquired the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico from Spain. And while the United States did not annex Cuba, the Platt Amendment guaranteed its interests and presence there, which would prove to be considerable until the 1959 Communist Revolution brought Fidel Castro to power. In this case, then, invocation and extension of the Monroe Doctrine contributed to the creation of an overseas empire, or an extraterritorial Manifest Destiny.

From 1823 to 1898, the Monroe Doctrine matured and was transformed into a doctrine justifying intervention by the United States in the Americas to preempt European interference. In December 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt made this transformation even more explicit by seeking to have the United States exercise “an international police power” in the Americas. In 1928, President Calvin Coolidge revoked the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, a step that led to President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Good Neighbor Policy of the 1930s. Nevertheless, the transformation of the Monroe Doctrine from being primarily a demand of European nonintervention in the Americas to a justification for intervention by the United States remains a key part of the development of U.S. hegemony in the Western Hemisphere.

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See also

Manifest Destiny; Monroe Doctrine; Roosevelt, Theodore; Roosevelt Corollary

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Montero Ríos, Eugenio

Birth Date: November 13, 1832

Death Date: May 12, 1914

Spanish politician, jurist, and member of the Spanish delegation that negotiated the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898, that officially ended the Spanish-American War. Eugenio Montero Ríos was born on November 13, 1832, in Santiago de Compostela, Spain. After studying canon law at the Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, he subsequently taught that subject at the Universidad de Oviedo (1859), the Universidad de Santiago de Compostela (1860), and the Universidad Central de Madrid (1864).

A member of the Partido Progresista (Progressive Party), Montero was elected a deputy to represent Pontevedra in the aftermath

of the Revolution of 1868, which overthrew Queen Isabella II. An ardent supporter of Juan Prim, primary architect of the Revolution of 1868, Montero was appointed minister of justice in 1870. Working to separate church and state, he introduced civil marriage into the Spanish legal system.

Montero supported Prim's efforts to offer the Spanish throne to Prince Leopold von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, which sparked the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871). When the duke of Aosta, son of King Victor Emmanuel II of Piedmont-Sardinia, became king of Spain as Amadeo I in 1871, Montero supported his anticlerical stance and continued to push for legislation to strengthen the separation of church and state, much to the chagrin of many powerful elements of Spanish society. When Amadeo I, regarded as a foreigner by the Spanish people, was unable to win support, he abdicated in February 1873. Montero drafted his letter of abdication and followed the monarch into exile in Lisbon, Portugal.

In late 1873, Montero supported Cristino Martos's creation of the Partido Republicano Democrático (Democratic Republican Party). For the remainder of his life, Montero oscillated between republicanism and liberal monarchism. Unable to establish his own liberal party, in 1884 he joined Práxedes Mateo Sagasta's Partido Liberal (Liberal Party). Montero served as Sagasta's minister of justice in 1892.

In 1898, Montero, then the president of the Spanish Senate, was appointed president of Spain's Peace Commission sent to Paris to negotiate a formal end to the Spanish-American War. Other Spanish members of the commission included Buenaventura de Abarzuza, José Garnica, Wenceslao Ramírez de Villa-Urrutia, and Rafael Cerero. Never a supporter of a Spanish colonial empire, Montero was not opposed to relinquishing Spanish colonial authority of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, or the Philippines. He was willing to give up all of these without indemnity provided that the United States absorbed all their debts. He also sought European arbitration to resolve the impasse. Ordered by his government on November 25 to sign the treaty, he threatened to resign but was persuaded to remain and did sign the treaty.

Following Sagasta's death in 1903, Montero led the radical faction of the Liberals while Segismundo Moret led the conservative faction. Montero was prime minister from June 23 to December 1, 1905. During his brief tenure, the *Cu-Cut!* debacle erupted. In November 1905, Barcelona's small Catalan weekly journal *Cu-Cut!* published a cartoon satirically contrasting the political victory of antimilitarist proseparatist politicians in Barcelona with the Spanish defeat in the Spanish-American War. On November 24, 1905, approximately 200 junior officers attacked the offices of *Cu-Cut!* Military officers demanded a law placing press attacks on the army under military jurisdiction. Montero, however, refused to agree to legislation curtailing freedom of the press. On November 30, 1905, King Alfonso XIII announced his support of the army's demands, prompting Montero's resignation on December 1. The *Cu-Cut!* Affair was a prelude to the end of the civil-military power sharing arrangement implemented by the Bourbon Restoration.

Montero again served as president of the Senate from 1911 to 1913. He died in Madrid on May 12, 1914. Interestingly, in his will, he renounced all royal decorations and honors.

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See also

Alfonso XIII, King of Spain; Paris, Treaty of; Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo; Spain

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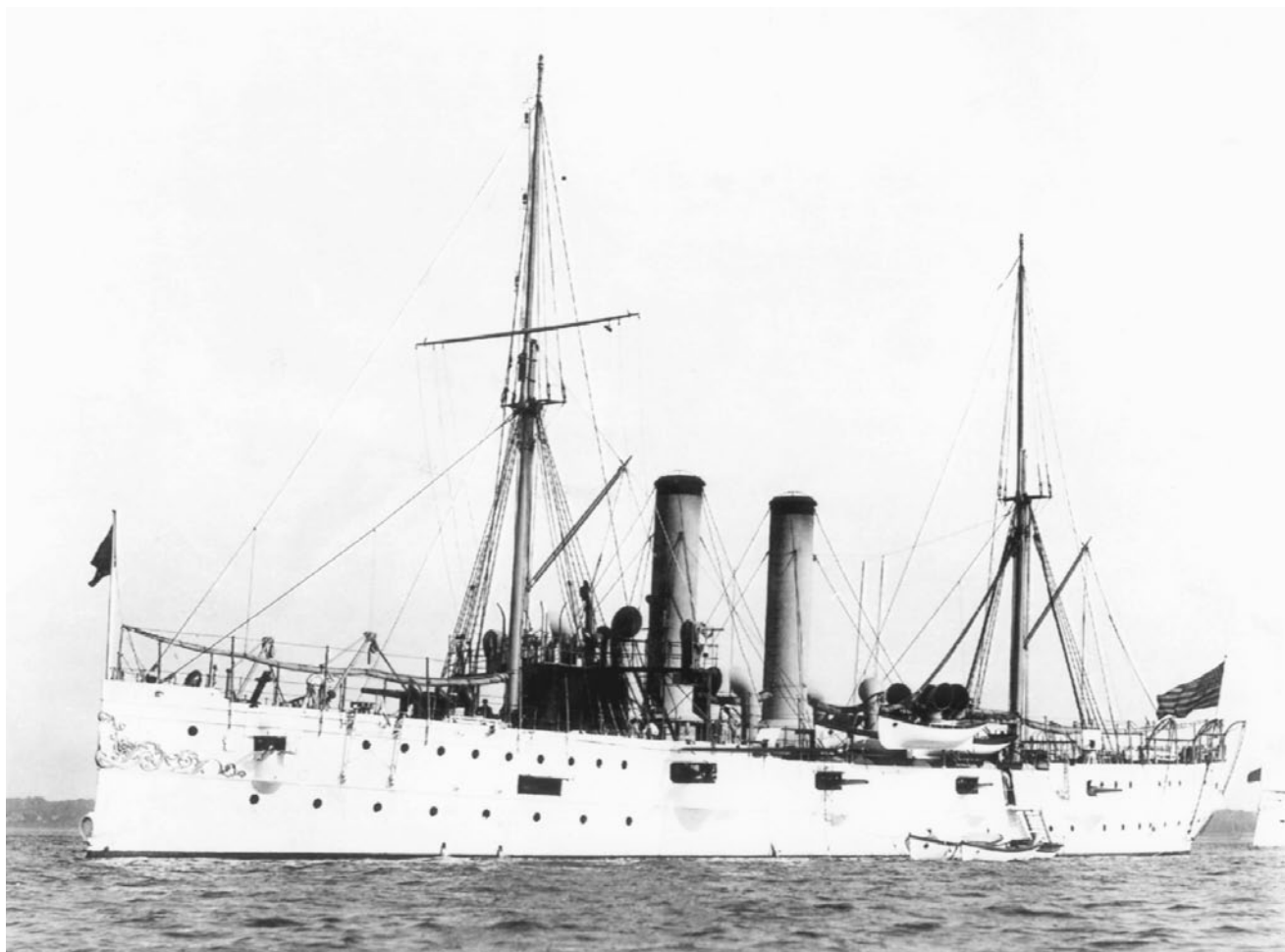
Montgomery, USS

U.S. protected cruiser. The *Montgomery*, namesake of its class, displaced 2,094 tons, making it one of the smallest ships of its type in the U.S. Navy. The *Montgomery* was launched in December 1891 at Baltimore, Maryland, and was originally armed with nine 5-inch guns, six 6-pounders, two 1-pounders, and three 18-inch torpedo tubes. The ship was commissioned at Norfolk, Virginia, on June 21, 1894, under Commander Charles W. Davis. It joined the North Atlantic Squadron after its shakedown and embarked on routine service in both the Atlantic and Caribbean.

In February 1898, the *Montgomery*, now captained by Commander George A. Converse, visited several Cuban ports, including Santiago de Cuba, in conjunction with the visit to Havana of the U.S. battleship *Maine*. While there, Converse submitted reports to the Navy Department detailing the appalling conditions faced by Cuban civilians. Following the loss of the *Maine* on February 15, 1898, Converse brought the *Montgomery* to Havana on March 9 to assist briefly in the official investigation of the disaster. The *Montgomery* soon left for Key West, Florida, amid fears by Converse and Captain Charles D. Sigsbee of the *Maine* that the cruiser might suffer the same fate as the *Maine*.

Following the declaration of war against Spain in April 1898, the *Montgomery* escorted the transport *Panther*, carrying the 1st Marine Battalion (Provisional) from Hampton Roads, Virginia, to Key West. The *Montgomery* then joined the squadron of Rear Admiral William T. Sampson in the blockade of Havana on May 1 and captured two Spanish sailing ships, the *Lorenzo* and *Frasquito*, on May 5. On May 12, the *Montgomery* participated in the shelling of the Spanish forts guarding the harbor at San Juan, Puerto Rico, where Sampson had gone in search of Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron. The ship played a minor role but helped to silence Fort Canuelo during the bombardment.

The *Montgomery* then resumed its station with the blockade of Havana, remaining there when Sampson took most of his squadron to Santiago de Cuba, where Cervera had sought refuge.



The U.S. Navy protected cruiser *Montgomery* participated in the blockade of Cuba during the Spanish-American War. (Naval Historical Center)

In late May, the *Montgomery* served as the flagship of Commodore John Watson, commander of U.S. naval forces along Cuba's northern coast. The ship later participated in the Puerto Rico Campaign, which was still ongoing when hostilities came to an end on August 12, 1898.

In early 1899, the *Montgomery* joined the South Atlantic Squadron and patrolled the South American coast until it was decommissioned in September 1900. Recommissioned in May 1902, it served in the West Indies until decommissioned again in September 1904. The *Montgomery* was recommissioned in January 1908 and served as a torpedo experimental vessel in the Fifth Naval District, having all its armament except its torpedo tubes and four 6-pounder guns removed. From 1914 to 1918, the ship served with the Maryland Naval Militia. Renamed the *Anniston* on March 14, 1918, the ship then served with the American Patrol Detachment along the Atlantic coast and the Caribbean until its final decommissioning on May 16, 1918. The *Anniston* was sold on November 14, 1919.

STEPHEN SVONAVEC

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Converse, George Albert; Cuba, U.S. Naval Blockade of; *Maine*, USS; Puerto Rico Campaign; Sampson, William

Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Occupation of; Sigsbee, Charles Dwight; Watson, John Crittenden

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Montojo y Pasarón, Patricio

Birth Date: September 7, 1839

Death Date: September 30, 1917

Spanish admiral, intellectual, novelist, and essayist who commanded the Spanish squadron in the Philippines during the Spanish-American War. Born in El Ferrol, Corunna Province, Spain, on September 7, 1839, Patricio Montojo y Pasarón studied

at the Naval School in Cádiz and joined the Spanish Navy as a midshipman in 1855. Promoted to sublieutenant in 1860, he was assigned that same year to the Philippines, where he fought against the Moros on the island of Mindanao. Returning to Spain in 1864, he served on the frigate *Almansa* and fought in the Battle of Abato and the Battle of El Callao under Admiral Casto Méndez Núñez, commander of the Spanish Pacific Fleet, in the Chíncha Islands War (1864–1866) against Peru and Chile. Montojo was then secretary to Admiral Méndez Núñez and served in the Admiralty Secretariat in Madrid.

Promoted to commander in 1873, Montojo then commanded Spanish warships on Havana station and in the River Plate. Advanced to commodore, he again served in the Philippines before returning to Madrid in 1890. Promoted to rear admiral and reassigned to the Philippines, he took command of all Spanish naval forces in the islands, the command he held at the start of the Spanish-American War.

Montojo had few options in prosecuting the Spanish-American War. Although he possessed some 40 ships, most were small gunboats. Only his 6 cruisers were capable of offering any real resistance to U.S. commodore George Dewey's Asiatic Squadron, and even these were not as well armored and were greatly inferior in armament to the ships in the American squadron. Montojo originally had his ships at Subic Bay 60 miles west of Manila, but the water there was 40 feet deep, and its defenses were unready. Reportedly, he decided that if his ships were to be sunk, he would prefer it to occur in shallower water. He then returned them to Manila Bay. To help offset his weakness in firepower, he anchored his ships off the fortified naval yard of Cavite so that they might be supported by land batteries.

Following the virtual destruction of his fleet in the May 1, 1898, Battle of Manila Bay, during which he was wounded in the leg (both his sons also participated in the battle on the Spanish side, and one was also wounded), Montojo withdrew to the city of Manila. There, he continued to exercise his command responsibilities until the surrender of that city on August 13.

A Spanish government decree of September 1898 officially relieved Montojo of his duties. On his return to Spain that November, he was imprisoned and then court-martialed. Absolved by the court of responsibility for the destruction of his squadron, he was nonetheless retired from active duty. One of his chief defenders was Read Admiral Dewey. Montojo later wrote an account of the Battle of Manila Bay. He died in Madrid on September 30, 1917.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Asiatic Squadron; Dewey, George; Manila Bay, Battle of

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Moret y Prendergast, Segismundo

Birth Date: June 2, 1833

Death Date: January 28, 1913

Spanish politician and writer. Born in Cádiz, Spain, on June 2, 1833, Segismundo Moret y Prendergast was educated in Britain and at the University of Madrid, where in 1858 he became a professor of political economy while at the same time continuing to study law.

Moret was elected to the Spanish Cortes (parliament) in 1863 and reelected in 1868. He was one of the authors of the Spanish Constitution of 1869 following the Glorious Revolution (1868) in Spain. In 1870, he became colonial minister in the cabinet headed by General Juan Prim and advocated the abolition of slavery and a constitution for Puerto Rico. In 1871, Moret became minister of the treasury and the next year was appointed Spanish ambassador to Great Britain but resigned from that post after some months to become director of a British bank. Following the restoration of King Alfonso XII in 1875, Moret returned to Spain. Reelected to the Cortes in 1879, he rallied to the restored Bourbon monarchy in 1882. The next year, he became minister of the interior, and in 1885, he joined the Liberal Party of Práxedes Mateo Sagasta and under him held a number of cabinet posts, including minister of foreign affairs (1885–1888) and minister for overseas colonies (1897–1898).

Appointed colonial minister in October 1897 in the Sagasta government, Moret was the most outspoken cabinet advocate of a conciliatory policy toward both Cuba and Puerto Rico, and he was the author of the November 1897 autonomy decrees in an effort to avoid secession of the two islands from Spain. He opposed war with the United States as a hopeless venture for Spain and, in consequence, sought mediation by other European governments to end the crisis over Cuba. Moret favored a positive Spanish response to President William McKinley's ultimatum of March 27, 1898, in the belief that this would give the Spanish government more time to resolve the situation short of war.

Because he had opposed war, when it occurred Moret found himself under fire from Spanish nationalists for having proposed concessions beforehand. He was dropped from the cabinet on May 15, 1898, and replaced by Vicente Romero Girón. Consulted by Sagasta regarding the Protocol of Peace in August 1898, Moret approved signing it provided it was limited to Cuba and Puerto Rico.

Following the death of Spanish premier Sagasta in 1903 and a period of political struggle, Moret became the leader of the Liberal Party. He was premier of Spain during 1905–1906 and again during 1909–1910. He was serving as president of the House of Representatives at the time of his death in Madrid on January 28, 1913.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cuba; McKinley, William; Peace, Protocol of; Puerto Rico; Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo

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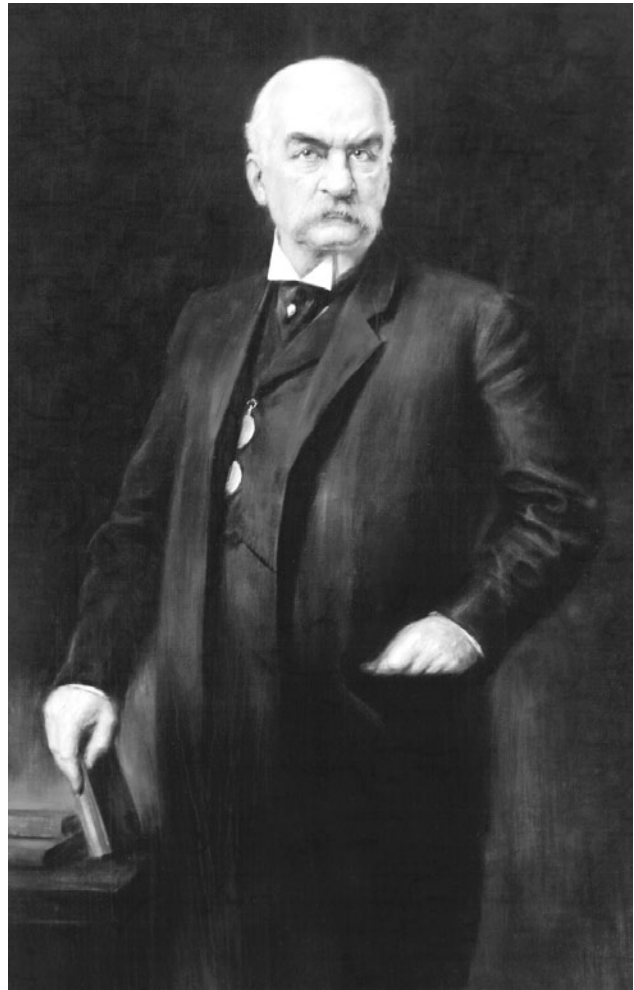
Morgan, John Pierpont, Sr.

Birth Date: April 17, 1837

Death Date: March 31, 1913

American financier and banker and one of the wealthiest and most influential men in the United States during the Spanish-American War. John Pierpont Morgan's activities facilitated the Industrial Revolution, which gave an impetus to overseas economic and territorial expansion at the end of the 19th century. Born in Hartford, Connecticut, on April 17, 1837, he was the son of Julius Morgan, a wealthy financier. After attending the University of Göttingen in Germany, the younger Morgan worked as an accountant for Duncan, Sherman, and Company, a New York City banking firm, from 1857 to 1861. At the outbreak of the American Civil War, he avoided military service by paying for a substitute soldier to take his place, a practice that was legal at the time and not unusual for men in his position. During the war, he first worked for George Peabody and Company, then moved to Dabney, Morgan, and Company from 1864 to 1871. He joined the Philadelphia firm of Drexel, Morgan, and Company as a partner in 1871. After the death of the firm's founder, Anthony J. Drexel, in 1893, Morgan became the senior partner of the firm. The firm, which became J. P. Morgan and Company, grew to be one of the most powerful banking houses in the world.

Morgan bought, consolidated, or restructured many U.S. railroads during the last two decades of the 19th century. By 1900, he controlled more than 5,000 miles of rail lines. He also implemented regulations and standards that the federal government was either unwilling or unable to enact. His vast holdings in the railroad industry included the New York Central, the New Haven and Hartford, the Pennsylvania, the Reading, and the Chesapeake and Ohio networks. In 1902, he organized the Northern Securities Company as a trust for his railroad holdings only to have it dissolved two years later by a landmark antitrust suit. In 1892, he financed the formation of General Electric by merging Edison General Electric and the Thomson-Houston Electric Company. In 1896, General Electric was one of the first companies listed on the newly formed Dow Jones Industrial Average. During the economic depression of 1893–1897, Morgan supplied the U.S. government with \$62 million in gold to issue government bonds, which restored a surplus in the U.S. Treasury. This financial coup helped to return the nation to economic prosperity.



American financier and banker John Pierpont Morgan was one of the richest men in America and a dominant figure in the U.S. economy during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. (Library of Congress)

In 1901, Morgan financed the creation of the United States Steel Corporation by purchasing the interests of Andrew Carnegie and other steel-producing industrialists. At the time of its creation, the United States Steel Corporation, which became the world's first billion-dollar corporation, was the largest steel producer in the world and accounted for two-thirds of all U.S. steel production. Federal antitrust legislation unsuccessfully attempted to break up U.S. Steel in 1911. Increased steel production greatly facilitated the role of the United States as a great power during and in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War.

In 1902, Morgan facilitated the creation of the International Mercantile Marine Company by financing the purchase of the Leyland Line and other British steamship companies operating in the Atlantic Ocean. Among the companies purchased was the White Star Line, which built and operated the ill-fated ocean liner *Titanic*. Indeed, Morgan was to have been a passenger on the ship's maiden voyage, but business activities in Europe kept him from departing on the doomed ship in 1912.

Morgan's financial interests exerted a tremendous influence on American foreign policy and domestic politics. Having acquired the assets to the defunct French company that had attempted but failed in its efforts to build a canal in Panama, he used his considerable political influence to ensure that Panama, rather than Nicaragua, would be the preferred American site for a canal. When Colombia balked at the Hay-Herrán Treaty, in part because Colombia was offered only \$10 million up front and \$250,000 annually for a 100-year lease compared to \$40 million for Morgan's Panama Canal Company, the Theodore Roosevelt administration supported a revolution in Panama that resulted in independence from Colombia in 1903. Morgan's manipulation of financial markets was exposed in the Pugo Committee hearings in 1911 and contributed to the creation of the Federal Reserve System in 1913.

Often vilified in the press as a cold-hearted robber baron, Morgan made substantial contributions to charities, churches, hospitals, and schools during his lifetime. He died in Rome, Italy, on March 31, 1913, and his son, J. P. Morgan Jr., inherited his father's financial empire.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Economic Depression; Panama Canal; Railroads

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Morgan-Cameron Resolution

Resolution passed by Congress on April 6, 1896, two years before the start of the Spanish-American War that served as an indicator of congressional sentiment regarding Cuba. In the midst of an ongoing debate in the United States over what approach the nation should take regarding the Cuban War of Independence and with strong support from the Cuban exile lobby, in February 1896 expansionist Democratic senator John T. Morgan of Alabama and Republican senator Donald Cameron of Pennsylvania joined to introduce a resolution that recognized Cuban belligerency against Spain and called for Cuban independence. The bill passed the Senate on February 28. The House passed its own version of the resolution on March 2.

Following reconciliation between the two versions, the resolution was passed overwhelmingly on April 6. Although the Morgan-Cameron Resolution was not binding, it did serve notice on President Grover Cleveland and Secretary of State Richard Olney of congressional sentiment in support of the Cuban rebels and against Spain.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Cuba; Cuban Junta; Cuban War of Independence; Olney, Richard; Ten Years' War

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Moro Campaigns

Start Date: 1902

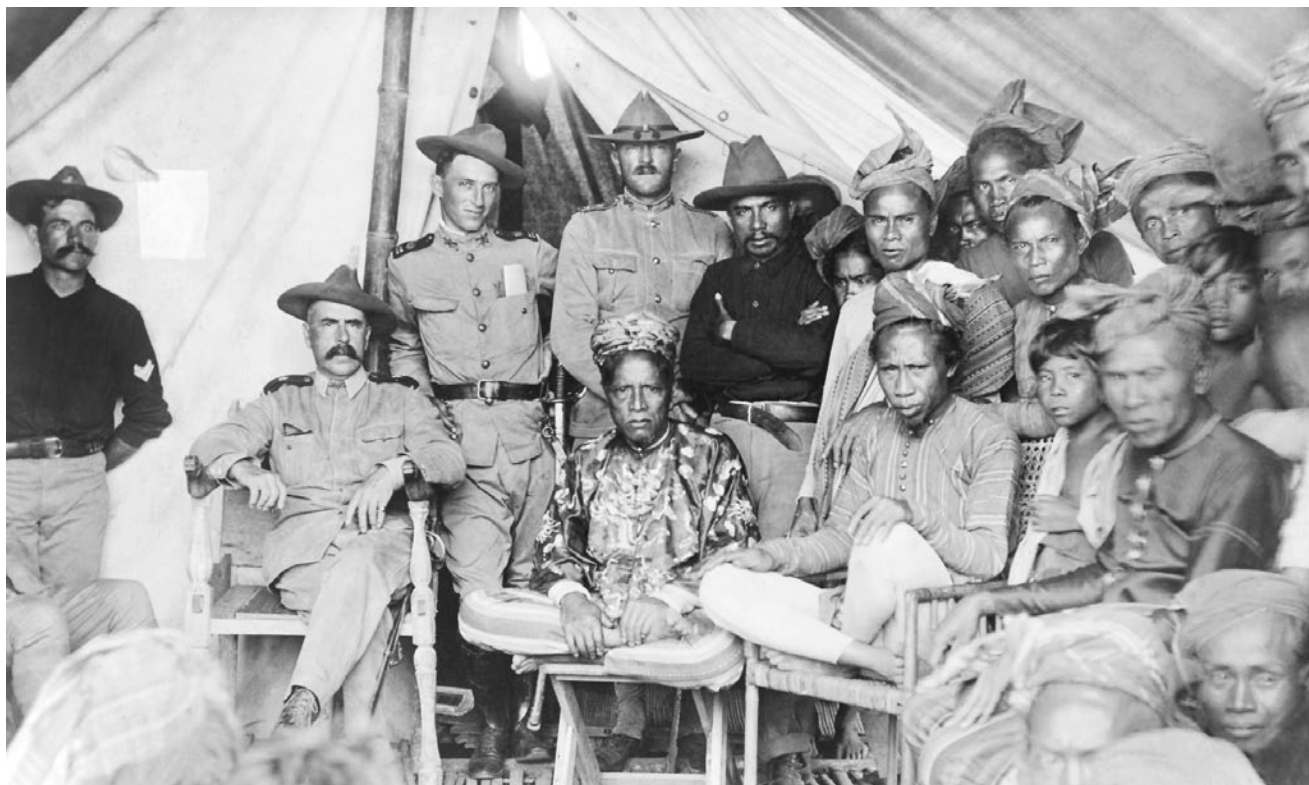
End Date: 1913

Under the terms of the Treaty of Paris of December 10, 1898, the United States acquired the Philippine archipelago from Spain. Yet the end of the war with Spain was only the beginning of hostilities for American forces in the Philippines. The northern islands had been in revolt against Spanish rule since 1896, and U.S. forces would spend nearly three years (1898–1902) defeating the Filipino independence movement in what was commonly called the Philippine Insurrection and is today known as the Philippine-American War.

The southern islands of Sulu and Mindanao in the Philippines had never been completely conquered by the Spanish despite more than 400 years of sporadic warfare. The U.S. Army would spend 11 more years (1902–1913) fighting on the southern islands against the Moros with only limited success. In the course of these Moro campaigns, some 130 American soldiers died in the fighting, and 16 Medals of Honor were awarded.

The southern portion of the Philippine archipelago was controlled by a people the Spanish called the Moros, meaning "Moors." The Moros were Austronesians who had migrated from Taiwan and had been converted to Islam beginning in the 14th and 15th centuries and enjoyed a fierce reputation as pirates and warriors. The Spanish had established isolated garrisons in small fortresses along the coastline but had never penetrated the thick jungle interior. The Moros had remained neutral throughout the Philippine-American War, for rule by a Christian-dominated Republic of the Philippines was as distasteful to them as rule by the Americans. Indeed, the Moros fought their Christian and pagan neighbors as hard as they had fought the Spanish.

When U.S. Army forces occupied Sulu and Mindanao, they were not content to remain barricaded along the coastline. Instead, they attempted to Americanize the entire island. This meant bringing an end to slavery, blood feuds, and the piracy that had been a way of life for the Moros for centuries. On August 20, 1899, Brigadier General John Bates signed a treaty with the sultan of Sulu ostensibly giving the United States control over the islands, ending slavery and piracy, and guaranteeing the sultan certain rights, including an annual stipend.



U.S. Army brigadier general Samuel Sumner meeting with the sultans of Bayang and Oato at Camp Vicars on Mindanao in 1902. (Library of Congress)

The Bates Treaty had little effect, however, for the sultan had little control over Sulu and Mindanao. Real power lay in the dozens of tribal datus (chiefs), who strongly resisted U.S. control over their territories and carried out isolated attacks against American troops and all other foreigners. Although the Moros were skilled with rifles taken from the Spanish and Americans, their principal weapon was a short sword, known as the kris.

The Moros were masters at guerrilla warfare, attacking at night and ambushing stragglers and small patrols. They used the jungle cover to their advantage and could be within stabbing distance with the kris before their enemies could return fire. The Moros often charged into gunfire, continuing to rush their enemies despite being hit several times. One consequence of the Moro Campaigns was the U.S. Army decision to change its official side arm from the .38 revolver to the semiautomatic .45 because the .38 round did not have the power to stop a charging Moro warrior.

Although isolated attacks occurred against U.S. troops from the beginning of the occupation, they were at first considered the work of solitary bandits. This changed in the spring of 1902 when more than 200 Moros ambushed 18 soldiers patrolling Lake Lanao on Mindanao. In the attack, a soldier of the 15th Cavalry Regiment was killed, and all of the horses were taken.

Colonel Frank Baldwin, who had won the Medal of Honor in both the American Civil War and the Indian Wars, commanded expeditionary troops against the datu of Binadayan. The resulting Battle of Bayang on May 2, 1902, led to 51 Americans killed or

wounded of a force of 470 men. Some 300 Moros died, with fewer than 30 escaping. Although the Moros were masters of jungle warfare, when attacked they retired to their cottas, which were small castlelike structures with thick, high walls. Cottas dotted the landscape and were almost impenetrable without artillery. In the Battle of Bayang, U.S. soldiers were forced to scale the walls of the cottas using improvised ladders.

Captain John J. Pershing, the future commander of the American Expeditionary Forces in World War I, was also a veteran of the Moro Campaigns. He led several campaigns in the Lake Lanao area. In April 1903, U.S. forces destroyed the cotta at Bacalod following a three-day siege that killed 120 Moros. In the Battle of Taraca on May 4, 1903, U.S. forces killed another 250 Moros. Only two Americans died in action, although 18 others succumbed to disease. Pershing was involved in both of these operations.

In August 1903, Major General Leonard Wood became the civilian governor of the Moro islands. He immediately launched a campaign into the interior in an attempt to capture Datu Ali, the leader of the resistance on Mindanao. In this operation, Wood employed not only the U.S. Army but also the Philippine Constabulary of native Filipinos. During the ensuing months, more than 130 cottas were destroyed, and hundreds of Moro warriors were slain.

On March 5–7, 1906, the largest battle of the Moro Campaigns occurred on the extinct volcano of Bud Dajo on Jolo Island. One thousand Moro warriors—both men and women—fiercely resisted 800 American soldiers and Filipino Constabulary troops. The

MORO WAR, 1898–1913



Moros used to great effect the area's natural fortifications and a series of cottas. When the brutal, sometimes hand-to-hand fighting was over, more than 700 Moros lay dead along with 21 Americans and Filipinos.

The next several years were relatively quiet, with only sporadic violence. By now, most Moros had begun to realize that the U.S. government had no intention of trying to convert them from Islam to Christianity as the Spanish had attempted to do. This removed a major incentive for Moro resistance.

The last major engagement of the Moro Campaigns occurred on the island of Jolo during June 11–15, 1913. Recently promoted Brigadier General John Pershing led U.S. Army forces in what came to be known as the Battle of Bud Bagsak. In four days of fierce combat, some 500 Moros were killed along with 15 Americans. The battle broke the last significant resistance to American rule in the southern Philippines.

As with all American actions in the Philippines, there were negative reactions to the Moro Campaigns. This was chiefly because of the high casualties inflicted on the Moros in comparison to the number taken prisoner. On the other hand, there was little U.S. soldiers could do, considering that most Moros chose to fight to the death rather than surrender. During the Moro Campaigns of 1902–1913, some 130 American soldiers died in combat, while more than 500 others died of various diseases.

WESLEY MOODY

See also

Bates, John Coalter; Bayang, Battle of; Bud Bagsak, Battle of; Bud Dajo, Battle of; Cottas; Lake Lanao Campaigns; Mindanao; Moros; Pershing, John Joseph; Philippine Constabulary; Wood, Leonard

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Moro Province

Philippine province created on June 1, 1903, by U.S. occupation authorities. Moro Province was inhabited largely by Filipino Muslims, or Moros as they were known by the Spanish. Moro Province included a large part of the island of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, which was traditionally considered part of greater Mindanao. Moro Province covered five districts of Mindanao:

Lanao, Cotabato, Zamboanga, Davao, and Sulu (Tawi-Tawi was part of Sulu because it was ruled by the Sulu sultanate). Each district was administered by an U.S.-appointed governor, also a military officer. The districts were subdivided into tribal wards, with key datus (chiefs) serving as ward chiefs and lesser datus serving as sheriffs, deputies, and judges.

The United States formed Moro Province in an attempt to subdue the hostile Moros and separate non-Muslim Filipinos from the Moro Rebellion. The unique administrative setup was designed to incorporate the Moros' existing political structure in which personal ties with ruling officials were deemed important.

Luzon, the Visayas, and a portion of Mindanao, including their constituent provinces, came to be administered by civilian authorities operating under the Philippine Commission headed by William H. Taft. But a large section of Mindanao, inhabited by intractable and often hostile Moros, was governed directly by the U.S. military.

The area of Mindanao was home to some 278,000 Moros and more than a dozen tribal groups (their numbers were estimated at more than 100,000) in 1903. Most American authorities believed that using force was the only way to subjugate the hostile Moros and other rogue elements on the island. Governing the Moros militarily was deemed necessary so that they could eventually be integrated with Christian Filipinos.

The relationship between Muslim and non-Muslim Filipinos had been characterized by mutual prejudice and animosity to the other, largely as an outcome of Spanish colonization policies and by the fact that the Christianized natives had often been conscripted into military campaigns against the Moros. The Moros posed a formidable problem for the U.S. colonial government, such as during the Spanish regime, because they lived under their own laws (*sharia*) and traditions (*adat*) and recognized no power except their own system of government under the sultans and datus. The mission of the military regime was to civilize the Moros and educate them to the ways of modernity. The American civilizing efforts applied both might and persuasion in alternating sequences. Many American soldiers, however, operated under the assumption that "a good Moro is a dead Moro."

Brigadier General Leonard Wood, a veteran American Indian fighter, was appointed the first military governor of Moro Province; his tenure lasted from 1903 to 1906. He was succeeded by two other military governors: Major General Tasker Bliss (1906–1909) and Brigadier General John Pershing (1909–1913). The military governor on Mindanao exercised vast powers and influence, which were likened to those of Roman proconsuls. He was directly responsible to the governor-general of the Philippines and the Philippine Commission, located in Manila. Laws and ordinances applicable to the Moro Province were charged to the Legislative Council, composed of the governor, a secretary, a treasurer, an engineer, a superintendent of public schools, and the provincial attorney, all Americans.

Military rule of the Moro Province spanned only a decade, but its consequences on the social and political structures of the Moros

and tribal communities cannot be overemphasized. Under the American military regime, economic development had begun to flourish, with foreign capital opening up various agricultural and industrial pursuits. Also, Christian migration to the region began with the encouragement of U.S. military authorities. It was Pershing who received the most credit for transforming Moro Province and making it amenable to a system of government based on the Western rule of law.

American officials were usually perceived as just, benevolent, and patriarchal; some were even called "father" by some local datus. However, defiant village chiefs occasionally challenged the authorities with armed resistance, even after the Moro Province was dissolved in 1913, usually over issues related to taxation, compulsory education of children, and mandatory enlistment in the armed forces, among others. Bloody revolts punctuated the history of Moroland, as the Moro Province was also called, ranging from the infamous May 2, 1902, Battle of Bayang to the massacres in the Battle of Bud Dajo (March 5–8, 1906) and the Battle of Bud Bagsak (January 13–15, 1913). There were, of course, smaller but equally violent confrontations between the U.S. military and other disaffected tribal groups. This pattern of resistance would continue on a small scale through the Commonwealth era (1935–1945), when Mindanao became firmly entrenched as part of the emerging Philippine state.

In a sense, the transitional system of military governance broke the backbone of the age-old sultanate (although it did not go away altogether). At the same time, however, the new ways provided avenues for upward mobility for those at the bottom of the social hierarchy. The fruits of these policies became evident when hundreds of low-status Moros eventually rose to prominent positions in government and the civil service sectors as teachers, clerks, and local officials.

Despite all the various difficulties in modernizing and integrating Moro Province, the policy of Filipinization had largely worked. The military governance of Moro Province ended in 1913, at which time the Moro insurgency had been largely neutralized. Civilian administrator Frank Carpenter then replaced Pershing as governor. The province was formally integrated with the three largely Christian provinces of Mindanao (Agusan, Misamis, and Bukidnon) and became a new administrative region known as the Department of Mindanao and Sulu under a civilian governor. This was followed by a series of administrative changes and jurisdictional rearrangements as independence neared during the 1930s and owing to the 1916 Jones Act, which accelerated the Filipinization of the islands. Central to these bureaucratic shifts was the gradual transfer of authority from Americans to the more educated and politically mature Christian Filipinos and educated and articulate Moros.

FEDERICO MAGDALENA AND PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Bliss, Tasker Howard; Bud Bagsak, Battle of; Bud Dajo, Battle of; Bud Dajo Campaign; Lake Lanao Campaigns; Mindanao; Moro Campaigns; Moros; Pershing, John Joseph; Philippine Commission; Philippine Islands; Taft, William Howard; Wood, Leonard

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Moros

Native Muslims of the Philippines. The term “Moros” is Spanish for “Moors,” referencing the North African Muslims who conquered Spain in 711 CE. Most of the Moros resided in the southern Philippines in an area called Bangsamoro on the island of Mindanao. They also lived in the long archipelago of small islands to the south and west of Mindanao. There were, however, Muslim enclaves and influences as far away as Manila. The Spanish called all Muslims they encountered during the Age of Exploration Moros, but only in the Philippines did the name take hold. The group that became known as the Moros is believed to have come to the Philippines as part of the Great Polynesian Migration in about 100 CE. By the late 15th century, when the Moros had been converted to Islam

by merchants from India, they already had a reputation as fierce warriors and pirates.

Islam had arrived in the Philippines only 60 years before the Spanish. The Spanish conquered and Christianized the northern islands, while the southern islands of Mindanao and Sulu became Muslim strongholds. For more than 300 years, the Spanish battled the Moros for complete control of the archipelago. The Moros traditionally allied themselves with Spain’s enemies, the British and the Dutch, when the European powers were at war with one another. They also constantly preyed on Spanish merchant ships.

During the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War that immediately followed, the Moros remained neutral. Indeed, it was not until the Christian Filipinos had been conquered that the Moros and U.S. Army forces began to clash. A series of bloody confrontations followed between 1902 and 1913 that cost the United States more than 600 men. Finally subdued through a mix of military force and civic action, the Moros came under U.S. civilian administration, as did the entire Philippines.

During World War II, the Moros resisted Japanese occupation, and after Filipino independence in 1946, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) began a terrorist campaign to win independence for the southern Muslim-dominated Filipino islands. Today the MILF receives funding from several international terrorist organizations, including Al Qaeda.

WESLEY MOODY



Early 20th-century photograph of Moros near the shores of Lake Lanao on the island of Mindanao in the Philippines. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

See also

Bud Bagsak, Battle of; Bud Dajo, Battle of; Bud Dajo Campaign; Mindanao; Moro Campaigns

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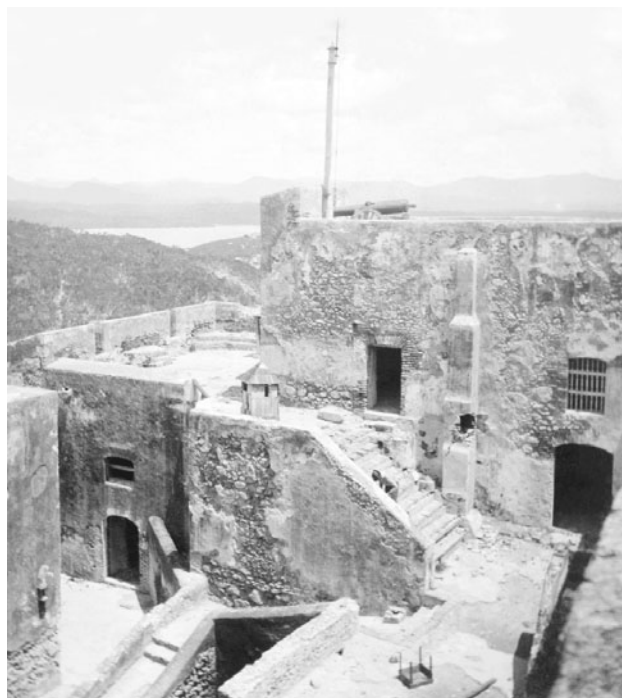
Morro Castle

A fortification situated at the entrance to the harbor of Santiago de Cuba. Also known as Castillo de San Pedro de la Roca, Castillo del Morro, San Pedro de la Roca Castle, and simply the Morro, the redoubt sits atop a bluff 207 feet high on the eastern headland of the harbor's entrance some six miles south of the city of Santiago itself. The Spanish began construction of the fort in the 16th century as part of a network of batteries at the mouth of the harbor and along the approximately 400-foot-wide channel that leads to it. During the Spanish-American War, Morro Castle was garrisoned by 411 soldiers and served as an observation post, an artillery position, and a prison.

During the war, the castle's handful of antiquated guns rarely fired at U.S. Navy ships, but the presence of the castle and the surrounding batteries was a consideration in the U.S. plans to bottle up Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron in the harbor by sinking the collier *Merrimac* in its narrow approach channel. An idea to trick the defenders into thinking it was a Spanish ship was rejected in favor of moving the block ship surreptitiously into position, in part because of the fort's close proximity. During the actual mission on June 3, 1898, the mission commander, Navy lieutenant Richmond Pearson Hobson, decided to forego the gradual approach and order full steam when the castle's profile could be clearly seen in the early dawn and he became convinced that the ship must have been observed from only 2,000 yards away. The expedition ultimately failed, and the ship's skeleton crew, including Hobson, was captured and interred in Morro Castle.

Intelligence from Cuban insurgents, however, revealed the location of the prisoners, so the American ships that bombarded other defenses on June 6 and again on June 16 did not target the castle. It received only incidental damage in the actions. Lookouts on the castle were the first Spaniards to observe the dozens of ships that made up the American invasion fleet, and it was from the fort that Cervera learned of their presence. A sentinel on the castle also reported the departure of Rear Admiral William T. Sampson's flagship, the *New York*, from the blockading squadron outside the harbor's entrance on July 3.

Morro Castle was probably most important as a deterrent. Sampson was unwilling to send his ships through the Spanish defenses along the narrow approach to attack Cervera in his harbor refuge. Although Sampson believed that a determined bombard-



Morro Castle, a 16th-century fortification that sits above the harbor entrance to Santiago de Cuba. (Library of Congress)

ment could have silenced all of the castle's batteries, he was also very concerned about mines in the channel controlled from onshore installations.

Morro Castle still stands today more than 500 years after its construction. In 1997, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) declared it and its associated works a World Heritage Site as the largest and most complete example of European Renaissance military architecture.

MATTHEW J. KROGMAN

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Hobson, Richmond Pearson; Morro Heights; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of

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Morro Heights

A high bluff commanding the entrance to the harbor of Santiago de Cuba, situated on Cuba's southeastern coast. The headland lies six miles south of the city on the eastern side of the narrow channel that serves as the only sea approach to the city from the open ocean. The channel is no more than 400 yards wide at its greatest width.

Located on the heights were the Spanish-built Morro Castle, a Renaissance-style fortress first constructed in the 16th century, and

nearby Morro Battery on the high ground. These were part of a larger system of fortifications that included the Estrella and Punta Gorda batteries to the north and the Upper and Lower Socapa batteries on the somewhat lower western side of the channel. During the Spanish-American War, the defensive network contained about three dozen large guns of varying caliber and quality. Two 6.3-inch pieces in the upper Socapa battery were the largest in the defenses, but there were only some 100 rounds of ammunition for them. Most of the pieces were antiquated muzzle loaders, and some dated to 1724.

On June 3, 1898, rapid-fire guns and machine guns on the heights fired upon the U.S. collier *Merrimac*, commanded by Richmond Pearson Hobson, as the Americans tried unsuccessfully to block the channel by sinking the ship at its most narrow point. The mission failed, and Hobson and his crew were taken prisoner.

Rear Admiral William T. Sampson's blockading U.S. Navy warships bombarded Morro Heights on June 6, 16, and 21 but largely refrained from shelling the installations directly because accepted doctrine held that battleships should not engage shore batteries. American officials were also concerned about Hobson and his crew, who were being held in Morro Castle. Although the larger Spanish guns lacked the range and accuracy to pose a serious threat to the blockading squadron, Sampson nonetheless worried about mines in the harbor and the channel controlled from the batteries as he considered whether to enter the harbor to attack Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's sequestered Spanish squadron and support the U.S. Army in its advance toward Santiago.

Sampson's desire to neutralize the defenses created a significant interservice dispute when he asked the army to capture Morro Heights from the rear so that minesweeping teams could work unimpeded. Having taken an interior route toward Santiago and fearing the digression would result in high casualties, U.S. ground force commander Major General William R. Shafter declined the request and suggested that the navy should challenge the guns and steam into the harbor directly.

Sampson did not follow suit, and the ships held their stations while the army fought toward the city. On July 3, the guns on Morro Heights saw their most sustained action of the campaign as they ineffectually fired on the U.S. blockading ships during the Spanish squadron's egress from the harbor in the prelude to the decisive Battle of Santiago de Cuba later that same day. Morro Heights was again a factor on July 6 when the U.S. Army and the U.S. Navy made plans for a coordinated attack on its defenses so that the navy could clear the mines, enter the harbor, and bombard the city itself. This plan was not carried out, and the ships instead bombarded the city from the sea for two days before a truce went into effect that lasted until the formal surrender on July 17.

MATTHEW J. KROGMAN

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Hobson, Richmond Pearson; Morro Castle; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Shafter, William Rufus

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O'Toole, G. J. A. *The Spanish War: An American Epic*, 1898. New York: Norton, 1984.

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Music

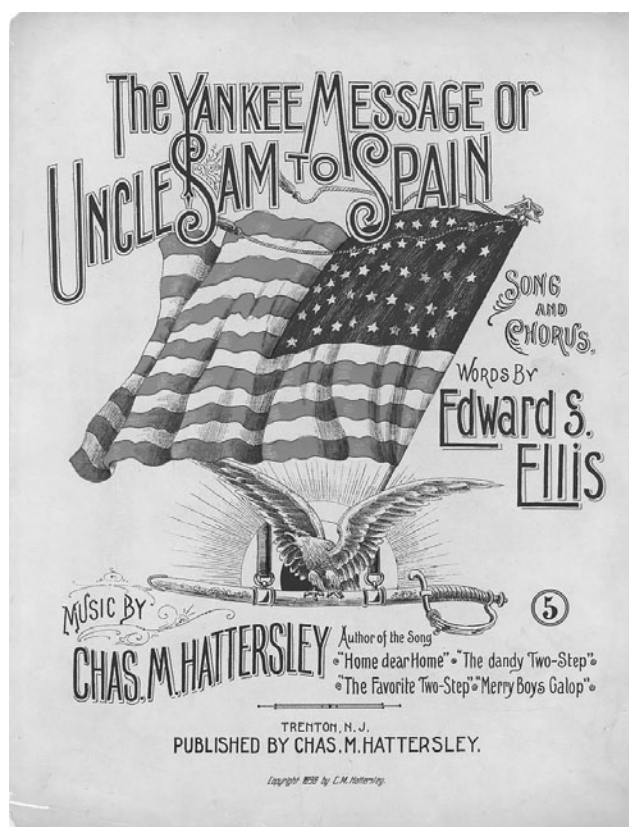
The musical scene during the Spanish-American War was particularly interesting, owing much of its variety and popularity to recent inventions such as the gramophone and phonograph, which for the first time allowed Americans to listen to quality music that had been prerecorded. In an age before radio, television, or even movies with sound, listening to music, playing music, and dancing to music were favorite American pastimes. Spectacularly popular songwriters and band leaders, such as John Philip Sousa, dubbed the "March King," and new forms of musical expression also lent to the music scene its own unique richness. Patriotic music and songs also played a central role in keeping civilians as well as soldiers enthusiastic about the war effort.

In addition to the gramophone and phonograph, which few people in fact could afford, the majority of Americans in the 1890s listened to music in person in such venues as dance halls, vaudeville and minstrel shows, concert halls, and outdoor band shells.

Many Americans were also introduced to new music and new musical genres by sheet music, which was sold for piano and for parlor singing at home. At the time, pianos were household fixtures in many middle- and upper-class American homes. The companies holding the rights to sheet music would often send musicians on musical tours so that the songs could be performed and sales of sheet music encouraged. These tours were usually performed by young and up-and-coming musicians who would one day become highly popular songwriters, musicians, and singers. Advertisements for sheet music were to be found in both magazines and newspapers. The covers of sheet music were often dramatically and elaborately illustrated to help sales and set a mood for the music.

During the 1890s, a section of New York City known for its high density of musicians, songwriters, and music publishers—dubbed Tin Pan Alley—became a fertile testing ground for new songs and genres of music. Ragtime, considered by many to be the precursor of jazz, had become enormously popular by the late 1890s. Among its most illustrious composers were Scott Joplin and Vess Ossman. A sort of hybridized form of marches with roots also in African American music, ragtime began as up-tempo dance music written usually in 2/4 or 4/4 time that featured highly syncopated melodies. Ragtime would come to feature a wide array of styles during its heyday.

Among the more popular songs during the Spanish-American War were "Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight," a very popular song among U.S. troops who often sang it in camp; "After the Ball"; John Philip Sousa's "El Capitan March," another favorite among soldiers and military bands; "My Wild Irish Rose"; and "Sweet Rosie O'Grady." When the U.S. Asiatic Squadron began its voyage to



Cover to a piece of patriotic American sheet music titled "The Yankee Message; Uncle Sam to Spain," published in 1898. (Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University)

Manila Bay in 1898, the band on board the *Olympia*, Commodore George Dewey's flagship, played "El Capitan March."

Songs dealing specifically with the war and military service were very popular among soldiers and were designed to stress esprit de corps and war propaganda all at the same time. "Brave Dewey and His Men" celebrated the American victory at the Battle of Manila Bay, while "The Charge of the Rough Riders" immortalized the service of Theodore Roosevelt and the Rough Riders at San Juan Hill. Songs such as "The Belle of Manila" and "Ma Filipino Babe" spoke of American intervention in the Philippines and the hard-

ships it had engendered. The emphasis in many of these songs was undiluted patriotism and sacrifice for a noble cause. Other such songs were blatantly racist and spoke of African Americans' service in the war as well as Filipino insurgents whom U.S. forces began to fight in February 1899.

Undoubtedly the most popular and influential musician of the time was Sousa, who had led the U.S. Marine Band for 12 years before retiring and branching out on his own in 1892. He became an instant sensation, known not only for the plethora of jaunty and memorable marches he wrote but also for his leadership of his own band of handpicked musicians that toured the nation exhaustively throughout the 1890s. Sousa was indeed the forerunner of a present-day rock-and-roll superstar.

Musically speaking, Sousa was the right man for the times. His unflinching patriotism, long affiliation with the U.S. Marine Corps, and rousing marches all fed into the upsurge in American patriotism during the 1890s. His quintessentially American sound also helped the great masses of immigrants become instantly familiar with a key part of American culture. Of course, the timing of the Spanish-American War could not have been better, for Sousa's marches were played nearly ad nauseum in civilian parades, military reviews, and the like. His most famous march, "The Stars and Stripes Forever," composed in 1896, was written less than 18 months before the Spanish-American War began in April 1898. In an age prior to electronic media, with no radio or television, Sousa's music took its place as a musical form of propaganda, stirring American patriotism and showcasing Americans' newfound pride as a nation on the edge of greatness.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Dewey, George; Manila Bay, Battle of; Propaganda; Roosevelt, Theodore; Sousa, John Philip

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National Guard, U.S.

The U.S. National Guard was essentially an organized volunteer militia controlled by the state governors. The federal government could call the National Guard into service only for the constitutional purposes of keeping internal order or repelling foreign invasion. For foreign wars, Washington could ask only that its members volunteer, with the presumption that in a national emergency members of the National Guard would volunteer as whole units and that the U.S. military establishment would thus be dramatically increased in size. In theory, these units would all be well officered, well trained, and effectively equipped. It did not work out that way in practice, however.

In April 1898, the National Guard consisted of 45 independent state militia organizations enrolling a total of 115,627 men (9,376 officers). Most of the guard units were infantry, although there were a few units of cavalry and artillery. Because governors were reluctant to share their authority, there was no overall coordinating National Guard agency. Training was lax, weaponry was obsolescent (the National Guard was still equipped with .45-caliber Springfield rifles utilizing black powder), and most of its units functioned more as social organizations than well-honed military units.

Both the state governors and members of the National Guard fought strongly to preserve the organization, opposing both expansion in the regular army and creation of an army reserve. On the eve of the war with Spain, a compromise was reached with the William McKinley administration in the April 22, 1898, Volunteer Army Bill, which permitted the president to designate general officers and staff officers for divisions as well as commissioned officers for the U.S. Volunteers. The National Guard could be sworn as entire units, retaining their own officers.

McKinley originally planned to call for only 60,000 volunteers, and although his call on April 23 for 125,000 volunteers shocked army planners, the president was determined not to repeat President Abraham Lincoln's mistake at the beginning of the American Civil War in calling up too few men. Besides, the 125,000-man figure, no doubt by design, only slightly exceeded the number of National Guard members and would therefore blunt any possibility of criticism that certain state guard units had been excluded.

Generally, National Guard units arrived at training camps poorly equipped and untrained, and most did not see service. Only 35,000 guardsmen were sent overseas or even assigned to units designated for overseas service by the time the Protocol of Peace was signed on August 12, 1898. A few performed occupation duties in Cuba and Puerto Rico after the war, but most were mustered out of service in the fall after the end of hostilities. However, three-quarters of the men of the Philippine Expeditionary Force (VIII Corps) were volunteers and presumably a large number of them were from the National Guard.

The war revealed weaknesses in the U.S. military system and led to the Militia Act of 1903 (Dick Act) and the National Defense Act of 1916. The Militia Act of 1903 repealed the Militia Act of 1792, ending the universal military obligation for able-bodied adult males. The act recognized the National Guard as the organized militia and first-line military reserve. The act stipulated that the National Guard was to be organized, trained, and equipped identically to the regular army, and the federal government undertook providing its weapons and equipment as well as regular army officers to serve as instructors. The act also provided for the setting of minimum standards of weekly drills and an annual encampment. The 1916 National Defense Act provided for the gradual expansion of the National Guard to 400,000 men.

SPENCER C. TUCKER



Cavalry Squadron A of the New York National Guard. The squadron served in Puerto Rico during the Spanish-American War. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

See also

Militia Act of 1903

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Naval Ordnance

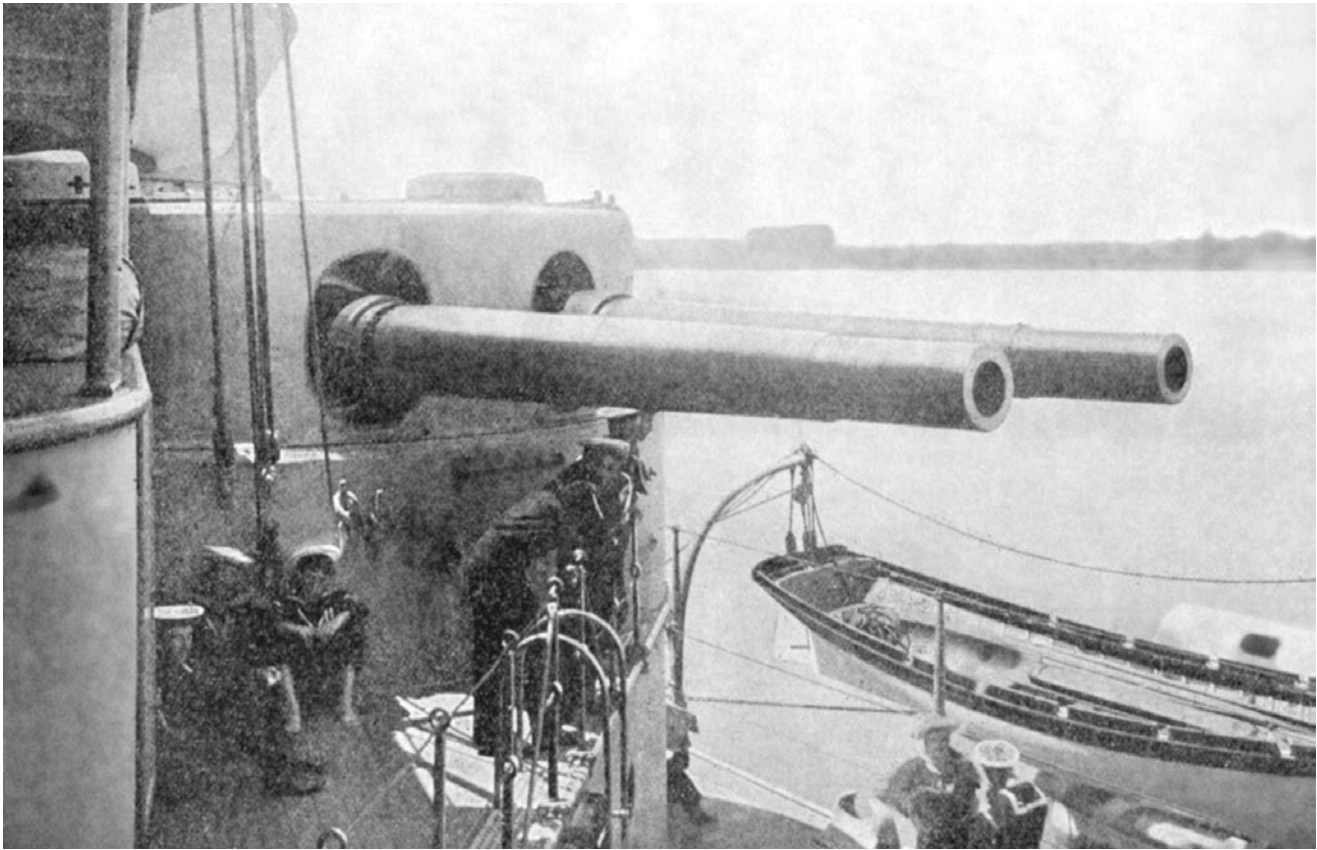
Both the United States and Spain entered the Spanish-American War with modern naval ordnance on board many of their warships. Aboard the largest warships, the primary batteries were those guns greater than 6.3-inches (160-millimeter [mm]), with the largest in the war being the U.S. 13-inch. The Spanish 180-mm, 200-mm, and 240-mm and American 8-inch guns were sometimes referred to as intermediate guns. Secondary batteries consisted of 3.4-inch (87-mm) to 6.3-inch (160-mm) guns. The smallest guns, known as the

auxiliary batteries, were usually housed in open unarmored positions with a gun shield usually the only protection for its crew.

Heavy guns were built up; that is, they were made of an inner steel tube with an outer jacket. Ordnance is always locked in a race with armor, so one of the period's principal demands was for increased muzzle velocity in order for shells to penetrate enemy armor. This required longer gun lengths and slow-burning propellants that would allow the shell to gain the maximum muzzle velocity.

The United States had begun experimenting with steel shells in 1882. In 1883, the U.S. Navy Gun Foundry Board recommended that the obsolescent naval artillery—largely left over from the American Civil War—be replaced with modern naval ordnance. By 1887, modern naval artillery was being manufactured in the United States, and by 1894, U.S. Navy battleship main battery guns were firing a 13-inch shell weighing 1,100 pounds and capable of penetrating a 17-inch-thick plate of Harvey process nickel steel. The first U.S. manufacturer of modern guns was the Bethlehem Iron Company, which adopted the methods employed by the British Elswick Company. Naval guns were also assembled at the Washington Naval Yard.

The Spanish Hontoria Company was the chief supplier of ordnance to the Spanish Navy. Hontoria was a large state-owned



Upper turret of two 8-inch guns on the battleship *Massachusetts*. (James Rankin Young and J. Hampton Moore, *History of Our War with Spain*, 1898)

foundry at Trubia, outside of Oviedo. The French Schneider-Creusot Company had a contract to assist Hontoria, and the German Krupp firm also had some influence there. Hontoria would purchase several pattern pieces, usually from Creusot, and then modify them for domestic production. As a rule, the Hontoria gun was considered less efficient than models from other manufacturers. Some of the older Spanish warships still carried obsolescent Creusot-designed Model 1875 steel-tube guns with iron hoops. Some older warships even carried British Armstrong muzzle loaders. Hontoria then adopted the French Model 1883, which was designed for black powder and did not lend itself well for later conversion to quick-fire use. The end result was that many of the 5.5 quick-fire guns carried on the Spanish armored cruisers had a very slow rate of fire and, in some cases, were inoperable.

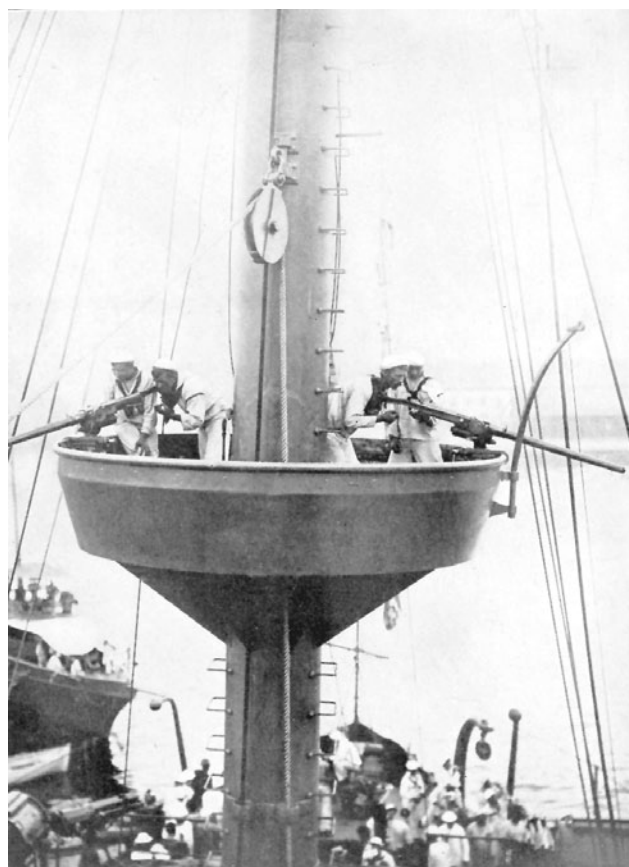
Another dimension of naval ordnance of the period was the adoption of quick-fire guns. The goal here was to be able to produce a rain of shells on an enemy warship, especially on its unarmored sections. This was deemed necessary in thwarting attacks by torpedo boats. American quick-fire guns were the new 4-inch and 5-inch guns carried on the most modern of their warships. The one exception was the protected cruiser *New Orleans*, built by the British and purchased from the Brazilian government. It carried Elswick 6-inch and 4.7-inch quick firers. But the older 6-inch and

smaller guns in the secondary battery were still capable of more rapid fire than guns in the primary battery. Spanish quick firers were limited to the Hontoria converted 5.5-inch and 4.7-inch guns, guns purchased from Krupp, and Italian-made Ansaldo guns.

The quick-fire gun with its brass cartridge had a maximum rate of fire of five rounds per minute for the American 5-inch gun and seven to eight rounds per minute for the 4-inch gun. Rates of fire for the Spanish Hontoria designs were much slower, while Krupp or Elswick guns under ideal conditions had a slightly higher rate of fire than a comparable American gun. That rate, however, was never achieved by the Spaniards in combat.

The auxiliary batteries were made up principally of quick-firing 6-pounders and 1-pounders as well as machine guns. A few 3-pounders were found on the older Spanish warships and their torpedo craft. The Spanish destroyers carried new 12-pounder or 75-mm guns. Spain relied on the extremely reliable American-designed Hotchkiss guns and also had some Nordenfelt guns in service. The United States did adopt some machine guns and related ordnance known as Driggs-Schroeder guns. The Americans also utilized Hotchkiss and Nordenfelt guns.

Representative American and Spanish guns included the largest-size 13-inch Mark I mounted on the Oregon-class battleships, which weighed 60.5 tons and fired an armor-piercing round



Gunners manning 1-pounder guns aloft on the U.S. battleship *Texas*. (Photographic History of the Spanish-American War, 1898)

weighing 1,100 pounds at a rate of fire of one round per 3.5 minutes. Spain entered the war with the primary battery being the 280-mm Model 1883 gun. It weighed 32 tons and fired an armor-piercing round weighing 585 pounds or a common shell weighing 693 pounds. The rate of fire was one round every two minutes.

The American intermediate 8-inch, 35-caliber Mark III gun was mounted on both its first-class battleships and armored (heavy, protected) cruisers and weighed 13.1 tons. It fired an armor-piercing round weighing 250 pounds and had a rate of fire of one round per 77 seconds. The Spanish intermediate gun most utilized in the war was the Hontoria 140-mm Model 1883. It weighed 4.1 tons and fired an armor-piercing round weighing 86 pounds or a common shell weighing 75 pounds. It had a rate of fire of four rounds per minute. The American 5-inch rapid-fire gun weighed 3.1 tons and fired a 50-pound shell. Its rate of fire was five rounds per minute. A widespread Spanish secondary gun was the Hontoria 120-mm Model 1883 gun that weighed 2.6 tons. It fired an armor-piercing round weighing 53 pounds or a common shell weighing 47 pounds with a firing rate of about seven rounds per minute.

Complementing these guns were numerous light machine guns. They were primarily Maxim and Nordenfelt machine guns used by both navies; some older American warships carried Gatling guns. In

1896, Spain pressed the 1.45-inch Maxim machine gun into service, while the United States that same year brought the Colt .236-caliber machine gun into service. Machine gun rates of fire were usually 400–500 rounds per minute.

The United States had one unique gun, which was used in bombarding Santiago de Cuba. This was the so-called dynamite gun carried on USS *Vesuvius*. The ship had three fixed at 18 degrees elevation bow-mounted pneumatic tubes used to project the shells. The three shells carried were those of 500, 200, and 50 pounds, respectively. The 500-pound shell had a maximum range of 1,700 yards. The propellant charges were fired by electrical circuit. The guns were not very accurate, but the explosions from their large shells were impressive.

Shells used by both Spain and the United States were of three main types. The armor-piercing shell carried a smaller bursting charge. The common shell with a base fuse had less penetrating power but carried a larger bursting charge. There were other common shells that had the fuse on the cap of the shell. Shrapnel shell was available, but it saw little service. Shrapnel was designed for firing on light torpedo boats and for firing at troops on land. High-explosive shell, introduced by the French in 1888, was not utilized in the conflict by either side.

American gunfire accuracy in the war was poor and only appeared effective when compared to the abysmal Spanish accuracy. In 1897, the U.S. Navy had doubled its gunnery practice time, but this does not seem to have made a major impact. At the May 1, 1898, Battle of Manila Bay, out of 1,257 American 6-inch and 5-inch shells fired, only 28 hit their mark, for an accuracy rate of just 2.2 percent. Of 157 8-inch shells fired from the *Olympia* and *Baltimore*, just 13 hit their target. The 6-pounders fired 2,124 rounds and struck only 31 of the intended targets.

At the July 3, 1898, Battle of Santiago de Cuba, the 47 13-inch shells fired did not score even once, while of 39 12-inch shells fired, only 2 struck their mark. Of the 219 8-inch shells fired, 10 hit, while of the 744 6-inch and 5-inch shells fired, just 17 struck their target. Overall, of 9,400 total rounds fired, there were 122 hits, for a 1.3 percent accuracy rate. Following the war, the U.S. Navy introduced sophisticated range-finding equipment and more regular gunnery practice.

JACK GREENE

See also

Artillery; Dynamite Gun; Gatling Gun; Machine Guns; Manila Bay, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Spain, Navy; United States Navy

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Naval Strategy, Spanish

When news of the American blockade of Cuba reached Madrid, large numbers of Spaniards clamored to enlist in the navy. Convinced of Spanish naval strength following more than a decade of showy reconstruction and foreign purchases, many Spaniards pressed for its immediate employment. These sentiments were echoed by many politicians in the Cortes (parliament) and throughout the civilian administration.

Pundits and opinion makers expected Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete to sortie immediately with his squadron from the Cape Verde Islands and challenge the U.S. Navy in the Caribbean. Many Spaniards believed that while the Americans were distracted in the Caribbean, the navy could also easily raid the vulnerable U.S. Atlantic seaboard. General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, who had been recalled to Madrid by the queen regent, even glibly proposed that 50,000 Spanish troops be disembarked to wreak havoc along the U.S. eastern shoreline.

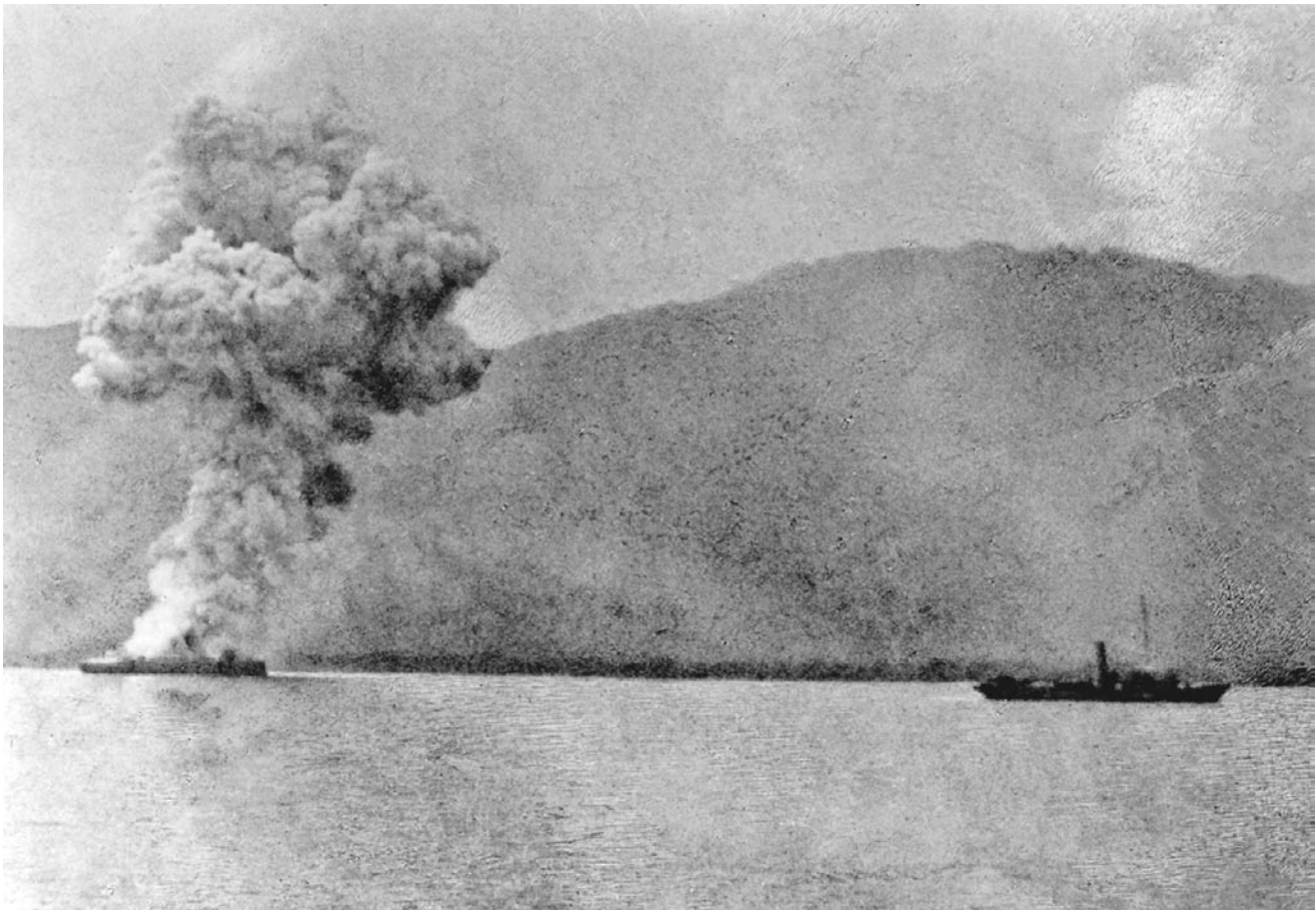
Such grandiose schemes, of course, went well beyond the capabilities of the Spanish Navy. Spanish professional naval officers realized that although numerous, few of their warships were capable of campaigning effectively on the high seas against their more powerful American opponents. Set-piece battles against an enemy fleet were not part of the Spanish Navy's mentality or training. Indeed,

the Royal Spanish Navy's defensive strategy had been codified as early as 1886 by naval minister Vice Admiral José María Beránger.

When current minister Rear Admiral Segismundo Bermejo y Merelo, in office scarcely seven months, bowed to political pressure and reluctantly drew up orders for Cervera to steam to the Caribbean, he attempted to deflect the public clamor for his squadron to charge headlong into battle. Indeed, Cervera was to proceed stealthily toward the sanctuary of San Juan de Puerto Rico, avoiding any unfavorable clashes at sea. He was also authorized to proceed on to Cuba, depending upon the situation.

To Cervera, even such modest goals seemed ill-advised. After meeting with his officers, he cabled back a proposal that his warships proceed no farther than the Canary Islands, taking up station there so as to steam to the aid of any threat against Spain itself. In proposing this strategy, he pointed out that U.S. naval forces were "immensely superior in number and class of ships, armor, and gunnery, as well as in state of readiness" to his own problem-plagued command.

Yet such a timid course as Cervera proposed was impossible for political reasons, so Bermejo's initial orders were repeated. At midnight on April 29, 1898, Cervera slipped out of San Vicente in the Cape Verde Islands with his four cruisers, three destroyers, and a hospital ship. While running across the Atlantic, he learned that Rear Admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón's squadron had been destroyed in the



The destruction of the Spanish armored cruiser *Vizcaya* during the Battle of Santiago de Cuba, July 3, 1898. (Library of Congress)

Battle of Manila Bay on May 1 and that the shore batteries guarding San Juan, Puerto Rico, had been shelled by Rear Admiral William Sampson's powerful North Atlantic Squadron. Therefore, with considerable skill and good fortune, Cervera was able to coal at Curaçao and steal into Santiago Bay on May 19.

Only the day before, Bermejo had been compelled to resign as minister of the navy amid a great public outcry against the unexpected Spanish defeat at Manila. In order to mitigate the recriminations being hurled against the navy's disappointing performance, the notion of attacking the U.S. eastern seaboard was revived. Although a full-scale invasion was clearly impossible, it was suggested that a pair of transatlantic sorties might be launched. While no significant strategic advantage could realistically be achieved by such a feat, naval professionals at least consoled themselves that the distraction might ease some of the American pressure on blockaded Cuba.

Thus, Captain José Ferrándiz was ordered to prepare to strike out in the direction of the Caribbean with his aged battleship *Pelayo* plus the even older coast guard vessel *Vitoria* and the destroyers *Osado*, *Audaz*, and *Proserpina*. This sortie was to be merely a feint, though, as all five were to quickly reverse course and return to Spanish waters and assume coastal patrol.

The real thrust was to be made by Admiral Manuel de la Cámara y Libermore, who under cover of this initial diversion was to slip out for Bermuda with his armored cruiser *Carlos V* accompanied by three fast, lightly armed liners that had been converted into auxiliary cruisers—the 12,000-ton *Patriota*, 11,000-ton *Meteoro*, and 10,500-ton *Patriota*—as well as the dispatch vessel *Giraldita*. After coaling at Bermuda, this strike force was to ply the eastern seaboard of the United States as commerce raiders, wreaking as much havoc as possible, while working its way northward into Canadian waters. From Halifax, Admiral Cámara's small force was then to head east into the Atlantic as if returning to Spain before actually veering south to emerge amid the Turks and Caicos islands for more interceptions of American ships.

Finally, anticipating that U.S. naval forces would be obliged to redeploy into the North Atlantic to hunt for this elusive force, a second small squadron of commerce raiders was to steam from Spain under Captain José Barrasa. With his aged cruiser *Alfonso XII* plus the auxiliary cruisers *Antonio López* and *Buenos Aires*, he was to make landfall near Brazil's Cape San Roque, then prey upon the busy American ship lanes rounding South America.

Yet all these offensive notions were scrapped when it was learned that the United States intended to dispatch an expeditionary force to occupy the Philippines. Hoping to beat them to the archipelago, Spanish naval strategy turned around completely. Admiral Cámara was ordered to convoy transports carrying 4,000 troops to the Philippines. This Spanish force was to move through the Suez Canal so as to arrive in Philippine waters prior to the U.S. invasion army and disembark the Spanish troops on the islands of Jolo and Mindanao to spearhead a local resistance.

Cámara's original 13 vessels were to be augmented by the transport *Isla de Panay* as well as the colliers *Colón*, *Covadonga*, *San*

Agustín, and *San Francisco*, the latter four ships because the only reliable supplies of coal for the Spanish squadron would be found at the neutral Italian ports in Eritrea as well as French ports in Indochina. Accompanied by the dispatch vessel *Joaquín del Piélagos*, Cámara's lumbering squadron reached Port Said, Egypt, by June 22, 1898, only to be delayed in gaining access to the Suez Canal.

Meanwhile, political pressure continued to mount in Madrid regarding the navy's lackluster performance, with feelings running especially high against Cervera's lengthy stay inside Santiago Bay. Fearful that the anchored Spanish warships would be forced to surrender without firing a shot once Santiago fell to its American besiegers, yet another new and hard-pressed navy minister, Captain Ramón Auñón y Villalón, ordered Cervera's squadron to sortie. Fully as Cervera had predicted, it was annihilated after exiting the harbor on July 3. This shocking loss collapsed public morale and also led to the recall of Cámara's expedition from the Red Sea. The Philippines had been openly abandoned to U.S. seizure, soon to be followed by Cuba and Puerto Rico, as Spain could only look on helplessly.

If allowed to pursue their prewar strategy, the high command of the Royal Spanish Navy would have preferred to fight a defensive struggle, sortieing occasionally from their fortified harbors with single ships or swift, small squadrons to make a sweep or to relieve a beleaguered outpost. Instead, unrealistic expectations generated by public opinion and pushed by the politicians had resulted in demands for a naval strategy that the professional navy did not want and could not perform.

DAVID F. MARLEY

See also

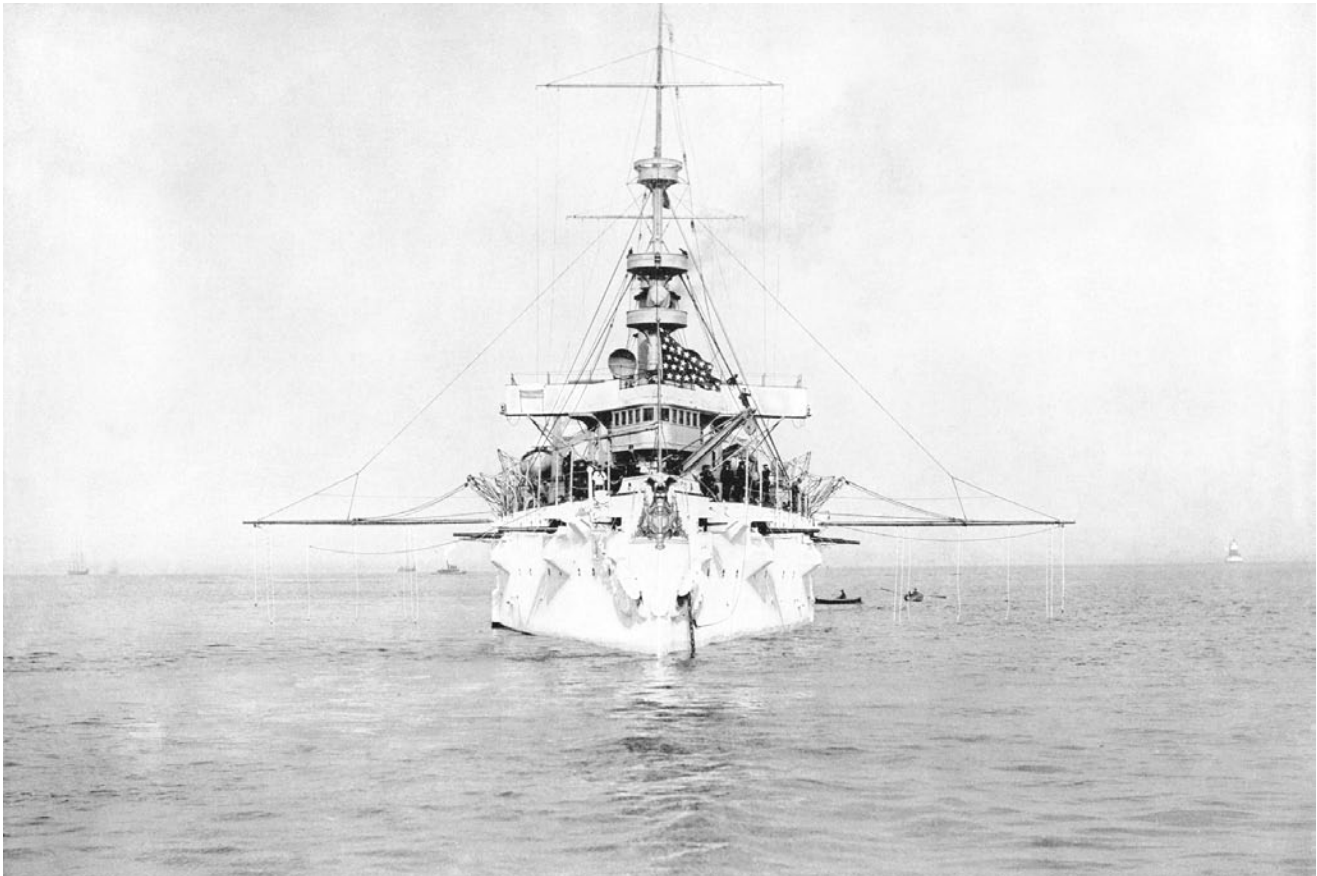
Asiatic Squadron; Bermejo y Merelo, Segismundo; Cámara y Libermore, Manuel de la; Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Manila Bay, Battle of; Montojo y Pasarón, Patricio; Naval Strategy, U.S.; North Atlantic Squadron; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Spain, Navy; United States Navy

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Naval Strategy, U.S.

Beginning in the mid-1880s, the U.S. Navy had undergone a dramatic transformation. Although still small by European standards,



The U.S. Navy armored cruiser *New York*, flagship of Rear Admiral William T. Sampson's North Atlantic Squadron. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

the navy began receiving modern steam-driven steel ships armed with modern breech-loading rifled ordnance. The intellectual underpinnings of U.S. naval strategic thought came principally from the writings of naval historian and strategist Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan. In his landmark work *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783* (1890), he postulated that world power rested on sea power. He eschewed the traditional U.S. Navy strategy of a *guerre de course* (war against commerce) in favor of a battle fleet capable of winning control of the sea. Such a task could only be accomplished by battleships operating in squadrons. To support the projection of naval power, the United States would need overseas bases and coaling stations. Among Mahan's admirers were President William McKinley and Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt. They along with others within the administration, many in Congress, industrialists, and leaders from many segments of American society pushed for naval expansion to be concentrated in capital ships. It was this new American navy that made possible the victory over Spain in 1898.

With tensions increasing between the United States and Spain over Cuba, the U.S. Naval War College developed a strategy for fighting a naval war with Spain. This strategic plan was revised annually right up to the beginning of the Spanish-American War. In

addition, the Navy Department also drafted contingency plans for a conflict with Spain. Some contingency plans envisioned a war that would involve fighting the combined navies of Spain and Great Britain. Seizure of Cuba from Spain, however, was at the center of planning in the half decade before the war.

At the beginning of the war, the immediate Spanish threat came in the form of Spanish rear admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron of two cruisers and four destroyers. The U.S. public grossly exaggerated the squadron's actual power, and there were loud calls from alarmists in East Coast cities for ships to protect them from a Spanish naval blockade or even attack. Such action was utterly beyond Cervera's means. In any case, the manning of coastal forts, armed for the most part with obsolete ordnance, helped to quiet fears, as did a compromise naval strategy.

The Navy Department was determined that the North Atlantic Squadron should be kept together in keeping with Mahanian principles. No matter where Cervera might appear in the Caribbean, the Atlantic Squadron would thus be able to mount a retaliatory strike. To quiet East coast anxieties over Cervera, however, the Navy Department agreed to a compromise arrangement. While the bulk of U.S. naval strength was still concentrated in the North Atlantic Squadron under Rear Admiral William T. Sampson based at Key

West, Florida, for a descent against Cuba, part of Atlantic naval strength was formed into the Flying Squadron, under Commodore Winfield Scott Schley, to serve as a mobile protection force for the vulnerable Atlantic seaboard. In addition, a small Northern Patrol Squadron of obsolete warships was organized to defend the coast from the Delaware Capes northward.

On April 22, 1898, the Navy Department ordered Sampson to establish a naval blockade of Cuba. On April 25, Congress declared that a state of war had existed since April 21. Initially, the U.S. blockade was to extend from Havana around the western tip of Cuba as far as Cienfuegos on the southern coast of the island. It was later extended as more ships became available. The blockade was designed to prevent Spain from supplying or reinforcing its sizable military strength in Cuba while the United States prepared its own invasion forces. In the war at sea, the United States enjoyed a tremendous geographical advantage over Spain. U.S. ships on Cuban station could be easily resupplied from nearby Florida ports, whereas to reach that island the Spanish ships would have to cross the Atlantic Ocean. Meanwhile, on April 29, Admiral Cervera departed Cape Verdes for Puerto Rico and eventually found his way to Santiago de Cuba.

U.S. secretary of the navy John D. Long left naval deployments and planning largely up to Roosevelt, who ordered an aggressive strategy for the Pacific theater of war. Roosevelt cabled Commodore George Dewey, commander of the small U.S. Navy Asiatic Squadron of four cruisers, two gunboats, and a revenue cutter, directing that in the event of hostilities with Cuba, Dewey was to mount offensive action against the Spanish squadron in the Philippine Islands. When war came, Dewey immediately steamed the 600 miles to the Philippines and in the Battle of Manila Bay (May 1, 1898) destroyed the Spanish squadron of Rear Admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón. After taking the Spanish naval base at Cavite, Dewey then blockaded Manila to await the arrival of ground troops.

In the Caribbean theater, meanwhile, the U.S. Navy steadily built up its naval strength, assisted by the eventual arrival of the battleship *Oregon* from the Pacific coast. The navy not only maintained a blockade of Cuba but also cut cable communications with Spain and supplied Cuban insurgent forces ashore. Sampson wanted a descent on Havana, believing that the U.S. capture of the Cuban capital city would bring the war to a close. Long disagreed, citing the facts that the army was unready for an amphibious operation, that the Atlantic Squadron was divided between Norfolk and the Caribbean, that Cervera's Spanish squadron was still at large, and that the U.S. warships would be at risk from Havana's shore defenses. The new Naval War Board agreed.

Meanwhile, there was the problem of Cervera. Guessing that the Spanish admiral would head to San Juan, Puerto Rico, to coal, Sampson partially lifted the naval blockade of Cuba on May 3 and made for that island with two battleships, a cruiser, two monitors, and a torpedo boat. Slowed by the monitors, which had to be towed, he did not arrive off Puerto Rico until May 19 and then contented himself with a brief bombardment of the San Juan shore defenses,

inflicting little damage. Mahan, who condemned Sampson's move, had advocated only the dispatch of scout cruisers to provide warning of Cervera's arrival. They could then notify Sampson. Only then, Mahan believed, should Sampson venture forth with his squadron to seek a decisive encounter.

As it turned out, Cervera outguessed Sampson and slipped undetected into Santiago on Cuba's southern coast on May 19. Meanwhile, Schley, sent by Sampson to locate Cervera, wasted valuable time at Cienfuegos in the belief that Cervera might be there. Schley did not arrive at Santiago until May 28, and he was soon joined by Sampson and the remaining ships of the North Atlantic Squadron. Although the U.S. Navy's June 3 attempt to scuttle the monitor *Merrimac* failed to block the narrow channel into Santiago Harbor, Cervera remained quiescent, allowing the U.S. Navy to blockade Santiago.

With Cervera bottled up at Santiago, the U.S. invasion of Cuba could proceed. Still, the U.S. Navy demanded that the army invade at Santiago and do so quickly in order to destroy Cervera's squadron. U.S. strategic thinking now shifted definitively from Havana to Santiago. On June 22, members of the army's V Corps Expeditionary Force under Major General William R. Shafter began coming ashore at the port of Daiquirí, some 16 miles east of Santiago. Although Shafter wanted the navy to shell the forts, steam up the channel, and engage Cervera's ships at Santiago, Sampson held that this was impossible given the Spanish shore batteries and threat of mines in the narrow channel. He wanted Shafter's troops first to attack and reduce the shore batteries at the mouth of the channel. Despite Sampson's belief that there was agreement on that course of action, Shafter moved inland to attack Santiago itself. In any case, following U.S. victories on land on June 1 and the closing of the U.S. ground force on Santiago, on July 3 Cervera finally attempted to escape Santiago de Cuba to sea. The ensuing naval battle at Santiago de Cuba resulted in the utter destruction of his squadron by the far more powerful U.S. blockaders. The other factor in the defeat was the fact that the Spanish ships had to exit the narrow harbor mouth in single file, making them vulnerable to American fire one at a time.

With the Spanish naval threat gone and with Santiago having surrendered, the navy then transported an army expeditionary force to Puerto Rico. Meanwhile, the threat of a Spanish naval squadron under Rear Admiral Manuel de la Cámara y Libermore, consisting of a battleship, three cruisers, and two transports lifting 4,000 troops and dispatched from Spain to the Philippines by way of the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal, evaporated when it was called home from the Red Sea. Dewey maintained a blockade of Manila Bay and, with the arrival of U.S. ground forces, assisted the army in the capture of Manila in August. The war ended on August 12, 1898, with the United States in possession of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. In the subsequent fighting of the Philippine-American War, the navy provided valuable assistance to army operations ashore, including the conduct of amphibious operations.

RICK DYSON AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cámara y Liber Moore, Manuel de la; Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Coaling Stations; Dewey, George; Long, John Davis; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Manila Bay, Battle of; McKinley, William; Montojo y Pasarón, Patricio; Naval Strategy, Spanish; Naval War College; Roosevelt, Theodore; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Schley, Winfield Scott; Shafter, William Rufus; Spain, Navy; United States Navy

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Naval Vessels, U.S. Auxiliary

Ships purchased by the U.S. government to augment the nation's naval forces immediately prior to and during the Spanish-American

War. At the beginning of the 1880s, the U.S. Navy consisted primarily of a small force of wooden vessels and American Civil War-era ironclads. Congress first appropriated significant funds for a new modern, all-steel navy in 1883, but even 15 years later on the eve of the Spanish-American War, the navy included an inadequate number of modern warships to carry out all the missions expected of the navy in the event of war with Spain.

Accordingly, just three days after Congress passed a \$50 million national defense bill on March 9, 1898, the Navy Department appointed a special board to communicate with the owners of suitable privately owned vessels and determine who among these would be interested in selling or leasing their ships to the navy. The department further tasked the board with inspecting the vessels and ascertaining their suitability for auxiliary naval service.

Secretary of the Navy John D. Long placed Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt in charge of buying all auxiliary naval vessels. Between March 16 and August 12, 1898, Roosevelt and his successor, Charles H. Allen, expended \$21.4 million to purchase 102 vessels. The first and most expensive ships purchased were the *Albany* and *New Orleans*, protected cruisers being built in England for the Brazilian government. The *Albany* did not see service during the war, but the *New Orleans* was commissioned almost immediately



The protected cruiser *New Orleans* arrives at the New York Navy Yard after crossing the Atlantic in April 1898. The United States purchased the ship from Brazil while it was still under construction in England, hence the Brazilian Navy paint scheme and the commissioning pennant flying from the main mast. (Naval Historical Center)

and took part in the blockade of Cuba. Several other combatant ships were acquired from overseas, including the gunboat *Topeka* and torpedo boat *Somers*, but most of the auxiliary ships were American-owned vessels in merchant service.

The Navy Department also chartered four large ships from the American Line shipping company, paying an aggregate \$9,000 a day for their use. The American Line vessels and a number of the other merchantmen were armed and employed as auxiliary cruisers. Most saw action in the Caribbean theater. The *Saint Louis* in particular had an interesting war record, successfully cutting Spanish cables near San Juan and Santiago de Cuba and later transporting Spanish rear admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete as a prisoner of war.

In all, 131 auxiliary ships served in the U.S. Navy during the Spanish-American War. In addition to foreign-made combatants and merchant ships, the navy acquired 15 revenue cutters, 4 light-house tenders, 2 Fish Commission vessels, and an iceboat. The navy also obtained a number of steam yachts including the *Gloucester* and *Vixen*, both of which participated in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3, 1898.

In total, the Navy Department spent nearly \$5 million preparing its auxiliary vessels for service. Shipyard workers strengthened superstructures, repaired and improved steam machinery, installed gun batteries, and removed flammable materials. Generally, the money was well spent, as auxiliary ships bolstered the North Atlantic Fleet, the Asiatic Squadron, and the Auxiliary Naval Force. In particular, many of these ships effectively supported the Cuban blockade. At war's end, the navy retained some of the auxiliary ships, but the majority were sold, scrapped, or returned to their original owners.

TIMOTHY S. WOLTERS

See also

Allen, Charles Herbert; Asiatic Squadron; Cables and Cable-Cutting Operations; Cuba, U.S. Naval Blockade of; Fifty Million Dollar Bill; Long, John Davis; North Atlantic Squadron; Roosevelt, Theodore; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; United States Auxiliary Naval Force; United States Revenue Cutter Service; Warships

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War Board was to provide the U.S. Navy with planning strategy in the event of war with Spain and to advise the secretary of navy in the conduct of war if such a war came. The board also provided technological expertise when needed and collected military, intelligence, and statistical information.

The Naval War Board's members included Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt, Admiral Montgomery Sicard (chairman), Captain Arent S. Crowninshield, Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, and Captain Albert S. Barker. Commander Richard Clover, head of the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI), assisted the board in its work by providing current information collected by overseas contacts and operatives and naval attachés as well as information collected by the Naval War College. Roosevelt resigned his position on the Naval War Board on May 9, 1898, to join the Rough Riders. Barker also left in May 1898 to command USS *Newark* for the remainder of the war.

Although the ONI provided the Naval War Board with information prior to the declaration of war against Spain in April 1898, Crowninshield and Sicard were anxious over newspaper and other unconfirmed reports that Spain had already seized the offensive in the Caribbean and was ready to attack U.S. forces deployed in that region. In response to heightened concerns, the board dispatched to Europe two undercover navy ensigns, William H. Buck and Henry Herber Ward, to gather as much information as possible on the Spanish naval force's preparedness and strength and, more importantly, to determine if the Spanish squadron was en route to the Caribbean.

Buck and Ward traveled separately, each in disguise. Buck, who traveled to Europe, was able to report back to Washington via telegraph of the movements of Admiral Manuel de la Cámara y Livermore's squadron, while Ward's adventure in locating information on the Spanish West Indian Fleet almost cost him his life. Ward traveled to Spain and St. Thomas and eventually ended up in Puerto Rico, where he was arrested by Spanish authorities while in the guise of an English gentleman.

Aside from the adventures of Buck and Ward, the Naval War Board made significant contributions to the U.S. Navy's war plans of 1898. Building on prior war planning done by the Naval War College, the board correctly endorsed and recommended the initial blockade of Cuba prior to the landing of U.S. forces and supported offensive measures by Commodore George Dewey's Asiatic Squadron against the small Spanish squadron under Admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón in Philippine waters. In both cases, the Naval War Board's recommendation resulted in successful missions.

The Naval War Board disbanded immediately following the Protocol of Peace signed on August 12, 1898, its mission having been completed to the satisfaction of Long. Strangely, when asked about the workings, findings, and achievements of the Naval War Board after the war, Alfred Thayer Mahan was very critical of the group, favoring a single chief of staff answering directly to the secretary of the navy as opposed to a multiperson board.

RICHARD W. PEUSER

Naval War Board

A committee made up of four U.S. naval officers along with the assistant secretary of the navy created at the behest of Secretary of the Navy John D. Long in March 1898. The purpose of the Naval

See also

Cuba, U.S. Naval Blockade of; Long, John Davis; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Manila Bay, Battle of; Naval Strategy, U.S.; Naval War College; Roosevelt, Theodore; Spain, Navy; United States Navy

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Naval War College

Established in 1884, the Naval War College is the oldest senior-level institution of professional military education in the United States. Commodore Stephen B. Luce, the first president, defined it as “a place of original research on all questions relating to war and to statesmanship connected with war, or the prevention of war.”

In 1884, the U.S. Navy was a small, relatively unimportant entity compared with the great navies of Europe. Qualitatively, only the steam frigate *Tennessee*, flagship of the North Atlantic Squadron, could compare with the warships of France and Great Britain. Seemingly at a low point in the existence of the U.S. Navy, events soon heralded the resurgence of the navy and a new definition of its role in national security and world affairs. Establishment of the Naval War College exemplified the new importance assigned to the navy in national security and, in particular, on officer professional education that emphasized strategic thinking, sound decision making, tactical and operational competence, and an understanding of the increasingly vital role of the navy in an industrialized imperial world.

The navy had traditionally been employed in a defensive role, with harbor and coastal defense and protection of maritime trade its primary missions. In the occasional conflict with a European power as in the War of 1812, the navy took on the role of commerce raiding, or *guerre de course* strategy, against Britain. Even during the American Civil War, when the navy grew to be the second largest in the world, its essential roles were enforcing the blockade, conducting riverine operations with the army, and hunting down Confederate commerce raiders on the high seas. There was no doctrine regarding power projection in distant waters or fleet operations.



The Naval War College at Newport, Rhode Island, circa 1900. (Library of Congress)

With the evolution of steam propulsion and steel ships by the 1870s, coinciding with aggressive European imperial expansion, many naval and military affairs commentators argued for the evolution of U.S. strategic naval doctrine. Among these forward-looking thinkers were Luce and Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan. Both officers advocated a more aggressive high seas fleet built around modern, powerful battleships able to concentrate on and defeat the great navies of Europe in decisive battle so as to establish sea control to ensure the security of U.S. coasts and maritime commerce. To prepare American naval officers for this new role, the navy established the Naval War College in 1884.

Officer professional development at the new college was intended not only to emphasize strategy, tactics, logistics, and naval history but also to examine the role, functions, limitations, and broader national security issues inherent in naval and maritime power. Under the umbrella of the term “sea power,” coined by Mahan, the college began classes at Coasters Harbor Island (ceded to the federal government by Rhode Island in 1881) on Narragansett Bay just outside of Newport, Rhode Island, in September 1885. The navy converted the three-story former Newport County poorhouse and asylum for the deaf (now the Naval War College Museum) into the first college facility.

Luce, appointed to command the North Atlantic Squadron in 1881, the most prestigious command in the navy at the time, had long been concerned with training, education, naval administration, and organization, which made him not only the natural advocate but also the best choice to head the new institution. Luce believed that with individual reading, research, and contemplation conducted within a collaborative group setting (hence the college’s seminar format), an officer could discern the immutable laws that governed individual and state actions. Through this cooperative and contemplative learning process, aided by a study of history, American naval officers would be more capable of sound decision making, critical strategic thinking, and analysis, thus preparing themselves and the navy for the challenges of the evolving modern world. Both comparative and inductive learning techniques through the lens of history, naval art and science, and international politics and law would be part of the new program.

The curriculum’s goal was to educate officers who could then take specific events and, through broad analytical thinking, draw broader observations. Thus, the case study and seminar discussion techniques complemented by a series of elective courses on topics germane to international law and relations, history, political science, and technology have been the academic pattern since the Naval War College’s founding. Tactical exercises were also to be part of the curriculum. Initially based on the close location of the North Atlantic Squadron, the concept of war gaming, a largely tactical and operational exercise, quickly took root, and war gaming became an inherent part of the student experience.

With this theoretical concept in play, on October 6, 1884, General Order 325 formally established the U.S. Naval War College as an “advanced course of professional study.” The first class of four

lieutenant commanders and five lieutenants began instruction on September 4, 1885. The following year, two U.S. Marine Corps officers joined the student population of 21 in the enlarged ten-week course, thus quickly establishing the inherently joint nature of the college. The second-year curriculum reflected the concepts laid out originally by Luce, including 16 lectures on naval gunnery, 20 on international law and the relations of nations, and 18 on military and naval tactics, strategic principles, and operational art.

The second paramount faculty addition was the arrival in September 1886 of Mahan as a lecturer in naval strategy and tactics and an advocate of a more powerful and aggressive sea service as an inherent component of an integrated national security strategy. Charged with presenting lectures examining the interrelationship among strategy, tactics, diplomacy, and national power, he evolved his lectures into his seminal book, *The Influence of Seapower upon History, 1660–1783*, published in 1890 and widely responsible for the revolutionary transformation in international naval thought at the beginning of the 20th century.

Over the years, the Naval War College has expanded its offerings and functions, including a distance education program (beginning in 1914 with a correspondence course), seminars at more than 20 sites across the country (Fleet Seminar Program), programs for international officers of allied and friendly nations (Naval Command College and Naval Staff College), the War Gaming Department, the Strategic Studies Group, the Center for Naval Warfare Studies (research), the International Law Department, the Center for Maritime History, and the Warfare Analysis Department. Thus, from the beginning, the curriculum and mission, through many iterations and evolutions, have essentially remained firmly grounded in the original concepts laid out by the first president of the Naval War College.

STANLEY D. M. CARPENTER

See also

Luce, Stephen Bleeker; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; *Naval Strategy*, U.S.; United States Navy

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Newcomb, Frank Hamilton

Birth Date: November 10, 1846

Death Date: February 20, 1934

U.S. Navy seaman during the American Civil War (1861–1865) and officer in the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service (the forerunner of the U.S. Coast Guard) during the Spanish-American War. Frank Hamilton Newcomb was born on November 10, 1846, in Boston, Massachusetts. In 1861, at the age of 15, he enlisted in the Union Navy and served throughout the Civil War as an acting master’s mate.

When the war ended, he joined the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service and, at the beginning of the Spanish-American War in April 1898, was a first lieutenant and commander of the revenue cutter *Hudson*. Built essentially as a harbor tugboat, the *Hudson* displaced 128 tons and was 96 feet in length.

In March 1898, a month before hostilities began, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt prevailed upon President William McKinley to dispatch a number of revenue cutters to join naval ships being readied for war. On March 24, 1898, McKinley ordered that 10 revenue cutters be temporarily attached to the U.S. Navy, the first time this had occurred since the Civil War. Newcomb's ship was among them. Reclassified as a U.S. Navy auxiliary vessel, the *Hudson* was hardly a warship in the traditional sense. It mounted two 6-pounders fore and aft and a single 6-millimeter machine gun.

When Secretary of the Navy John Davis Long ordered a blockade of Cuba's northern coast beginning in late April 1898, Newcomb and his crew steamed toward Cárdenas, a port city located on the northern coast of Cuba in Matanzas Province, some 75 miles east of Havana. Although the bay at Cárdenas was too shallow for most naval vessels, including blockade runners, U.S. North Atlantic Squadron commander Rear Admiral William Sampson sought to prevent supplies from reaching the Spanish through the city. In late April 1898, just days after the declaration of war, a minor naval skirmish took place off the coast of Cárdenas between American and Spanish ships.

On May 8, the U.S. torpedo boat *Winslow* entered the bay and fired on a Spanish gunboat and armed tugs in an effort to draw them out of the bay where the cruiser *Wilmington* and gunboat *Macias* were lying in wait. This attempt failed, but three days later, on May 11, the *Wilmington* and the torpedo boat *Macias*, the armed revenue cutter *Winslow*, and the tug *Hudson* returned to Cárdenas. The American ships dueled with the Spanish shore batteries as well as the gunboats *Alerta* and *Ligera* and the armed tug *Antonio López*. The *Winslow* was seriously damaged in the exchange with a Spanish shore battery.

Seeing that the *Winslow*'s steering mechanism had been shot away and that the vessel was in serious distress, Newcomb risked his own ship to tow the stricken *Winslow* to safety and out of the range of Spanish guns. Newcomb and his crew were lauded for this action. On May 3, 1900, a joint session of Congress awarded Newcomb and his crew with the Cárdenas Medal of Honor, a specific award granted only to those involved in the naval battle of Cárdenas. Five crewmen died and three others were wounded aboard the *Winslow*. Among the dead was Ensign Worth Bagley, believed to be the first naval officer killed in the war. Without Newcomb's actions, the death toll would certainly have been significantly higher, and the *Winslow* might have been lost or captured.

Following the Spanish-American War, Newcomb remained with the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service, which in 1915 became the U.S. Coast Guard, and retired as a commodore. He died in Los Angeles, California, on February 20, 1934.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Bagley, Worth; Cárdenas, Cuba; United States Revenue Cutter Service

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Newspapers

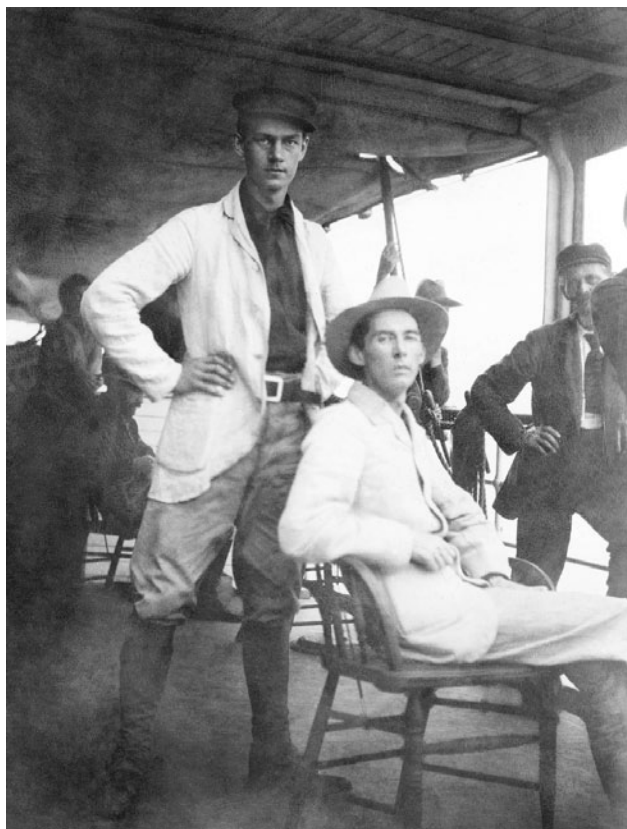
Daily and weekly newspapers played a major role in American life in the late 19th century by conveying day-to-day information to a mass audience. Indeed, in the absence of electronic or broadcast media, most educated people read several daily and weekly papers. In particular, the latter half of the 1890s was a period of great prosperity for the newspaper industry, as a strong economy spurred the advertising industry to buy large amounts of ad space at high rates. By the end of the decade, advertisements occupied half of the space in most newspapers.

Most dailies also shifted distribution to the afternoon to cater to people leaving work, who bought papers on a daily basis in increasing numbers. Cable, the telephone, and the telegraph allowed people to read about events only a day after they happened. Other developments that contributed to the success of the industry included the expanded use of the typewriter and the telephone and the creation of a process to make newsprint cheaply from wood pulp. Also, the look of papers recently changed when multicolumn headlines became possible, while color printing and the ability to print half-tone photographs developed. Although the technology existed to allow for the electronic transmission of photographs, as a practical matter publishing illustrations still required an artist to draw a sketch or make an engraving. As a result, their renditions of photographs, people, scenes, and maps appeared only in feature stories.

The leading papers of the era were the *New York Herald*, *New York Journal*, *New York Sun*, and *New York World*, all of which had their headquarters along Park Row in New York City, making the city the center of the nation's newspaper industry. In the early part of the decade, the *Herald* had the largest circulation, in part because wealthier New Yorkers supported it. At five cents per copy, the paper was relatively expensive. Daily editions ran from 12 to 20 pages and carried more news, illustrations, and advertisements

Prominent New York Newspapers during the Spanish-American War

Newspaper	Owner
<i>New York Herald</i>	James Gordon Bennett Jr.
<i>New York Journal</i>	William Randolph Hearst
<i>New York Sun</i>	Frank Andrew Munsey
<i>New York World</i>	Joseph Pulitzer



Newspaper correspondents aboard a steamer during the Spanish-American War. One of the men shown may be Richard Harding Davis. (Library of Congress)

than any of its contemporaries. The first two pages displayed a dense text of death notices and similar announcements surrounded by personal ads and commercial advertisements. News, especially sensational local stories, appeared in the next portion of the paper, which was heavily illustrated. Unsigned editorials usually appeared on page 8. Remaining pages were illustrated and contained shipping notices, sports, interviews, reprints from other papers, political cartoons, society pages, weather, and financial information.

Papers in other cities routinely reprinted articles from the *Herald*, but its position weakened after Joseph Pulitzer took over the rival *World* in 1893. Within two years, the rival paper's Sunday edition was the most popular. Sunday editions were quadruple the size of an average weekday edition and were always more widely read. Morrill Goddard, head of the *World's* Sunday staff, included several pages of news and editorial but also created large page spreads about sordid topics to attract readers' attention. Regular features related advice for relationships, happenings in high society, and profiles of popular sports topics. Another source of the paper's success was the eight-page comic section that included the famous "Yellow Kid" strip among four colored pages. This helped to coin the term "yellow press."

William Randolph Hearst's acquisition of the *Journal* in 1895 led to a famous circulation war in which both the *World* and the *Journal*

successfully increased readership by employing the sensationalism that characterized yellow journalism. Large, screaming headlines about scandals and crime grabbed the interest of the masses, and the copy itself was quite evocative. Combined sales of the *World's* morning and evening editions reached 1 million per day by 1897, and the *Journal's* Sunday edition reached 600,000 in sales by 1898. Meanwhile, the *Herald's* James Gordon Bennett Jr. maintained an authoritative, conservative, and even-handed tone for his paper even though his father had pioneered the effort to increase the popular appeal of newspapers during his tenure. Subscribing to a morning daily increased one's status, but many readers supplemented them with more interesting afternoon tabloids.

The growing conflict in Cuba, which began in earnest in 1895, was a common topic for these and other New York papers, including the *Times*, *Evening Post*, *Telegram*, and *Tribune*. After Captain-General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau's appointment as governor-general in Cuba in 1896, Spanish atrocities—real and invented—became a mainstay for the New York press. Horatio Rubens, legal counsel for the Cuban Junta, regularly hosted a group of more than 40 different reporters, informally called the Peanut Club because of the snacks he provided. He also gave the reporters handouts emphasizing Cuban victories and Spanish wickedness that the newsmen accepted at face value and used extensively in their articles.

The papers also spent a great deal of money putting people and other assets in place to cover the more interesting aspects of the growing conflict. The *World*, *Herald*, *Sun*, and *Journal* each had between 5 and 20 permanent correspondents in Cuba. Many of them were experienced war reporters such as James Creelman, Edward Marshall, and Murat Halstead. Others, such as Frank Norris, John Fox, and Stephen Bonsal, were primarily authors. Newspapers also retained noted artists, including R. F. Zogbaum, W. A. Rogers, and John T. McCutcheon. Hearst hired a duo made up of celebrity novelist Richard Harding Davis and artist Frederic Remington and sent them to the island. When Remington asked to come home because he believed that there would be no war, Hearst reportedly told him to provide the sketches and he (Hearst) would provide the war. Davis actually got permission to travel in the countryside and visited one of the Spanish fortified trenches, called a *trocha*, and wrote a moving story called "The Death of Rodriguez" about the execution of a young Cuban farmer by a Spanish firing squad. Davis also wrote a provocative account of how several young Cuban women who supported the insurgency were strip-searched three times before being sent into exile. However, he omitted the fact that the searches had been conducted in private by female authorities. The drawing that accompanied the article featured leering Spanish soldiers conducting the search.

Hearst sent correspondent Karl Decker to rescue Evangelina Cisneros, daughter of famed Cuban revolutionary Salvador Cisneros Betancourt, who was imprisoned for allegedly helping organize an assassination attempt on the military governor of Cuba's Isle of Pines. The rescue, the stuff of a Hollywood movie, was trumpeted with great fanfare in the United States. Acclaimed American

novelist Stephen Crane also spent time with the Cuban rebels and reported on their point of view.

Most American reporters stayed in Havana, where they interviewed Weyler or the American consul general, Fitzhugh Lee. Many reporters had low standards for journalistic integrity and cared more about interesting copy than accuracy. For instance, men who never left Havana often submitted alleged eyewitness reports of action in the countryside. Those who ventured forth into rural areas often related the revolutionaries' side of the conflict because the most lurid, and therefore attractive, stories involved the mistreatment of Cubans. Common topics included imprisonment in horrid conditions, brutal executions, and mistreatment in the *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) camps. The Spanish authorities required journalists to submit their dispatches to a military censor, who often drastically revised the copy.

Both the American public and the papers had generally negative attitudes toward Spain that were fed by the yellow press. Hearst disliked the Spanish monarchy and was genuinely sympathetic to the Cubans, and his paper reflected his views. Editorials and political cartoons critical of Spain were actually common in all the leading papers for three years leading up to the Spanish-American War, however. The *Herald's* choice of news stories promoted war sentiments, but unlike the other three papers with reporters in Cuba, it did not promote war in its editorials because victory was not assured, the U.S. military was not adequately prepared, and the war would increase costs for the government. The *Herald* even urged restraint in the wake of the sinking of the U.S. battleship *Maine* in February 1898.

Although other papers such as the *Evening Post* and the *Tribune* also avoided condemning Spain, the two leading yellow journalism papers seized on the opportunity to exploit the explosion. The *Journal* immediately blamed Spain and repeatedly attacked President William McKinley in editorials and political cartoons for his non-interventionist policy, while the *World* claimed that it had information that Spain had perpetrated the act. Newspapers also readily acted as a venue for the expression of policy makers' opinions. Senator William E. Chandler, Republican from New Hampshire, told a newspaper publisher that the McKinley administration was not "militaristic" enough in its policies toward Spain.

When the war did come in April 1898, reporters had good access to Cuba during hostilities. Eighty-nine correspondents rode aboard various vessels in the invasion fleet that carried troops to Cuba. *Herald* correspondents learned of the conflicting priorities of the U.S. Army and the U.S. Navy regarding how to best put pressure on the defenders of Santiago de Cuba and made the interservice rivalry public. Newspaper tugs accompanied various naval squadrons and made runs back and forth between Cuba and Key West to send cables. Several correspondents were employed by the military to make contact with Cuban insurgents and establish lines of communication. Some reporters even participated in combat. James Creelman of the *Journal* led an attack on a small fort. One group of newsmen followed American soldiers through the surf during an assault near Abolitas Point despite the proximity of the firefight.

The Spanish-American War had a dramatic impact on the newspaper business. The tension in Cuba and the subsequent war provided a steady stream of content for its pages. Readership increased as the crisis deepened. Daily circulation for the *World* surpassed the 1 million mark during the war, and the *Journal* had almost 1.5 million readers at one point, while about a half million read the *Herald*. Pulitzer, who had military experience, backed away from a jingoistic approach during the war and began to advocate for an early end to the hostilities. Even postwar activities stimulated the industry as papers ran exposés decrying various examples of incompetence and inefficiency in the Cuba Campaign and the various camps in the United States.

For their part, newspapers in the Spanish-American War left a legacy all their own. Although less than a third of the papers in New York City were yellow presses at the time, a sensationalist brand of journalism remained for 20 years and persists in some ways today. In their quest to capture the public's attention, they exposed much of the gritty reality of city life and thus created an awareness that laid the foundation for Progressivism, which flourished from 1900 to 1920 or so. They also pioneered investigative journalism techniques that have allowed newspapers to promote democracy by exposing abuses of government power. However, the traditional view that the yellow press played a large role in creating war with Spain has lost much of its popularity because the papers that advocated the most drastic action were not located in New York, and there is little evidence that the yellow press unduly influenced policy makers.

MATTHEW J. KROGMAN

See also

Artists and Illustrators; Bennett, James Gordon, Jr.; Chandler, William Eaton; Cosío y Cisneros, Evangelina; Crane, Stephen; Creelman, James; Cuban Junta; Davis, Richard Harding; Hearst, William Randolph; Jingoism; Journalism; Lee, Fitzhugh; Peanut Club; Progressivism; Propaganda; Pulitzer, Joseph; Remington, Frederic Sackrider; Trocha; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano; Yellow Journalism

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Nipe Bay

Large bay located on Cuba's northern coast. Nipe Bay is situated in the Holguín Province at the eastern end of the island, about 50 miles

to the north of Santiago de Cuba. It is a well-sheltered inlet with a narrows linking it with the open sea. The narrows are approximately 14 miles long and 8 miles wide. A mainly forested mountain range known as the Sierra de Micaro frames part of the area, beyond which lay fertile agricultural lands. In October 1492, Christopher Columbus landed in the area near Nipe Bay.

During preliminary planning for the Spanish-American War, U.S. strategists at the Naval War College at Newport, Rhode Island, drew up a plan in which Nipe Bay was to play a key role. The plan was predicated on the anticipated movement of significant Spanish naval assets to Cuba at the beginning of the war. American warships would then proceed to Nipe Bay, capture and occupy it, and use it as a base from which they would engage Spanish vessels. Naval War College planners also envisioned using the area as a coal- ing station for U.S. ships, enabling them to engage Spanish ships or launch operations against other parts of Cuba or Puerto Rico. These plans were never implemented.

Nipe Bay was, however, the scene of a brief and relatively inconsequential naval engagement on July 21, 1898. As plans evolved for the Puerto Rico Campaign in the early summer of 1898, U.S. Army commanding general Major General Nelson A. Miles pinpointed Nipe Bay as a logical and natural site for a staging area for the island of Puerto Rico to the east of Cuba. On July 18, four U.S. naval vessels were ordered to Nipe Bay with the task of clearing the harbor mines there and taking control of the inlet. On July 21, the gunboats *Annapolis* and *Topeka* steamed into the narrows leading to Nipe Bay. They were accompanied by the newly commissioned armed steam yacht *Wasp* and the armed steam tug *Leyden*.

After a tense passage during which the four ships navigated by the mined part of the bay, the Americans spotted a Spanish gunboat at anchor. The *Wasp* opened fire first and was soon joined by the other U.S. warships. After a brief exchange of fire, the American vessels easily overwhelmed the antiquated Spanish gunboat *Don Jorge Juan*, which began to take on water. The Spanish crew scuttled the gunboat, which quickly sank. This marked the end of organized Spanish resistance in the area of Nipe Bay, and the Americans quickly went about the task of clearing the minefields there. The following day, July 22, the *Annapolis* steamed out of the bay and made for Puerto Rico, where it supported the U.S. Army's capture of Ponce, Puerto Rico, on July 30. On July 23, the *Wasp* also departed the bay for Puerto Rico, followed by the remaining two ships. In the end, Nipe Bay was never used as a staging area, which was shifted to Guantánamo Bay, located farther to the east.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Miles, Nelson Appleton; Naval Strategy, Spanish; Naval Strategy, U.S.; Puerto Rico Campaign

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North Atlantic Squadron

U.S. Navy squadron. Redesignated the North Atlantic Fleet in June 1898, the North Atlantic Squadron was one of five operational units of the U.S. Navy. When the Spanish-American War began in April 1898, the squadron was assigned the mission of blockading Cuban and Puerto Rican ports and neutralizing Spanish naval forces in the Caribbean Sea.

In January 1898, the Navy Department ordered the North Atlantic Squadron, commanded by Rear Admiral Montgomery Sicard, to assemble at the navy base at Key West, Florida, for winter maneuvers. The squadron was comprised of the armored cruiser *New York* (flagship); the battleships *Iowa*, *Indiana*, *Maine*, *Massachusetts*, and *Texas*; the cruisers *Detroit* and *Montgomery*; and the torpedo boats *Cushing*, *Dupont*, and *Ericsson*. The deployment was also designed as a show of force to remind the Spanish government of U.S. naval might.

As tensions mounted between Cuban rebel forces and the Spanish Army in late 1897, U.S. consul general at Havana Fitzhugh Lee requested that the U.S. Navy be ready to deploy a force there to protect American interests should it become necessary. Captain Charles D. Sigsbee of the *Maine* received orders to remain in constant communication with Lee and to steam to Havana if so requested. On January 24, 1898, the *Maine* was indeed ordered to Havana.

With the sinking of the *Maine* at Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, the North Atlantic Squadron went on heightened alert with the assignment in the event of war with Spain of meeting and defeating any Spanish warships in the Caribbean to allow the safe passage of U.S. ground forces to these islands and of blockading Cuban and Puerto Rican ports to prevent the reinforcement of Spanish ground forces.

In mid-April, newly promoted Rear Admiral William T. Sampson of the squadron flagship *Iowa* replaced the ailing Sicard as squadron commander and immediately commenced preparation for the blockades. The initial cordon would isolate the ports of Cuba and the friendly strongholds along the western half of Cuba's northern coast, including Havana, Matanzas, and Mariel, as well as the southern port of Cienfuegos with a strategic railroad line.

Throughout the war, the Navy Department regularly allocated more ships, allowing Sampson to expand the blockade. Sampson, however, clashed with the army leadership, especially V Corps commander Major General William R. Shafter, in fashioning strategy and providing tactical support while deflecting pressure of Secretary of the Navy John D. Long to expand the blockade with less-than-sufficient means.

On May 10, the squadron included the armored cruiser *New York* (flagship); the battleships *Iowa*, *Massachusetts*, and *Indiana*; the monitors *Amphitrite*, *Puritan*, and *Terror*; the cruisers *Cincinnati*, *Detroit*, *Marblehead*, *Montgomery*, and *Vesuvius*; the torpedo boats *Cushing*, *Dupont*, *Ericsson*, *Foote*, *Porter*, and *Winslow*; the gunboats *Castine*, *Helena*, *Machias*, *Nashville*, *Newport*, *Wilmington*, and *Vicksburg*; the dispatch boats *Dolphin* and *Samoset*; the armed tug *Leyden*; and the supply steamer *Fern*.



Return of Rear Admiral William T. Sampson's fleet from Cuba to New York Harbor in August 1898, as seen from the battleship *Oregon*. (Naval Historical Center)

While Sampson strengthened the squadron's blockade of northwestern Cuba and Cienfuegos and continued to add ships, Spanish rear admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete and his naval forces slipped into the port of Santiago de Cuba undetected on May 19. After a series of miscommunications between Sampson and Flying Squadron captain Winfield S. Schley during the subsequent 10 days, Cervera and his squadron were contained in the southern Cuban port until their doomed July 3 sortie.

On June 20, ships of the North Atlantic Squadron escorted General Shafter's V Corps to Cuba's southern coast. From June 22 to June 26, Shafter's forces landed at Daiquirí and Siboney, and the North Atlantic Squadron provided naval artillery cover fire for the successful landings. The squadron also transferred Cuban rebel forces from Aserraderos to Siboney and subsequently brought naval artillery power to bear for the attacks on Santiago de Cuba, which began on July 1. In addition to these duties, Sampson planned and helped execute the sinking of the collier *Merrimac* in the harbor channel at Santiago de Cuba to block Cervera's exit. This mission was unsuccessful.

With Cervera bottled up at Santiago de Cuba, the Navy Department reorganized U.S. naval forces to strengthen Sampson's command. On June 21, the North Atlantic Squadron became the North Atlantic Fleet, which was divided into the First and Second North Atlantic Squadrons, initially commanded by Captains John C. Watson and Winfield S. Schley, respectively, with Sampson leading all operations of the fleet.

In the wake of U.S. military successes in the area and with the absence of Sampson, who was en route from Santiago de Cuba to confer with Shafter, Cervera decided to pick up anchor and sortie his squadron out of the harbor at Santiago de Cuba at 9:35 a.m. on July 3, 1898. Within four hours, the Spanish squadron was destroyed, giving the U.S. Navy uncontested control of the Caribbean.

In addition to its activities in Cuba, the North Atlantic Squadron also conducted operations in Puerto Rico. Searching for Cervera's forces early in the conflict, Sampson briefly bombarded San Juan on May 12. In late July, several warships of Sampson's force escorted and supported Major General Nelson A. Miles's I Corps expedition

force to Puerto Rico. Still other ships were being prepared to conduct an attack on the Spanish mainland under the auspices of the Eastern Squadron. The North Atlantic Fleet entered New York City Harbor on August 20, 1898, to a tumultuous reception. The fleet was dissolved in 1906 with the establishment of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet.

MARK MOLLAN AND ARTHUR STEINBERG

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Cuba, U.S. Naval Blockade of; V Corps; I Corps; Flying Squadron; Lee, Fitzhugh; Long, John Davis; *Maine*, USS; *Merrimac*, USS; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Puerto Rico Campaign; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Schley, Winfield Scott; Shafter, William Rufus; Sicard, Montgomery; Sigsbee, Charles Dwight; Watson, John Crittenden

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Northern Patrol Squadron

U.S. Navy squadron formed just prior to the Spanish-American War to patrol the East Coast of the United States from Delaware north to Maine. The Northern Patrol Squadron was created principally to allay public fears of a Spanish naval assault against the northeastern United States. In early 1898, as the threat of war between the United States and Spain increased, the U.S. Navy took steps to concentrate its forces to protect the United States against Spanish attacks while also carrying out offensive operations. This included recalling overseas squadrons and, when the two nations finally declared war on each other in late April, establishing new squadrons in home waters.

With many Americans along the Atlantic coast expressing fears of a potential Spanish naval attack, politicians and other public figures called on the navy to provide protection. Although navy officials considered a Spanish attack on the northeastern United States extremely unlikely, it did authorize the creation of a small squadron to assuage these concerns.

Commodore John A. Howell, commander of the recently recalled European Squadron, now assumed command of the Northern Patrol Squadron. He was charged with patrolling the East Coast



U.S. Navy protected cruiser *San Francisco* patrolled the East Coast of the United States during the Spanish-American War as the flagship of the Northern Patrol Squadron. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

of the United States from the Delaware Capes to Bar Harbor, Maine, and assumed command on April 20, 1898. His squadron included the cruiser *San Francisco* (flagship) and the converted cruisers *Prairie*, *Dixie*, *Yankee*, and *Yosemite*. These ships, some of which did not finish their conversions until early May, were primarily manned by members of the Naval Militia, which had been mobilized to augment the regular navy. In May 1898, the navy added the cruiser *Columbia* and the converted cruisers *Badger* and *Southery* to Howell's command. Meanwhile, the *Yankee* was detached on May 29, the *Yosemite* on May 30, and the *Dixie* on June 13, with all three vessels reassigned to duty off the coast of Cuba under the command of Rear Admiral William T. Sampson. The cruiser *Minneapolis* was administratively attached to the Northern Patrol Squadron on June 9 but remained at Newport News, Virginia, to guard battleships under construction.

As expected, the Northern Patrol Squadron did not encounter any Spanish warships during its patrols, and by the end of June the events of the war allowed the navy to discontinue its operations. On June 25, 1898, with the only potential Spanish threat coming from Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron blockaded by Sampson at Santiago de Cuba, Howell was ordered to take the remaining ships of the Northern Patrol Squadron to Key West, Florida, for duty in the blockade of Cuba. Upon arriving there on July 1, he was designated the commander of the 1st Squadron of the North Atlantic Fleet, and the Northern Patrol Squadron passed out of existence.

STEPHEN SVONAVEC

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Cuba, U.S. Naval Blockade of; Howell, John Adams; Militia, Naval; North Atlantic Squadron; Sampson, William Thomas; United States Navy

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Nuevitas, Cuba

Port city located along Cuba's northern coast in the Camagüey Province. Nuevitas is situated south-southeast of Havana and almost due north of Santiago de Cuba. The city was founded in 1775 but was relocated to its current locale in 1828. On his first trip to the New World in 1492, Christopher Columbus wrote about the area around present-day Nuevitas. By the end of the 19th century, Nuevitas had become the location of light industry and, because of its ample port facilities, served as an embarkation point for Cuban

agricultural products. Camagüey Province, Cuba's largest province, was home to rich agricultural interests, including sugarcane and sugar by-products.

Nuevitas is situated on the Guincho Peninsula and is protected by a large harbor that is capable of accommodating large ocean-going vessels. The city's industrial base grew in the 20th century, as did its ports. By the 1920s, in fact, it boasted a main port and two ancillary ones. It was well served by railroads and highways as well. Located not far from Nuevitas is La Playa Santa Lucia (Saint Lucia Beach), a famous seaside playground among Cubans for several generations.

Nuevitas was perhaps most famous for a failed filibustering expedition launched by Irish-born John "Dynamite Johnny" O'Brien, a renowned adventurer, soldier of fortune, sometime pirate, and sea captain. He earned his name after he had transported dynamite in the hold of his ship to Panamanian rebels in 1888. Never one to turn down an adventure much less publicity, he sailed for Cuba in the autumn of 1896 with supplies for the Cuban rebels. He also had aboard ship Ralph Paine, a newspaper reporter dispatched by publishing magnate William Randolph Hearst. Paine had been given the assignment of delivering a jeweled saber to Cuban rebel leader and military commanding general Máximo Gómez, a personal gift from Hearst. Hearst believed that reports from a filibustering excursion would make good copy and sell more newspapers. He also hoped to play up the Cuban struggle against Spanish colonial rule during the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898).

O'Brien's party arrived in the *Three Friends* off the coast of Nuevitas on December 19, 1896. As the party made preparations to go ashore, it was spotted by a Spanish gunboat. Without hesitation, O'Brien put a Hotchkiss gun to work and kept the gunboat at bay. O'Brien's ship managed to escape, but the expedition was canceled. Gómez did not receive his saber until after the Spanish-American War, but the affair was vintage O'Brien and also vintage yellow journalism. Paine was later apprehended and briefly held by U.S. authorities for violating the U.S. neutrality law. As he had done in the past, O'Brien eluded seizure or prosecution.

Before the Spanish-American War began, U.S. Army commanding general Major General Nelson A. Miles planned to use Nuevitas as a staging area for an attack on Havana. When the military focus changed from Havana to Santiago de Cuba, however, that plan changed, and Nuevitas saw no action during the brief conflict.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Filibuster; Gómez y Báez, Máximo; Hearst, William Randolph; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Yellow Journalism

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O

O'Brien, John

Birth Date: April 20, 1837

Death Date: June 21, 1917

Leader of filibuster expeditions to Cuba prior to the Spanish-American War. John O'Brien was born in New York City on April 20, 1837. Learning to sail at age 13, he became a cook aboard a fishing boat without his family's knowledge. After being returned to his family, he was given a formal seaman's apprenticeship at the city's Thom School. Much of his life—especially his early years—is surrounded by some degree of mystery. He claimed to have served during the American Civil War as an officer on the *Illinois*, a vessel chartered by the U.S. Navy for the purpose of ramming the Confederate ironclad *Virginia*, although no attempt was ever made.

O'Brien's first filibuster expedition occurred during the Civil War when he commanded the schooner *Deer* on an expedition to Matamoros, Mexico, hauling arms bound for the Confederacy. He replaced the expedition's commander and carried out the mission, being well paid for his work. After the war, O'Brien became licensed as a river pilot in New York, guiding ships through the East River's dangerous Hell's Gate section.

In the mid-1880s, O'Brien commanded a number of filibuster expeditions, including several in support of Marco Aurelio Soto, former president of Honduras. However, it was during an 1888 filibuster mission that he gained his "Dynamite Johnny" nickname by transporting 50 tons of the explosives—bound for Cuban expatriate revolutionaries—from New York to Colon, Panama.

In 1896, O'Brien was contacted by supporters of the year-old Cuban War of Independence. His initial Cuban filibuster cargo included thousands of rifles, carbines, and pistols; a field gun; and 1,000 pounds of dynamite. However, the most important cargo was a pas-

senger, Cuban rebel General Calixto García y Iñiguez, who was returning to the island after exile in Spain. Avoiding nearby Spanish warships, O'Brien landed the supplies and the general safely in Cuba. On his return to the United States, O'Brien was indicted as a filibuster and arms smuggler, but no formal action was taken against him.

These expeditions were the first of many carried out by O'Brien to supply the Cuban rebellion. Using a number of vessels such as the *Three Friends* and *Dauntless*, he routinely eluded U.S. Revenue Cutters, naval vessels, and Secret Service agents in the United States as well as Spanish naval and land forces in Cuba. Between 1895 and 1898, he made as many as 40 landings in Cuba. One of the best documented occurred in 1896. Among those accompanying O'Brien was reporter Ralph Paine. Paine described O'Brien's crew using a field gun it was transporting against a pursuing Spanish gunboat. A chance shot to the Spanish ship's pilot house put it out of action. O'Brien also transported to Cuba mercenary Frederick Funston, who later gained fame in the Philippines. Once, after having been publicly threatened by Cuban governor-general Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, O'Brien claimed to have landed a shipment of supplies just a mile and a half from Havana's Morro Castle.

On February 15, 1898, the night that the U.S. battleship *Maine* was sunk in Havana Harbor, O'Brien was landing supplies between Matanzas and Neuvas. Following the war, he became a harbor pilot in Havana. On February 13, 1912, the aft portion of the *Maine* was refloated and ceremoniously sunk in deep water. O'Brien was its pilot and sole passenger on the voyage, while the hulk was towed by four tugs. When a boarding party began scuttling the ship, O'Brien was the last man to depart.

Eventually, O'Brien returned to New York City for medical treatment. On his 80th birthday, he was honored with a reception by the



Dynamite Johnny O'Brien (indicated by the arrow) led filibuster expeditions to Cuba between 1895 and 1898 to support the revolutionaries there prior to the Spanish-American War. (Ralph D. Paine, *Roads of Adventure*, 1922)

Cuban government. O'Brien died shortly afterward on June 21, 1898, in New York City, revered as a hero by the Cuban people.

PATRICK MCSHERRY

See also

Cuban War of Independence; Filibuster; Funston, Frederick; García y Iñiguez, Calixto; *Maine*, USS; Nuevitas, Cuba; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano

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O'Donnell y Abréu, Carlos Manuel

Birth Date: July 1, 1834

Death Date: February 9, 1903

Spanish politician and foreign minister prior to the Spanish-American War who sought to convince other European nations that

U.S. intervention in the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898) would threaten the national interests of all European nations. Descended from a noble Irish family that had lived for generations in Spain, Carlos Manuel O'Donnell y Abréu was born in Murcia, Spain, on July 1, 1834. He inherited his aristocratic title, Second Duke of Tetuán, from his uncle Leopoldo O'Donnell y Jorris, who had been awarded his title by Queen Isabella II of Spain after he successfully led the Spanish invasion of Morocco at the Battle of Tetuán in 1860. After joining the military, the younger O'Donnell served in the Philippines in 1854 and Italy in 1859. He accompanied his uncle on the Morocco Campaign and took part in the Battle of Tetuán, where he was wounded. Because of his valor in that battle, Queen Isabella II awarded him the Cruz de San Fernando (Cross of Saint Ferdinand).

O'Donnell began his political career in 1863 when he was elected to the Spanish Cortes (parliament) as a deputy in October 1863. A member of the Union Liberal, a political party formed by his uncle to cross the traditional Progressista, Moderado, and Carlist factions, O'Donnell represented Valladolid for three years. While in parliament, he advocated laissez-faire politics and governmental policies. He also supported the September Revolution of 1868 that sent Queen Isabella II into exile. He was subsequently reelected in 1869 and 1872 to represent Valladolid. He supported the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in 1875, which greatly enhanced his political career. He then served in the Spanish Senate, representing

the province of Castellón de la Plana, and held ambassadorial posts in Lisbon, Vienna, and Brussels. He served as the Spanish foreign minister on four occasions: May 16, 1879, to December 7, 1879; June 5, 1890, to December 11, 1892; March 23, 1895, to January 19, 1896; and March 5, 1896, to October 4, 1897.

During his third and fourth tenures as foreign minister, O'Donnell was preoccupied with the revolutionary movement in Cuba. He was convinced that the failure of Spain to either crush the Cuban revolutionary movement or grant significant autonomy to the Cuban revolutionaries would lead to the intervention of the United States in the conflict. In early 1896, Prime Minister Antonio Cánovas del Castillo instructed O'Donnell to solicit European support against the eventuality of U.S. intervention in Cuba. Thus, in the summer of 1896, O'Donnell drafted a memorandum calling for joint European action against possible American intervention in the Cuban crisis.

In the memorandum, O'Donnell argued that U.S. intervention in Cuba might well result in the loss of Cuba and the overthrow of the Spanish monarchy, which could set off a chain reaction that could destabilize or overthrow other European monarchies. In addition, he argued that American attempts to enforce the 1823 Monroe Doctrine in the Caribbean would threaten other European colonies in the Caribbean. He also wanted the U.S. government to promise to restrict the activities of Cuban revolutionaries in the United States. Although all of the major European ambassadors in Madrid initially viewed the secret memorandum favorably, in August 1896 British ambassador to Spain Henry Drummond Wolff informed U.S. ambassador to Spain Hannis Taylor of the memorandum and its contents. Taylor then told O'Donnell that once he leaked the Spanish plot to the press, the Grover Cleveland administration would consider the document a hostile act. O'Donnell thus jettisoned his plan.

Following the return to power of Prime Minister Práxedes Mateo Sagasta in 1897, O'Donnell left government service. He died on Madrid on February 9, 1903.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Cánovas del Castillo y Vallejo, Antonio; Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Cuban War of Independence; Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo; Spain

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Olney, Richard

Birth Date: September 15, 1835

Death Date: April 8, 1917

Lawyer, politician, attorney general of the United States (1893–1895), and U.S. secretary of state (1895–1897). Born into a promi-



Richard Olney was attorney general of the United States during 1893–1895 and secretary of state during 1895–1897, in which position he proved to be an effective and aggressive spokesperson for U.S. interests. (Library of Congress)

nent, wealthy family in Oxford, Massachusetts, on September 15, 1835, Richard Olney enrolled at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, graduating with an undergraduate degree in 1856. Two years later, he earned a law degree from Harvard University. In 1859, he was admitted to the bar and began the practice of law in Boston. Owing to his impeccable credentials and keen legal mind, he soon became a sought-after attorney.

A nominal Democrat, Olney tried his hand at politics briefly when he served in the Massachusetts House of Representatives from 1873 to 1874. Realizing that elective office was not to his liking and that he could make far more money as a full-time attorney, he returned to the practice of law in Boston when his term of office expired.

In early 1893, President-elect Grover Cleveland tapped Olney to be his attorney general. The appointment came as a surprise, particularly to Democratic Party stalwarts, because Olney had never been in the national public arena. Cleveland, however, selected Olney chiefly because of his impressive legal career rather than on political criteria alone. Olney was sworn into office in March 1893. Cleveland had no sooner taken office when a Wall Street panic and deep economic depression set in, the worst to that point in the

nation's history. The resultant economic uncertainty precipitated considerable labor unrest and agitation as laborers lost their jobs or saw their wages cut as prices increased.

Olney soon found himself in the middle of one of the country's biggest management-labor showdowns when some 4,000 workers of the Pullman Palace Car Company, a manufacturer of passenger railway cars, staged a strike in Chicago in May 1894. Before long, the strikers had blocked all rail traffic west of Chicago. The strike grew when the American Railway Union, led by Eugene V. Debs, refused to work on trains carrying Pullman cars. The strike continued into June and brought the U.S. economy—already struggling amid a depression—to a virtual halt. Because Chicago was the nation's largest rail hub, the strike meant that few goods were getting through and that passenger traffic was virtually gridlocked. As the strike endured, property damage also increased (mainly to the railroads), as did sporadic violence.

Believing that the strike was placing the nation in peril by impeding commerce and the delivery of mail, Olney counseled the president to undertake stern measures. Olney ordered U.S. district attorneys in Chicago to obtain from federal courts writs of injunction that forbade the strikers from engaging in violence or destruction of property. This was the first time the federal government intervened in a strike using injunctions, which would come to be used by the government many times in the future. When the strikers refused to go back to work or unblock rail lines, Olney insisted that Cleveland authorize the use of troops to break the strike by force. After a fire on July 5 that was blamed on strikers, Olney received authorization to send in federal troops. U.S. marshals and 2,000 army troops under commanding general Major General Nelson A. Miles finally broke up the protests, the first time that federal troops had been employed to stop a labor strike.

When Secretary of State Walter Q. Gresham died in office, Cleveland named Olney to replace him, and he took the oath of office on June 10, 1895. As secretary of state, Olney, who had no experience in diplomatic affairs, turned out to be an effective and aggressive spokesman for U.S. interests. Indeed, he played a key role in the First Venezuela Crisis (1895–1897), an impasse between the British government and that of Venezuela over the border between Venezuela and British Guiana. When the British refused to accept American arbitration of the dispute, Olney engaged British prime minister and foreign secretary Lord Salisbury in a lengthy letter exchange in which Olney expanded the scope of the 1823 Monroe Doctrine. In his strongest corollary, he asserted bluntly that the United States “is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition.” The crisis was eventually resolved despite rumors of war with Great Britain over the controversy. Olney's muscular stance with the British helped set the stage for the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine enunciated by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1904.

Another of Olney's bold moves during his brief tenure at the State Department was to make all U.S. foreign diplomatic posts embassies. Until this time, American diplomatic posts abroad were

only legations, which did not carry the same clout at embassies. This, he hoped, would elevate America's stature in the international arena. He also advocated a peaceful end to the fighting in Cuba between revolutionaries and Spanish regulars. He did not support an independent Cuba, but he did offer to mediate the dispute, an offer accepted by neither side.

Olney left office in 1897 at the end of Cleveland's term in office and returned to his law practice. Olney died in Boston, Massachusetts, on April 8, 1917.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Economic Depression; Monroe Doctrine; Pullman Strike; Roosevelt, Theodore; Roosevelt Corollary; Venezuela Crisis, First

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O'Neill, William Owen

Birth Date: February 2, 1860

Death Date: July 1, 1898

U.S. lawyer, sheriff, politician, journalist, and organizer of Troop A of the 1st U.S. Volunteer Cavalry, the Arizona unit of the Rough Riders. William Owen O'Neill was born on February 2, 1860. His birthplace is disputed, although it is believed that it was either St. Louis or Washington, D.C. He was reared in Washington, D.C., and earned a law degree from the National Law School. Unwilling to lead the staid and sedentary life of a big-city attorney, in 1879 he left the capital city for a new life in the Arizona Territory. The following year, he decided to settle in Tombstone, a small mining town in southern Arizona renowned for its colorful characters and lawless atmosphere.

Once in Tombstone, O'Neill took a position as a reporter for the *Tombstone Epitaph*. At the time, a virtual war was being waged in the small town involving rival gangs and the local sheriff. On October 26, 1881, the infamous gunfight at the OK Corral occurred, a much-vaunted event about which O'Neill reported on firsthand. He had also been a friend of Wyatt and Morgan Earp, who had been involved in the gunfight.

In early 1882, O'Neill relocated to Prescott, Arizona, where he continued his career in journalism and founded his own newspaper, the *Hoof and Horn*, a trade paper for ranchers. Later, he joined the Arizona Grays, Prescott's local militia unit. O'Neill ultimately held the rank of captain in the outfit. It was in Prescott where he earned the nickname “Buckey” for his penchant of gambling big—and losing big—sometimes known as “bucking the tiger.”

In 1887, O'Neill began serving as a judge for Yavapai County in central Arizona. The next year, he ran for the post of county sheriff and won. He reveled in his role of a western sheriff and by all accounts was a fair and effective enforcer of the law. Reportedly the



William Owen O'Neill, organizer of the Arizona unit of the 1st U.S. Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, known as the Rough Riders. (Library of Congress)

best shot in the entire county with his revolver, he formed a posse in 1889 that captured four armed robbers who had held up an Atlantic and Pacific Railroad train in Yavapai County.

Throughout his many careers, O'Neill had also taken a keen interest in the mining business. As an enterprising and fairly shrewd businessman, he made a tidy sum in investments in copper and onyx mining. By the mid-1890s, he was serving as the mayor of Prescott, a post to which he had been unanimously elected. He also tried three times to win election as Arizona's territorial delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives, each time losing by a razor-thin margin.

In 1898, as tensions between Spain and the United States steadily increased, O'Neill, along with Alexander Brodie and James McClintock, began to assemble a cavalry unit that the men hoped would be comprised solely of Arizona cowboys and lawmen. Although the outfit had a hard time filling its ranks with cowboys alone, when the Spanish-American War broke out in April 1898, Theodore Roosevelt and others, having heard of O'Neill's efforts, decided to incorporate the Arizona contingent into their own cavalry unit. The result was the 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, more commonly known as the Rough Riders. After it was mobilized at San Antonio, Texas, O'Neill was commissioned a captain in Troop A and became fast friends with Roosevelt, who saw in O'Neill the embodiment of the courageous and multitalented western frontiersman.

During the Rough Riders' landing at Daiquirí, Cuba, on June 22, 1898, two African American soldiers of the 10th Cavalry Regiment (Buffalo Soldiers) fell from the loading dock and were dragged down by their packs. Witnessing the accident and without a pause, O'Neill leapt into the water, with his uniform on and his officer's saber still attached to his belt, to save the two men. Although he was ultimately unsuccessful in his effort, the event astounded his men. Two days later, O'Neill led his men ably at the Battle of Las Guásimas, helping to capture a contingent of Spanish soldiers there.

On July 1, 1898, during the Battle of San Juan Hill, the Rough Riders had been stationed at the base of Kettle Hill, a somewhat smaller hill than San Juan Hill and located immediately adjacent to it. Before the unit could charge the hill, it came under intense fire from Spanish soldiers who were still positioned at the top of Kettle Hill. At approximately 10:00 a.m., after joking with a subordinate that the Spanish could make no bullet capable of killing him, O'Neill was shot through the mouth; the bullet exited the back of his head, killing him instantly. O'Neill was celebrated as one of the great American heroes of the Spanish-American War.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI

See also

Las Guásimas, Battle of; Roosevelt, Theodore; Rough Riders; San Juan Heights, Battle of

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Open Door Policy

A foreign policy framework based largely on commerce and trade that stipulates that all nations should have equal trade and commercial opportunities in a given area. Although the genesis of the Open Door Policy can be traced back to the mid-19th century, it gained renewed interest at the turn of the 20th century and is most associated with U.S. secretary of state John Hay vis-à-vis the great-power rivalry in China.

The British first conceptualized and enunciated an open door policy in the aftermath of the First Opium War (1839–1843), a conflict fought largely over issues of trading rights. In a series of treaties negotiated between the British government and Chinese officials, both sides agreed—in principle at least—that China should be open to trade and that the Chinese government should not promulgate policies antithetical to that goal. This era was the commencement of Western imperial interests in China, and Great Britain was determined to keep the fabled China Market open to Western interests. During the 1885 Berlin Conference, European

leaders tacitly recognized the principle of the open door when they concluded that no African colonial power should erect trade barriers in the Congo. In retrospect, the conference did little to suppress the mad dash for African colonies, but it did institute measures to prevent great-power economic rivalry in the region.

The American enunciation of the Open Door Policy came chiefly as a result of the Spanish-American War and the U.S. annexation of the Philippines and Guam, which for the first time made the United States an East Asian colonial power. Several factors compelled the William McKinley administration to embrace the Open Door Policy. First, as imperial competition and economic rivalry in China heated up, American policy makers feared that a China divided into competing spheres of influence would be disastrous for U.S. territorial and colonial interests in the Far East. Second, many U.S. policy makers viewed the opening of markets in China as key to American economic prosperity, although the power of the China Market in this era was greatly exaggerated. Third, even though the United States had a credible naval deterrent in the Western Hemisphere, it did not have the ability to effectively project its military power in Asia at the turn of the century. Thus, the Open Door Policy was seen as a substitute for U.S. military hegemony in China.

Beginning in September 1899, Secretary of State Hay sent a series of diplomatic dispatches (subsequently called the Open Door Notes) to the major colonial powers: Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Italy, and Japan. The thrust of his dispatches was a plea that all nations have equal access to trade and commerce in China. The British, who had already applied the Open Door Policy in their own affairs, affirmed their commitment to the policy in China. The five other nations, however, were studiously noncommittal to the proposal. In November 1899, the Boxer Rebellion began in China as Chinese nationalists sought to rid the country of foreigners and foreign influences. The unrest alarmed nations that had significant interests in China, especially since the moribund Qing dynasty was all but powerless to stop the rebellion. The unrest seemed poised to spur even more imperial rivalry in China as the Japanese and European nations threatened to tighten their grip on the country. All of this prompted Hay to send another letter to the six nations in July 1900. In it he implored all nations involved to respect China's territorial integrity and to keep trade there open and unfettered. This time, the United States received generally supportive—although still vague—replies to Hay's initiative. Be that as it may, the McKinley administration seized on this apparent success and declared that all of the involved powers had agreed—in principle—to maintaining an open door in China. As it turned out, this was mere rhetorical window dressing, because most of the major imperial powers continued to erect miniature empires in China. For the United States, at least, the Open Door Policy guided U.S. policy toward China for nearly 50 years, until the communists led by Mao Zedong took power there in the autumn of 1949. Interestingly enough, the idea of an American commitment to a free and open China for many years fed the perception that the Americans had a special relationship with the Chinese.

Although the Open Door Policy was something of an illusion, McKinley's successor, Theodore Roosevelt, invoked it in 1902 upon Russian usurpations in Manchuria. After the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War, American and Japanese officials promised mutual cooperation in Manchuria. Again invoking the Open Door Policy in 1909, the United States sponsored a multinational financing consortium through which all loans to Chinese railroads would be processed. By 1917, however, U.S.-Japanese policies such as the 1917 Lansing-Ishii Agreement, in which the United States recognized Japanese spheres of influence in China, had called into question America's commitment to the principle of free trade in China. By the mid-1920s, the concept of an open door in China was mere fantasy, and by 1931, it was a dead issue when Japan seized Manchuria and annexed it.

In the aftermath of World War II, the principles of the Open Door Policy gained new life on a global scale as Western democracies championed free trade. Believing that economic autarky and spheres of influence had helped ignite World War II, Western policy makers engaged in a number of institutional mechanisms to foster free and unfettered trade. These included the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the European Economic Community (EEC). The idea was to prevent economic rivalry from driving a wedge between nations, which would thereby lessen the likelihood of war. Policy makers also recognized that major trading partners were much less likely to go to war with a nation with which they enjoyed significant trade. Finally, most believed that free trade would help generate general prosperity among all nations and would serve to stabilize national economies in times of economic uncertainty.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Boxer Rebellion; China; China Market; Hay, John Milton; McKinley, William; Roosevelt, Theodore

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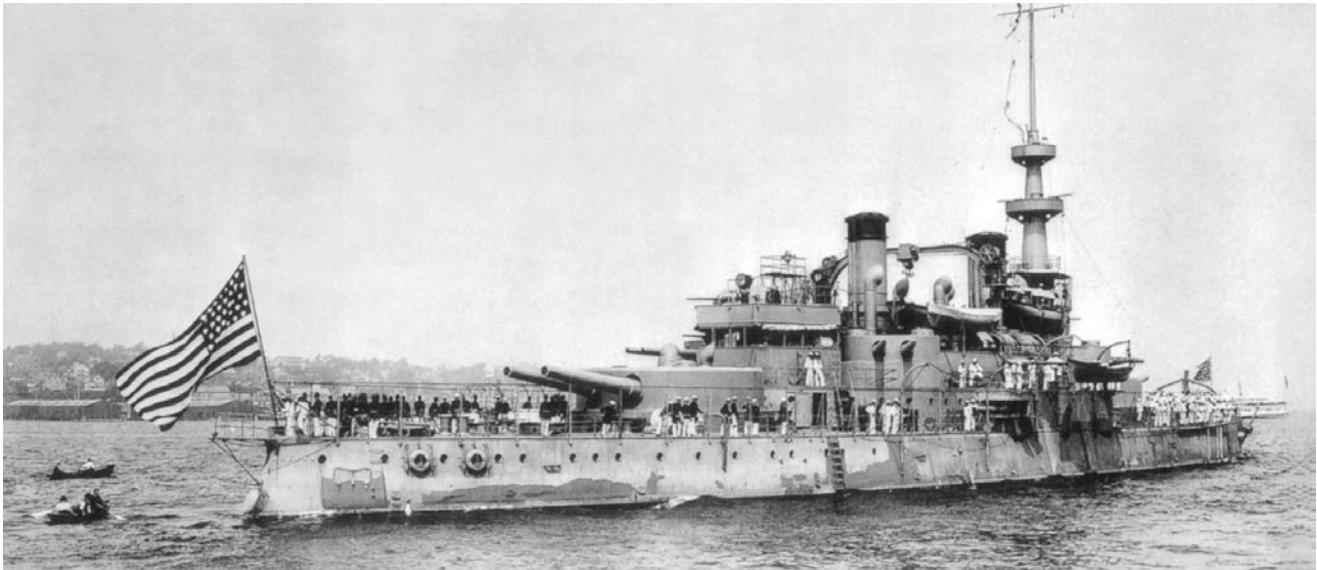
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Oregon, USS

Third member of the Indiana class, which were the first truly modern battleships of the new U.S. Navy. On June 3, 1890, Congress authorized construction of the Indiana class as seagoing coastline battleships. They were more limited in size and range than the navy had hoped yet represented the first concrete embodiment of the plans of Secretary of the Navy Benjamin F. Tracy to construct a powerful American fleet on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts.

The Indiana-class ships were quite powerful. Their main armament consisted of four 13-inch rifled guns in two twin turrets, one



The U.S. Navy battleship *Oregon* made an epic 66-day voyage of more than 14,000 miles from the West Coast of the United States around Cape Horn to join the fleet off Cuba. The voyage emphasized the need for completion of an Isthmian canal. (Naval Historical Center)

forward and one aft. Four wing turrets, one on each corner of the superstructure, mounted a pair of 8-inch guns apiece, and two 6-inch broadside guns were fitted between each pair of wing turrets. Twenty light 6-pounder guns and several smaller weapons provided close-range defense against torpedo craft. These battleships also mounted six above-water 18-inch torpedo tubes. When commissioned, they were the most powerfully armed battleships in the world.

This class of battleships was also very well protected. The main armor belt was 7 feet deep and tapered from 18 to 8 inches in thickness. Seventeen-inch armor barbettes protected the magazines, the main turrets carried 15-inch armor, and the wing turrets, upper hull, and broadside battery were protected by 5–6 inches of nickel steel, most of it of the superior Harveyized material in the *Indiana* and *Oregon*.

Triple expansion machinery generating almost 10,000 horsepower propelled the *Indiana*-class ships at a top speed of 15–16 knots. Normal coal supply was 400 tons, sufficient to steam about 3,000 miles, but space was available for up to 1,800 tons of fuel. The principal disadvantages of the design were its low freeboard of only 12 feet, blast interference between the guns, cramped accommodations, and relatively slow speed.

The *Oregon* was laid down at Union Iron Works in San Francisco on November 19, 1891; launched on October 26, 1893; and commissioned into the Pacific Station on July 15, 1896. Shortly after the *Maine* exploded in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, the *Oregon* was ordered to the Atlantic. The battleship departed San Francisco on March 19, 1898, and steamed around Cape Horn through very severe weather to arrive at Jupiter Inlet, Florida, on May 24 after an epic 66-day voyage of 14,500 miles, during which the *Oregon* had made five stops for coal. The *Oregon* joined Admiral William T. Sampson's fleet and participated in the destruction of the Spanish fleet at Santiago, Cuba, on July 3.

The *Oregon* served on the Asiatic station from 1899 to 1906, but it missed service during the Boxer Rebellion (1899–1901) after striking an uncharted rock while in transit. The battleship then spent the remainder of its operational career on the U.S. West Coast largely in reserve except during World War I. Under the terms of the Washington Naval Treaty of 1922, the *Oregon* was demilitarized in 1924 and became a museum ship at Portland, Oregon. During World War II, the ship became a storage hulk. It broke loose from its moorings at its final station of Guam in 1948. Recovered, it was sold for scrap in 1956.

PAUL E. FONTENOY

See also

Maine, USS; *Oregon*, USS, Voyage of; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; United States Navy

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Oregon, USS, Voyage of

Start Date: March 19, 1898

End Date: May 24, 1898

A record-breaking 1898 voyage that began in San Francisco and ended in Jupiter Inlet, Florida, during which the U.S. Navy battleship *Oregon* steamed some 14,500 nautical miles in 66 days.





Lithograph depicting the U.S. battleship *Oregon* transiting the Strait of Magellan in April 1898 en route to join the fleet off Cuba during the Spanish-American War. (Naval Historical Center)

Commissioned in 1896, this Indiana-class battleship was, at the time of the Spanish-American War, one of the newest and most powerful warships in the U.S. Navy.

When the U.S. battleship *Maine* was destroyed in Havana Harbor on February 15, the *Oregon* was at the new navy yard at Bremerton, Washington, where it has been ordered for repair work. As per regulations, all ammunition had been unloaded at Mare Island before the ship had proceeded to Bremerton. With war with Spain looming, U.S. Navy planners, notably Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt, began to consider the optimal U.S. fleet disposition. Because Cuba was much nearer to Spain and because Spain's naval presence in the Philippines was known to be limited, the threat from Spain was judged to be greater in the Atlantic. Accordingly, Roosevelt ordered the *Oregon* to provision and steam to Callao, Peru, for final orders.

With all the coal at the yard having been used to supply ships headed for Alaska because of the Klondike Gold Rush, Captain Alexander H. McCormick, commander of the *Oregon*, was unable to get his ship to sea until more coal reached Bremerton on March 6. On March 9, the *Oregon* arrived at San Francisco and immediately began an around-the-clock resupply of ammunition, stores, and coal. In two days, the ship took on 1,600 tons of coal, 500 tons of ammunition, and sufficient stores for six months. McCormick withheld details of the ship's destination for security reasons, although crew speculation centered on the Philippines or Cuba.

The *Oregon* departed San Francisco on March 19, 1898. Two days before sailing, Captain McCormick became seriously ill and had to be relieved of command. Captain Charles Edward Clark replaced him. As the *Oregon* was transiting to Peru, the Navy Department took the final decision to send the battleship to Cuba. While at sea, however, the ship would be out of direct communication with the department. Throughout the long voyage, Clark put the crew through regular drill and gunnery practice to prepare for possible battle with the Spanish.

While Spanish ships were in the Pacific, the chief challenges to the battleship's transit proved to be the elements and geography. The ship's ventilation system also proved a major problem. In the fire rooms and engineering spaces, temperatures could be between 110 and 150 degrees. With the ship's boilers always at full steam, fresh water was also in extremely short supply and had to be sharply curtailed for the crew. Two other problems occurred in the need for the crew to shift coal in order to burn hard bituminous coal that would produce greater speed and then necessitate extinguishing a coal fire in one of the ship's bunkers. Despite these travails, the ship never slackened speed.

The *Oregon* arrived at Callao, Peru, its first coaling stop and 4,100 miles from San Francisco, on April 4. While taking on board 1,100 tons of coal at Callao, Clark received word from the Navy Department that the Spanish torpedo boat *Temerario* had departed Montevideo, Uruguay, and might be searching for the *Oregon*. He

also took special security precautions while the battleship was in port. Although the Peruvians appeared to favor the United States in the approaching war with Spain, he ordered the guards doubled and a steam launch constantly patrolling around the ship. He also learned from the Navy Department before departure from Callao that the board of inquiry looking into the sinking of the *Maine* had established the cause of the initial explosion as an external mine.

The *Oregon* departed Callao on April 7. Steaming south, the ship encountered steadily worsening weather. On April 16, the battleship entered the Strait of Magellan for the passage around Cape Horn. There it encountered a great storm, which obscured the shore and placed the ship and its crew in considerable danger. Clark ran for the anchorage at Tamar Island while there was some light and was able to anchor there for the night. Before dawn, the weather moderated sufficiently for the ship to complete the passage.

On April 18, the *Oregon*, having transited the most dangerous part of the Strait of Magellan, again took on coal, which was taken from a hulk in lifting buckets, at Punta Aernas. At Punta Aernas, the battleship was joined by the U.S. Navy gunboat *Marietta*. On April 21, both ships were again under way, entering the Atlantic and bound for Rio de Janeiro. Expecting to encounter the Spanish torpedo boat *Temerario*, both warships steamed with guns loaded and manned.

Delayed by headwinds and rough seas, the two warships did not reach Rio until April 30. There Clark was notified of the U.S. declaration of war on Spain on April 25. A third U.S. ship, the recently purchased dynamite cruiser *Nictheroy*, was in the harbor. The dynamite guns were never installed, and the ship, which mounted traditional armament, became the cruiser *Buffalo*.

Again the *Oregon* and *Marietta* took on coal, this time from barges in the harbor. The Brazilian government placed armed guards on the barges and stationed a cruiser at the harbor entrance. On May 2, the American crews learned of and were jubilant over Commodore George Dewey's spectacular victory in the Battle of Manila Bay (May 1, 1898). The Navy Department also informed Clark that Spanish rear admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron of four cruisers and three torpedo boat destroyers had left the Cape Verde Islands, its destination unknown. To provide Clark with maximum security against a possible Spanish attack, the Navy Department allowed the captain to plan his own itinerary without first clearing it with Washington.

On May 4, the U.S. ships again sailed, this time for Bahia, Brazil. The Brazilian government delayed the sailing of the *Nictheroy* for nearly a day before permitting it to join the two waiting American warships. The *Oregon* steamed into Bahia on May 8. Word was put out that it would remain there for several days, but it departed again the next day. It then steamed to Bridgetown, Barbados, to coal on May 18. However, neutrality laws there were strictly enforced, and the battleship was allowed to remain in port only 24 hours and was able to take only sufficient coal to reach a U.S. port. The *Oregon* began coaling immediately and departed at 9:00 p.m. with lights lit, then turned off its lights and steamed in another direction,

around Barbados, before making for Key West. On May 24, 1898, the *Oregon* steamed into Jupiter Inlet, Florida. It anchored at Key West, Florida, on May 26. The 14,500-mile voyage had taken 66 days, and the battleship was completely ready for battle. The ship became known as "McKinley's Bulldog."

The American public had closely followed the progress of the *Oregon* in the newspapers, and the voyage inspired popular songs, including "The Race of the *Oregon*" by John James Meehan:

Lights out! And a prow turned toward the South,
And a canvas hiding each cannon's mouth
And a ship like a silent ghost released
Is seeking her sister ships in the East.
When your boys shall ask what the guns are for,
Then tell them the tale of the Spanish war,
And the breathless millions that looked upon
The matchless race of the *Oregon*.

Coaled and supplied and having taken on 60 additional crewmen, the *Oregon* sailed again at 1:04 a.m. on May 29 and arrived off Havana that same morning. On June 1, the battleship joined other units of Rear Admiral William T. Sampson's North Atlantic Squadron in blockading Cervera's Spanish squadron at Santiago de Cuba. On July 3, 1898, the *Oregon* was one of eight U.S. warships on blockade duty off Santiago when Cervera sortied with his ships and attempted to escape. In the ensuing engagement, the *Oregon* and the other American ships completely destroyed the Spanish squadron.

In the wake of its triumph in the Spanish-American War, the United States was thrust into the role of global power, with widely dispersed interests around the world. Defending these interests would require a large and highly mobile navy capable of fighting in both the Atlantic and Pacific. Roosevelt, who became president in 1901, vigorously embraced this challenge. Encouraged by navalists such as Rear Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan, Roosevelt set the United States on an ambitious naval construction program and committed the country to building the Panama Canal. The epic voyage of the *Oregon*, which would have required just 21 days had a canal existed versus the actual 66 days it took, served as a powerful argument for the project in Panama.

ROBERT M. BROWN AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Clark, Charles Edgar; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; *Maine*, USS; *Oregon*, USS; Panama Canal; Roosevelt, Theodore; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; United States Navy

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Origins of the War

The American declaration of war on Spain in 1898 is often regarded as marking the beginning of the American Century, an era of de facto U.S. imperialism. At that time, the country attained great-power status in international affairs, becoming the world's unrivaled superpower by the mid-20th century. It is thus quite impossible to understand the rise of American power in the international arena without first understanding how and why the United States went to war in 1898.

On April 20, 1898, Republican president William McKinley signed congressional resolutions declaring war on Spain over that country's treatment of the Caribbean island of Cuba, a Spanish-held colony since 1492, where a native rebellion seeking independence from Spain had been in progress since 1895. Cuba was less than 100 miles from the coast of the United States, and throughout the 19th century, American leaders had shown decided interest in acquiring the island. Ever since the proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, the United States had asserted special rights in the Western Hemisphere, demanding that no European imperial nation acquire further possessions in the area or use force to regain colonies that had already won independence. From that time onward, many prominent Americans, including former president Thomas Jefferson, President James Buchanan, and Secretaries of State John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, and William H. Seward expressed the hope that in due course Cuba would be annexed into the United States.

Such expectations were in line with the popular belief that it would ultimately be the Manifest Destiny of the United States to expand its borders to encompass all the territory of the North American continent and its contiguous islands. Presidents James Polk, Franklin Pierce, and Ulysses S. Grant all sought unsuccessfully to purchase Cuba from Spain on much the same lines as Seward had acquired Alaska from Russia in 1867. On several occasions in the 19th century, American presidents and secretaries of state also warned Spain that they would not tolerate a Spanish transfer of sovereignty over Cuba to any power other than the United States.

American suggestions that the United States annex Cuba reflected the fact that in the late 19th century, the U.S. government and general public were increasingly assertive internationally, fueled by a nationalistic sense that their country, already one of the world's largest states and strongest industrial economies, had the potential to be a great power whose influence would rank with that of such leading European imperial nations as Great Britain, Germany, France, and Russia. From the 1880s onward, a determined group of American internationalists, including Republican senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, naval officer and strategist

Alfred Thayer Mahan, and rising young Republican politician and author Theodore Roosevelt, pushed aggressively for the expansion and modernization of the U.S. Navy.

By the late 1890s, the United States possessed an oceangoing fleet of steel ships that, although still small next to those of most European powers, was quite capable of defending the Western Hemisphere against potential attacks and engaging the more antiquated Spanish Navy. This group of naval expansionists also supported the construction of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, the narrow bridge of land in Central America connecting North America to South America. Such a waterway would facilitate U.S. commerce, allowing merchant shipping to travel between the East Coast and the West Coast of the United States without needing to circumnavigate South America. The major reason they favored building such a canal, however, was strategic, as it would permit U.S. naval forces to move swiftly from the Pacific to the Atlantic in response to any threat. These internationalists generally adhered to popular social Darwinist views of racial competition and hierarchy, believing that Anglo-Saxons were inherently superior to other races in culture and political and social institutions and were therefore obligated to rule over those races and peoples they considered inferior. They especially admired British imperialism and felt a particular sense of kinship with the British, regarding them as fellow Anglo-Saxons. Although they fundamentally believed their own country to be an improvement even on Britain, they traced American political institutions back to shared British roots and a common heritage.

Watching other late 19th-century great powers compete for colonies around the world, these expansionist-minded internationalists believed that the United States might do well to join in and acquire an empire of its own. Such possessions would, they believed, prove commercially and strategically beneficial to the United States, while the indigenous inhabitants would benefit from benign American tutelage, which would eventually lead them to self-government along American lines.

By the mid-1890s, Americans of both political parties were making expansive statements claiming that the United States enjoyed a special position in the Western Hemisphere. In 1895, during a boundary dispute between Venezuela and the neighboring British colony of Guiana, Democratic president Grover Cleveland and Richard Olney, his secretary of state, convinced Britain to accept arbitration. The Cleveland administration also authorized major increases in naval budgets that substantially expanded the existing U.S. fleet. This decision meant that the United States had the modern ships required to respond with military force when relations with Spain reached a crisis point over Cuba in early 1898.

By the 1890s, Spain's hold on Cuba, one of the sparse remnants of what had once been a massive colonial empire, had become increasingly shaky. About 70 percent of Cuba's population of 1.6 million people were of Spanish descent, either peninsulares (immigrants who had come to Cuba directly from Spain) or the 950,000 descendants of such settlers, known as criollos. The remaining Cubans were either



The U.S. battleship *Maine* entering Havana Harbor, January 25, 1898. (Naval Historical Center)

blacks, whose ancestors had come from Africa, or mulattos. Slavery had not been abolished in Cuba until 1886. The 150,000 peninsulares enjoyed special political and economic privileges and held the great majority of seats in the governing Cortes (parliament), with only 6 out of 430 seats reserved for Cubans. Even these were elected by a very limited franchise, only about 53,000 voters in all, mostly peninsulares. During the Ten Years' War (1868–1878), blacks, mulattos, and some creoles demanded independence from Spain and ravaged Cuba's eastern region. The rebellion was contained and eventually ended by the Pact of Zanjón in 1878, an agreement negotiated by adept Spanish political and military leaders.

By the early 1890s, the Liberal Party, which demanded autonomy for the island, was gaining strength in Spain as well as Cuba itself. The influence of Cuban supporters of Cuba Libre (Free Cuba), who sought complete independence and refused to accept the 1878 agreement, was likewise expanding. Many such dissidents went into exile in the United States, Europe, and Latin America, where they continued to work against the Spanish rule of Cuba.

In February 1895, a second major insurrection against Spanish colonial rule broke out once more in Cuba, led by the Cuban revolutionary José Martí y Pérez and two leaders of the Ten Years' War, Generals Máximo Gómez y Báez and Antonio Maceo Grajales. Martí, who sought to end not just Spanish rule but also economic oppression and racial discrimination in Cuba, was killed while fighting in May 1895, becoming a posthumous inspiration and hero to other rebels, who proclaimed a provisional Cuban government late that summer. Fighting spread throughout Cuba into the wealthy western provinces. Governor-General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau brutally suppressed Cuban rebels, pursuing scorched earth tactics and forcibly relocating 500,000 villagers, most in the eastern provinces, into concentration camps, or *reconcentrados*, causing more than 100,000 noncombatant deaths and reducing many

others to destitution. Despite this, the Spanish found themselves unable to prevail against guerrilla rebels who avoided pitched battles and melted into the civilian population.

By the end of 1895, the Spanish army in Cuba was 120,000-men strong, and the island was under virtual military occupation. That number rose to more than 200,000 troops by late 1897—representing more than half the regular Spanish Army—facing between 20,000 and 40,000 insurgents. Despite some successes, especially in the western provinces, and the death in battle of Maceo, Spanish forces never succeeded in regaining full control of Cuba. Economically, the insurgency disrupted trade between Spain and Cuba, as rebels raided lucrative sugar and tobacco plantations, destroying the crops. Financing the conflict proved prohibitively expensive for the Spanish government, doubling Spain's national debt, while the sufferings of those confined to the *reconcentrados* provoked international condemnation.

The Cleveland administration at first attempted to mediate in the Cuban conflict, hoping to persuade the Spanish to moderate their repressive methods and grant Cuba independence or at least autonomy, efforts that both Spanish and insurgent forces regarded with considerable distrust. In June 1895, Cleveland and Olney made an official declaration of U.S. neutrality toward both sides in the conflict, and between then and late 1897, U.S. naval forces intercepted 33 insurgent filibustering expeditions bound for Cuba.

President William McKinley, who took office in March 1897, initially continued his predecessor's approach, but within and beyond his administration, other voices demanded a more proactive American stance. Inside the administration, an aggressive internationalist faction led by Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt romanticized war and sought to wield the new American steel fleet to win Cuban independence, an event that it believed would enhance American prestige and also facilitate the con-



Cartoon showing a sleeping woman, “Columbia,” with Baron Steuben and the Marquis de Lafayette behind her. She is holding a document describing Cuba’s repression by Spain. To the left is a man, “Spain,” beating a prone woman, “Cuba,” who holds a banner “Liberty or death.” Cartoon by Victor Gillam appearing in *Judge*, October 19, 1895. (Library of Congress)

struction of a transisthmian canal. The hardships and maltreatment of ordinary Cubans appalled many on the left wing of the Democratic Party, including the agrarian populist William Jennings Bryan, leader of the free silver forces and Democratic presidential candidate in 1896. Bryan and other pro-Cuban Democrats in Congress urged that their country should intervene to assist the Cubans in their quest for independence and assailed the McKinley administration for doing too little to help them. American public opinion, always pro-Cuban, increasingly favored war with Spain. Businessmen and other American residents in Cuba who desired the restoration of peace and stability and restitution for their wartime property and other losses came to believe that only American intervention would guarantee this. With a midterm election approaching, leading Republicans, fearing Democratic gains in Congress, pressured McKinley to take decisive action before voters went to the polls.

Meanwhile, Spain began shifting away from its repressive policies after the August 1897 assassination of Conservative prime minister Antonio Cánovas del Castillo by an Italian anarchist. The controversial Weyler was recalled in October, and in November the new Liberal prime minister, Práxedes Mateo Sagasta, offered Cuba limited autonomy, though not independence; instituted cosmetic political reforms; released various political prisoners; and relaxed

the harsh *reconcentrado* policy. In response, army officers in Cuba rioted in protest, attacking property, including some American-owned businesses. In January 1898, McKinley dispatched the battleship *Maine* to Havana Harbor as a precautionary measure to protect American interests. On February 15, the ship sank, the victim of a mysterious explosion that killed 266 of its crew, now thought to have been caused by spontaneous combustion in a coal bunker but then ascribed to Spanish sabotage.

Further mediation attempts by McKinley, aimed at persuading Spain and the rebels to declare an armistice, proved unavailing. Public opinion, continuously inflamed by the fiercely prointerventionist yellow journalism newspapers of William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer, swung toward intervention, as did sentiments in Congress. Historians, including Richard Hofstadter, have suggested that in the late 1890s, Americans—undergoing the disruptive stresses of major industrialization and urbanization and the effort to assimilate a massive wave of immigrants and recovering from a lengthy economic depression—turned to exciting and unifying international adventure in a state of something approximating psychological crisis.

On April 11, 1898, McKinley asked Congress to declare war against Spain, the first occasion on which the United States embarked on hostilities beyond the American continental landmass.

Traditional historiography suggests that he was reluctant to embark on war and was motivated primarily by domestic political pressures and concerns. Revisionist Cuban historians have since suggested that McKinley, alarmed by the prospect of an outright insurrectionist victory, sought to prevent the rebels from winning control of the country and to ensure that any government that took power would be under American tutelage. Democrats in Congress insisted that the resolution declaring war also include an amendment authored by Senator Henry M. Teller whereby the United States renounced all intention of permanent occupation or annexation of Cuba and committed itself to leaving the island once its territory had been pacified. On April 19, both houses of Congress passed a joint resolution recognizing Cuba's independence, although not the provisional government (Cuban Revolutionary Government), and demanding that Spain withdraw immediately from Cuba. The president was also empowered to use the American armed forces for this purpose.

The president signed the resolution the following day, while Spain broke off diplomatic relations and proclaimed its intention to defy the United States. On April 25, a further congressional resolution retrospectively declared that since April 21, a state of war had existed between the United States and Spain. A wave of enthusiasm for the war swept the United States. U.S. naval and land forces immediately embarked on hostilities not just against Cuba but also against all other Spanish colonial territories within reach of the American fleet, including the Caribbean island of Puerto Rico as well as the Philippine Islands and Guam in the Pacific.

PRISCILLA ROBERTS

See also

Cuba Libre; Cuban War of Independence; Democratic Party; Economic Depression; Expansionism; Filibuster; Immigration; Imperialism; Lodge, Henry Cabot; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Manifest Destiny; McKinley, William; Monroe Doctrine; Panama Canal; *Reconcentrado* System; Republican Party; Roosevelt, Theodore; Social Darwinism; Steel; Ten Years' War; United States Navy; Venezuela Crisis, First; Yellow Journalism; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano

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Ostend Manifesto

A secret document advocating the U.S. purchase of Cuba from Spain, written in Ostend, Belgium, in 1854 by U.S. diplomats James Buchanan, U.S. minister to Great Britain; John M. Mason, U.S. minister to France; and Pierre Soulé, U.S. minister to Spain. Cuba, often referred to as the Pearl of the Antilles, with its lucrative sugarcane production, balmy climate, and proximity to the United States, had drawn the attention of leaders in the early republic, including Thomas Jefferson and John Quincy Adams. In 1848, President James K. Polk, whose policies of Manifest Destiny wrested Texas, California, and much of what would become New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Utah, and Nevada from Mexico, instructed the American minister to Spain, Romulus M. Saunders, to sound out Spain about selling Cuba to the United States. The Spanish government asserted that under no circumstances would they relinquish control over Cuba.

When these diplomatic overtures were thwarted, some Southerners, who perceived Cuba as a highly desirable slave territory, engaged in filibustering expeditions to seize the island by force. Two such expeditions in the early 1850s were repulsed by Spanish authorities, and the leaders of these invasions were executed, outraging many Southerners.

Relations between the United States and Spain became further strained in March 1854 when Spanish authorities in Cuba seized the American steamer *Black Warrior*. President Franklin Pierce, who supported the expansion of slave territory into Latin America, was prepared to respond forcefully to the Spanish provocation. Thus, he directed Secretary of State William Marcy, an expansionist who favored annexation of Cuba, to explore whether Spain could be persuaded to sell Cuba without interference from the English and French. To implement this policy, Buchanan, Mason, and Soulé, gathered in Ostend in the summer of 1854 to strategize. Soulé was an exiled Frenchman who had settled in Louisiana and advocated that the United States acquire Cuba by military action if necessary. His appointment and undiplomatic actions, such as allegedly leading an anti-Spanish riot in New Orleans, exacerbated the deteriorating relations between Spain and the United States.

The three ministers issued their report to Marcy on October 18, 1854. The Ostend Manifesto offered \$120 million for the purchase of Cuba but then concluded that if Spain was unwilling to enter negotiations for its sale, the United States would be justified in employing military action to seize the island by force. The bellicose nature of the document was attributed mainly to the influence of Soulé.

Before the Pierce administration could act on the recommendations made at Ostend, word of the Ostend Manifesto was leaked

to the American and European press. Reaction in England and France was opposed to the manifesto, while there was a veritable uproar among newspapers in the U.S. North. Passage of the Fugitive Slave Law (1850) as part of the Compromise of 1850 along with introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in Congress (passed in 1854) convinced many Northerners that Southern slave interests were intent upon expanding slavery and disrupting the sectional balance of power. Because of the political upheaval in the North and opposition from abroad, the Pierce administration disavowed the Ostend Manifesto. Nevertheless, it encouraged sectional divisions and contributed to the rise of the Republican Party.

See also

Cuba; Filibuster; Manifest Destiny

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Otis, Elwell Stephen

Birth Date: March 25, 1838

Death Date: October 21, 1909

U.S. Army general. Born in Frederick City, Maryland, on March 25, 1838, Elwell Stephen Otis graduated from the University of Rochester in 1858 and from Harvard Law School in 1861. During the American Civil War, he was commissioned a captain of volunteers in the 140th New York Infantry Regiment on September 13, 1862. He was advanced to lieutenant colonel in December 1863 and later to colonel. Seriously wounded at Petersburg, he was mustered out of the army on January 14, 1865. In recognition of his distinguished wartime service, he received a brevet promotion to brigadier general of volunteers on March 13, 1865.

As with many other volunteer soldiers, Otis found military life to his liking and secured a regular army commission upon his recovery after the war. In March 1869, he was appointed a lieutenant colonel and assigned to the 22nd Infantry Regiment. Promoted to colonel and assigned to the 20th Infantry Regiment in February 1880, he saw considerable service in the American West during the Indian Wars. He was advanced to brigadier general in November 1893.

With the outbreak of war with Spain in 1898, Otis was appointed major general of volunteers on May 4, 1898, and was sent to the Philippines as second-in-command to Major General Wesley Merritt. On August 30, 1898, Otis succeeded Merritt as commander of VIII Corps and military governor of the Philippines when Merritt was relieved of the command at his own request.



U.S. Army major general Elwell Stephen Otis commanded VIII Corps and was military governor of the Philippines during the Philippine-American War. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

A 36-year army veteran when he arrived in the Philippines, Otis had the misfortune to direct affairs in the Philippines during the initial stages of U.S. involvement in the archipelago. In this capacity, he had to make critical decisions when there were no clear guidelines as to U.S. policy except for President William McKinley's desire to see the Philippines pacified in a kind and compassionate manner. Benevolent assimilation, as it came to be known, was not, however, an easy policy to implement. Furthermore, Otis generally disliked Filipinos. He considered Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy's insurgents "a band of looters" and promptly ordered them from Manila. Otis also issued the proclamation of January 4, 1899, in his capacity as military governor of the Philippines that proclaimed U.S. sovereignty over the islands.

Otis rarely left his office and constantly sent off overly optimistic reports that led the McKinley administration to underestimate the troop strength required to win the war. Otis's refusal to acknowledge the limitations of his military resources, particularly the troop

strength necessary to respond effectively to the movements of the Filipino Nationalist Army, exacerbated a difficult situation. Otis's field commanders had to execute his directives while being compromised by the logistic problems of campaigning in extremely difficult conditions against an elusive foe and without sufficient manpower.

Otis also had to deal with the problem posed by volunteer troops who wanted to go home once the war with Spain had ended. These men had volunteered to fight the Spanish, not the Filipinos. Otis had difficulty dealing with the volunteers despite the fact that he had once been a volunteer soldier himself and had led volunteer troops with distinction during the American Civil War. The state volunteer units were eventually sent home, but until replacements arrived, Otis had to make do with the regular army units that were available.

Perhaps the most controversial of all Philippine commanders, Otis was sharply criticized by some of his senior subordinates. Rear Admiral George Dewey, his naval counterpart, thought him "a pin-cushion of an old woman." Otis's strict censorship of news stories did not endear him to the press either, and reporters often painted him in a critical light. Indeed, the alleged feud between Otis and

Brigadier General Henry Lawton, his most outspoken critic, may have been largely a press creation.

Otis was succeeded as military governor of the Philippines in May 1900 by Brigadier General Arthur MacArthur. On Otis's return to the United States in October 1900, he took command of the Department of the Lakes, headquartered in Chicago. He reached mandatory retirement age on March 25, 1902. He was promoted to regular army major general on the retired list on June 16, 1906. Otis retired to Rochester, New York, and died there on October 21, 1909.

JERRY KENNAN AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Benevolent Assimilation; Lawton, Henry Ware; MacArthur, Arthur; McKinley, William; Merritt, Wesley

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P

Pacification Program, Philippine Islands

Filipino nationalists fought U.S. forces in a war for independence from the United States during February 1899–July 1902. This conflict, known as the Philippine-American War, occurred after U.S. military forces had defeated Spanish forces in the Philippines and occupied Manila. The war began with an incident at the San Juan Bridge in Manila on February 4, 1899, and ended when the major Filipino operating forces were defeated or had surrendered by April 1902. The U.S. Army declared the insurrection to be over on July 4, 1902, although various bandits and other independent belligerents continued hostilities on a minor scale until 1913.

The Philippine insurrection came as something of a surprise to the United States. Americans hoped that over time, the independence movement would falter and that Philippine insurgent forces would disband. Initially, the Filipino nationalists fought the U.S. Army conventionally. This operational approach failed miserably, as by February 1900 the U.S. Army had won several important victories that destroyed most of the Filipino conventional military capability. The insurrectional leadership, principally General Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, then changed strategy. The new strategy emphasized guerrilla tactics meant to strike swiftly and avoid decisive combat with large American forces. The goal of the strategy was twofold. First, the insurgents sought to keep the cause of Philippine independence alive and viable. Second, Aguinaldo was determined to influence the American presidential election of 1900 by causing as many casualties as possible to U.S. forces. He hoped that domestic American disagreement on Philippine policy would result in the election of anti-imperialist and antiwar candidate Democrat William Jennings Bryan.

The American response to the guerrilla strategy was slow to evolve but ultimately became a sophisticated pacification program

informed by experience in the American Civil War and fighting against the American Indians in the West. One of the guiding policies for the pacification program was General Order 100, which specifically gave field commanders guidance on authorized actions against guerrillas, civilians supporting guerrillas, and the civil population at large. The order was actually a reissue of the same order that had been issued in 1863 and used to define the army's legally permissible actions during the American Civil War.

A total of 26 of the 30 American generals who served in the Philippines were veterans of the various Indian campaigns, as were numerous junior officers. The American pacification effort was a two-pronged program, which at its peak involved some 69,000 troops. Security was the focus of one aspect of the strategy. Called the chastisement component, it was designed to destroy the insurgency by force. The other major approach of the strategy was the policy of attraction. It was designed to win the support of the Filipino people to the American cause by demonstrating the material benefits of American control.

The chastisement policy was brutal but effective. U.S. commanding general and military governor in the Philippines Major General Arthur MacArthur unleashed the policy after the 1900 American elections. The policy spawned a variety of tactics, techniques, and procedures that systematically diminished the military capabilities of the insurgents. These techniques included offensive operations against the insurgents, separating the insurgents from their support base, and direct attacks on the insurgent leadership.

Most offensive operations against the insurgents took the form of highly decentralized local efforts conducted on a relatively small scale. These patrols, called hikes by the American troops, were largely ineffective in locating and destroying insurgent bands. Although not showing significant results in combat, they gave the

Americans the initiative in the war and forced the insurgents to concentrate on evasion and survival rather than on offensive operations. Other operations were large-scale offensive affairs designed to pursue and kill or capture major insurgent groups and their supporters. Such operations included the destruction of crops and means of sustenance to deny these to the insurgents. Such operations, like the smaller scale hikes, kept the insurgents on the run.

The Philippine archipelago numbers more than 7,000 islands, making pacification a very difficult affair. An important technique that greatly aided the pacification of the islands was the use of maritime assets to control travel, trade, and information passing between the islands. Although the U.S. Navy had the primary mission for interdicting unauthorized maritime traffic, the U.S. Army assisted these efforts with a small gunboat contingent. The navy operated a fleet of more than 25 seagoing gunboats to interdict traffic between the islands, while the army maintained 12 shallow-draft river steamers to support shore operations. U.S. control of waterborne travel in the islands helped fragment and isolate the insurgency.

American commanders quickly recognized that an element of insurgent strength was the support of the local civilian population. The insurgents gained support through genuine appeals to nationalism, taxation through a shadow government, and coercion. The U.S. Army broke down this relationship through a variety of techniques. One was centrally locating the population. The army sought to concentrate the rural population in towns and villages, where small army detachments could monitor them closely. The army was largely successful in avoiding forcible relocations. The reconcentration was accomplished through various incentives, including the building of town markets, as well as requiring all food distribution in the towns. These techniques, combined with destroying food and residences outside of the towns, had the effect of forcing the population to concentrate without orders to that effect. Once the population was concentrated, restrictions on travel and curfews kept it controlled. The concentration of the population resulted in large numbers of civilian deaths, however. At least 11,000 perished in the concentration areas from disease, malnutrition, poor sanitation, and other health problems.

Another more direct means of separating the population from the insurgency was through retribution actions launched against the population. The army sought to make the population more fearful of the army than of the insurgents. In their least extreme forms, such actions included burning homes in the areas where telegraph wires had been cut, burning homes and crops in an area where ambushes occurred, widespread arrests of suspected insurgents and their family members, deportations, and fines. In the most extreme cases, army commands executed individuals in response to the murder of Americans or friendly Filipinos. Although not officially condoned, individual soldiers and units also employed torture to extract information from captured or detained individuals who were suspected of being or supporting insurgents.

During the war, American operations became increasingly effective because of improved intelligence. American officers real-



Three Filipinos enter American lines in 1899 during the Philippine-American War. U.S. forces sought to concentrate the Filipino population by ensuring that food was only distributed in towns. (Library of Congress)

ized very early in the campaign that effective intelligence was absolutely essential to target insurgents and their camps effectively. Toward this end, the army developed a multilayered intelligence capability that included paid informants, spies, translators, and native scouts and guides. As part of the intelligence effort, the Americans, recognizing the central importance of the civilian population, systematically documented noncombatants. They organized a national census and issued identity cards. The intelligence system operated at the local, regional, and national levels. Officers who specialized in intelligence operations and who had success, including Lieutenant William T. Johnson and Major Edwin F. Glenn, traveled throughout the area of operations assisting other commands in organizing and coordinating their efforts. Increased effectiveness of intelligence allowed commanders to effectively employ their superior combat power.

Another technique that proved very effective in the pacification effort was the use of indigenous Filipino forces. Soon after arriving, the Americans began organizing Filipino forces to support the counterinsurgency. These forces took the form of the Philippine military units (Philippine Scouts and Macabebe Scouts) and police units (Philippine Constabulary).

American officers trained and led both these units. The Americans screened members of the indigenous forces carefully to ensure their loyalty. This vetting process dramatically slowed the pace of recruiting and training. Indigenous forces had the advantage of knowing the terrain, culture, and language and of being acclimated to the tropical conditions. They also undermined the morale

of the insurgents and their supporters because they served as a visible sign that parts of the population were supporting American goals. By 1902, the Philippine Scout forces numbered more than 50 companies, and the Philippine Constabulary numbered 5,000 men.

Effective intelligence and indigenous forces greatly increased the U.S. Army's counterinsurgency capability. This increased capability allowed the army to focus resources on neutralizing the individual leaders of the insurgency. The most famous and successful example of the success of these efforts was the capture in March 1901 of Aguinaldo, the leader of the insurgency from its inception until his capture. The Americans were able to locate Aguinaldo when they captured a courier who had a letter from him requesting more troops. The courier provided Aguinaldo's location. With this information, Brigadier General Frederick Funston led a contingent of Philippine Scouts disguised as insurgents into the insurgent camp. There they captured Aguinaldo and then escaped to a waiting navy ship. Subsequently, Aguinaldo agreed to support the American effort and was influential in inducing a great many insurgents, including senior leaders, to surrender.

While the bulk of the army was involved in the operations designed to destroy insurgents and provide security, the army also waged a very effective attraction campaign. This campaign was designed to win Filipino loyalty by demonstrating the benefits of American rule. This was a multifaceted program designed to implement President McKinley's stated goal of benevolent U.S. administration. At its foundation was the concept of public education. The army built thousands of schools and detailed soldiers to function as teachers when required. As American civil administration became operational, thousands of civilian American teachers were brought to the Philippines to run the schools and train Filipino teachers. A vigorous economic infrastructure program that built roads and bridges and installed telegraph lines backed the education program. Americans also sought to improve the overall health and welfare of the population through inoculation programs, instruction in proper sanitary practices, and the enforcement of hygiene regulations. Finally, the army assisted in the development of a civil administration, based on a democratic model, that provided for a civilian judiciary, election of local officials, and the transition of Philippine policy and administration from the authority of the army's commanding general to a civilian U.S. governor.

For the first 18 months of the war, the attraction aspects of policy were the main focus. Commanders and the American civil leadership alike understood that the long-term relationship between the Philippines and the United States could not be fundamentally based on coercion. However, commanders also realized that an attraction policy by itself could not be successful as long as an intelligent and ruthless enemy remained free to intimidate and propagandize the population. Thus, for the last 18 months of the war the policy of chastisement had priority. In reality, the two aspects of the pacification program reinforced each other. Without the other, each individual component of the pacification program, the attraction policy and the chastisement policy, were doomed to

failure. However, the combination of the two policies proved very effective in inhibiting the operations of the insurgents and ultimately achieving unchallenged control of the islands.

LOUIS A. DiMARCO

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Atrocities; Benevolent Assimilation; Bryan, William Jennings; Funston, Frederick; Gunboat Operations, Philippine Islands; Macabebe Scouts; MacArthur, Arthur; McKinley, William; Military Intelligence; Philippine-American War; Philippine Constabulary; Philippine Scouts

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Panama Canal

Isthmian canal linking the Pacific and Atlantic that traverses the Central-American nation of Panama. The canal was built by the United States between 1904 and 1913. The Panama Canal is roughly 41 miles in length. Still in use today, the canal is capable of handling ships ranging in size from small yachts to large container vessels and most, but not all, modern naval ships. It takes an average of nine hours for a ship to navigate through the Panama Canal's system of channels, locks, and lakes. In 2005, an average of 40 ships traversed the canal daily. The Panama Canal, still considered one of the greatest engineering marvels of modern times, not only greatly facilitated commercial shipping but also was a boon to the U.S. Navy, which could use the canal to dispatch ships to either the Atlantic or Pacific with much greater speed. Indeed, the construction of the canal was entirely in keeping with naval strategist Alfred Thayer Mahan's ideas about the importance of a powerful and modern navy, which would require coaling station and bases located around the globe. President Theodore Roosevelt, a former assistant secretary of the navy and a staunch adherent of Mahan's worldview, was highly influential in the construction of the Panama Canal, which began under his watch.

Prior to the construction of the Panama Canal, which opened to maritime traffic in 1914, a ship moving at a good clip had to travel about 14,000 miles to make the journey from San Francisco to New York City. The long voyage required ships to pass through the Drake Passage and around Cape Horn, where the waters are often treacherous. After 1914, the very same journey would require a ship to cover only some 6,000 miles using the Panama Canal. The amount



Under the direction of Lieutenant Colonel George Goethals, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers played a major role in the construction of the Panama Canal. The canal was completed in 1913. (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers)

of time traveled, fuel used, and manpower required for such long voyages was reduced markedly. This was not, of course, lost on naval and war planners, who saw in the canal a far easier and faster way to shift naval assets from one ocean to another. Also, it would substantially reduce the need for a large navy to cover both coasts and hemispheres. An isthmian canal also gave the United States better and far faster access to Central and South America in case of war and significantly bolstered America's command of the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico.

If nothing else, the lack of an isthmian canal during the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War prompted war planners and naval experts to push for the construction of one in all due haste. Forced to transit South America, the U.S. battleship *Oregon* spent 66 days steaming from San Francisco to Key West, Florida, during the war. Fighting a simultaneous war in the Pacific and the Atlantic placed great stress on the U.S. Navy, as it did on commercial shipping, and the navy struggled to keep the supply lines run-

ning smoothly over thousands of miles. At war's end, President William McKinley and Congress agreed that the time had come to construct a canal. McKinley's successor, Theodore Roosevelt, threw his considerable weight behind the Herculean project.

The concept of an isthmian canal was far from new in 1904, when construction began. Indeed, the first reference to a canal was mentioned as early as the mid-1500s, when Holy Roman emperor Charles V suggested that an isthmian canal would greatly ease shipping between Central and South America. Several attempts were made to forge such a canal in the 17th and 18th centuries, but they all ended quickly. In 1855, the first railroad linking the two coasts of Panama (then part of Colombia) was completed, and it was then that the idea of building a canal was once again seriously considered. Several plans to dig a canal across the Nicaraguan isthmus were considered, but the Panamanian isthmus finally won out.

Buoyed by the unabashed success of the Suez Canal, which opened in 1869, the promoter behind that venture, Frenchman Fer-

dinand de Lesseps, formed a new company to construct a sea-level canal through Panama. Many Frenchmen invested all their savings in the venture. Construction began in January 1880. The Panama Canal Company might have succeeded had de Lesseps followed the advice of eminent French engineer Adolphe de Lepiney and sought to construct a lock canal rather than one at sea level. But de Lesseps refused despite mounting evidence that a sea-level canal was impractical. The Americans almost made the same mistake a quarter of a century later.

De Lesseps's decision substantially added to the canal's cost and difficulty. The excavation of the canal was daunting enough, but the climate and diseases of the region (mainly yellow fever and malaria) proved too much for the French effort. Thirteen years and millions of francs later, de Lesseps and his company went bankrupt. A staggering 22,000 workers had lost their lives working on the canal. Most were felled by disease.

Too often, the French effort in Panama is considered one of corruption and mismanagement alone. This was not the case. The vast bulk of the money raised was indeed spent on the project, and the Americans would later be the beneficiaries of magnificent French hospitals, considerable equipment, large machine shops, and the excavation of 30 million cubic yards of earth.

When Theodore Roosevelt ascended to the presidency in 1901, one of his first goals was to pursue the construction of a canal across the Panamanian isthmus, which would be constructed and controlled by the United States. Before this could be done, however, the equipment that had been left behind from the French had to be purchased, and the isthmus itself had to be secured. Secretary of State John Hay immediately began the process of negotiating with the British, with whom the United States had earlier promised in the Clayton-Bulwley Treaty to cooperate in any canal project. The result was the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, signed on November 18, 1901, that superseded the earlier agreement and essentially gave the United States carte blanche to do what it wished in terms of an isthmian canal.

Meanwhile, Colombia had been offered \$10 million to cede to the United States a narrow strip of land in the Panama Province, where the canal would be built. In 1902, when the United States was scheduled to purchase the French equipment and old excavations for \$40 million from a consortium headed by American financier John Pierpont Morgan, the Colombian Senate balked at the Hay-Herrán Treaty, which offered just \$10 million up front and \$250,000 annually for a 100-year lease of the 10-mile-wide canal zone. Instead, Colombia demanded an additional \$10 million and refused to turn over any equipment or land to the Americans. The Roosevelt administration, outraged at this slight, arranged for the province to declare its independence from Colombia, thereby allowing the United States free rein in the area. Working closely with Panamanian businessmen, headed by Philippe Bunau-Varilla, who were eager to cooperate with Washington, a brief and largely phony revolution was staged in Colombia with the help of the U.S. government and U.S. naval forces off the coast of Panama.

On November 3, 1903, the Republic of Panama was officially proclaimed, the constitution for which had already been drafted by Americans in Washington. Almost immediately thereafter, the United States signed the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty that promised Panama \$10 million and annual payments of \$250,000 in compensation for the establishment of the Panama Canal Zone, to be controlled and operated solely by the United States. The treaty also provided for the purchase of French equipment and their excavations. The United States would exercise sole control over the Panama Canal for 100 years. A subsequent treaty negotiated by the Jimmy Carter administration in 1978 provided for a transition to total Panamanian control, which was completed in December 1999.

On May 4, 1904, American construction on the Panama Canal began under the direction of Lieutenant Colonel George Washington Goethals, who as chief engineer and chairman of the Isthmian Canal Commission oversaw a plethora of U.S.-owned engineering and construction companies. To avoid the problems that plagued the earlier French efforts, the Roosevelt administration commenced a vigorous program under future surgeon general Dr. William C. Gorgas to eradicate yellow fever and malaria from the area. Under the watchful supervision of the U.S. Army, sanitation and quarantine facilities as well as hospitals were established to contain and eliminate the spread of infectious diseases. Commissions were also formed to carefully monitor laborers' health. A large part of the disease-eradication effort was the systematic elimination of mosquitoes, which carried the diseases. This included the eradication of stagnant water and the draining and filling of swamps and wetlands, where mosquitoes thrived. Insecticides were also widely used, and thin films of oil were often spread over ponds and lakes to discourage mosquito activity.

The army's aggressive and innovative approach to mosquito and disease control was highly successful. By 1906, yellow fever was virtually eliminated in the Canal Zone, and other diseases such as malaria had been curbed significantly. Finally, the hospitals in the Canal Zone were among the best in the world, meaning that the construction of the Panama Canal was a crowning achievement both for engineering and public health.

The Panama Canal was opened officially on August 15, 1914, when the cargo ship *Ancon* made the first commercial voyage through the canal. This was almost 12 months ahead of schedule. In all, some 5,600 laborers died while working on the canal between 1904 and 1914. Many were killed in accidents rather than by disease.

Following negotiations between the United States and Panama, the canal reverted to Panamanian control in December 1999. Panama recently embarked on a major project to widen and improve the canal. Officials estimated that when completed, it would expand traffic through the canal by 20 percent.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Clayton-Bulwley Treaty; Goethals, George Washington; Gorgas, William Crawford; Hay, John Milton; Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty; Hay-Herrán Treaty; Hay-Pauncefote Treaty; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Malaria;

Medicine, Military; Morgan, John Pierpont, Sr.; Naval Strategy, U.S.; Oregon, USS, Voyage of; Roosevelt, Theodore; United States Navy; Yellow Fever

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Panic of 1893

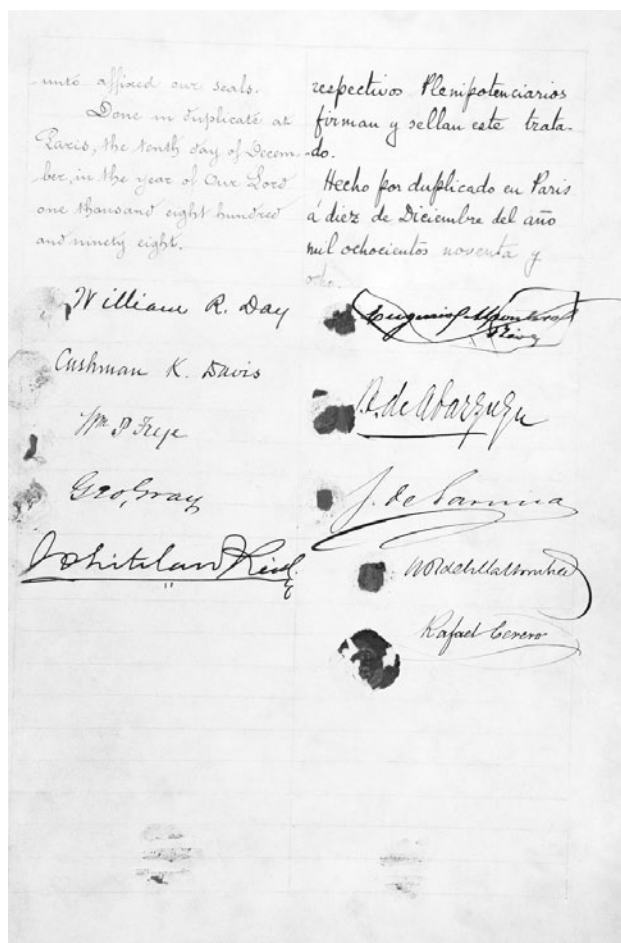
See Economic Depression

Paris, Treaty of

Treaty signed in Paris on December 10, 1898, that formally ended the Spanish-American War. The war itself lasted less than three months and resulted in a complete victory for the United States. Following Spanish land and naval defeats in Cuba, a naval defeat in the Philippines, and a U.S. expeditionary force registering significant progress in Puerto Rico, an armistice was arranged to take effect on August 12, 1898.

President William McKinley had wanted the negotiations to take place in Washington, D.C., but on the suggestion of French ambassador to the United States Jules-Martin Cambon, McKinley agreed on Paris. On the formal invitation of the French government, envoys from both the United States and Spain met in Paris on October 1, 1898. The American peace commission, chosen carefully by McKinley, included U.S. senators, prominent Republicans, and expansionists and consisted of William R. Day, Cushman K. Davis, William P. Frye, George Gray, and Whitelaw Reid. The Spanish side was represented by Eugenio Montero Ríos, Buenaventura de Abarzuza, José de Garnica, Wenceslao Ramirez de Villa Urrutia, and Rafael Cerero. Cambon, who had been acting as the official liaison between Madrid and Washington, was also present.

The United States had won an overwhelming military victory in the war, and the only question concerned the extent of concessions to be made by Spain. Territorial discussions included the future of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Guam; the rights of Spanish citizens living on these islands; the exchange of prisoners; and debt questions. Debate over Cuba lasted nearly a month. The Spanish wanted the United States to annex the island, which would have meant absorbing a \$400 million debt. The American commissioner steadfastly refused. The major issue in dispute was the future of the Philippine Islands. The Americans were themselves somewhat in disagreement over the islands, and the Spanish commissioners took the position that because Manila had surrendered after conclusion of the armistice, the Philippines



Signatures on the Treaty of Paris of December 10, 1898, which formally ended the Spanish-American War. (Bettmann/Corbis)

could not be considered as an American conquest in the war. In the end, with McKinley having decided firmly in favor of annexation, the Spanish side was forced to yield, with the United States agreeing to pay compensation.

The treaty comprised 17 articles. In Articles 1 and 2, Spain renounced all rights to Cuba and ceded Puerto Rico and other islands in the West Indies and the island of Guam to the United States. In Article 3, the United States agreed to pay Spain \$20 million for the Philippine Islands. In Article 4, Spain was granted free access to its ships and goods to these islands for another 10 years. Articles 5 and 6 settled the question of the prisoners of war, who were to be returned to their home countries immediately, and also set timetables for the Spanish evacuation of the islands ceded to the United States. In Article 7, both countries mutually relinquished all claims for indemnity, while Article 8 settled property questions. Articles 9, 10, 11, and 13 dealt with the rights of Spanish citizens and other inhabitants in the islands. Article 12 set up specific rules relating to judicial proceedings in the territories pending at the time of the treaty. In Article 14, Spain was allowed to establish consular offices in its former colonies. Article 15 spec-

ified that both countries were to extend to the other's merchant ships the same port charges and duties as for its own vessels. Article 16 granted Cuba independence after a period of U.S. occupancy of unspecified length, the United States having pledged previously in the April 19, 1898, Teller Amendment not to annex the island. Finally, Article 17 called for the treaty to be ratified within six months of its signing.

The treaty was controversial in the United States, and ratification was not a foregone conclusion. The principal issue of friction was the U.S. acquisition of the Philippines. A great public and congressional debate occurred during the ensuing months that pitted imperialists against anti-imperialists. Proponents of U.S. expansion, including Senators Henry Cabot Lodge and Knute Nelson, argued that the United States had a duty to export its "superior" democratic institutions and a mission to further the spread of Christianity (never mind the fact that the Philippines were already overwhelmingly Roman Catholic). Besides, the expansionists argued, if the United States did not move into the Philippines, other powers, most probably Germany, would. Anti-imperialists, such as Senators George Frisbie Hoar and George Graham Vest, maintained that expansionism would turn the United States into another colonial power, suppressing people fighting for their independence, and that it meant violating American values and the constitution because these people would not be represented in Congress. Former president Grover Cleveland and industrialist Andrew Carnegie also petitioned the Senate to reject the treaty. The Senate rejected the Bacon Amendment, which rejected permanent U.S. sovereignty over the Philippines, with Vice President Garret August Hobart casting the tie-breaking vote. On February 6, 1899, the treaty received the necessary two-thirds ratification approval by a vote of 57 to 27. In Spain, there was also considerable opposition to the treaty. Indeed, it required the signature of Queen Regent María Cristina to end a deadlock in the Spanish legislature and permit ratification on March 19, 1899. The Treaty of Paris marked both the end of the Spanish Empire and the emergence of the United States as a world power.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Anti-Imperialist League; Bacon Amendment; Carnegie, Andrew; Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Cuba; Day, William Rufus; Dewey, George; Frye, William Pierce; Gray, George; Guam; Hoar, George Frisbie; Hobart, Garret Augustus; Lodge, Henry Cabot; Manila Bay, Battle of; María Cristina, Queen Regent of Spain; McKinley, William; Montero Ríos, Eugenio; Philippine Islands, U.S. Acquisition of; Puerto Rico Campaign; Reid, Whitelaw; Teller Amendment

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Paterno y Debera Ignacio, Pedro Alejandro

Birth Date: February 17, 1857

Death Date: April 26, 1911

Filipino revolutionary, writer, and politician who served as the second prime minister of the First Philippine Republic (1899). Pedro Alejandro Paterno y Debera Ignacio was born into an elite mestizo merchant family in Manila on February 17, 1857. His home was a frequent venue for gatherings of literary artists. As such, it was one of the first attempts to present works by Filipinos to project a national identity. Paterno departed for Spain in 1871 and, after studying at the University of Salamanca, earned a law degree at the University of Madrid in 1880. While studying in Spain, he became acquainted with Fernando Primo de Rivera y Sobremonte, who would twice become governor-general of the Philippines.

In 1880, Paterno published *Sampaguitas y Otras Poesias Varias*, which became the first book of poetry published by a Filipino in Europe. *Sampaguita* is the Tagalog term for *Jasminum sambac*, a species of jasmine native to southern Asia. His detractors at the time called Paterno the *sampaguitero*. In addition to poetry, Paterno wrote on historical subjects, ethnography, law, politics, and drama. He wrote the first Filipino novel, *Ninay*, that was published in Madrid in 1885. The novel is an exaltation of the pre-Hispanic traces of civilization in the Philippines. Although not valuable for its literary qualities, the novel did set the stage for subsequent novels that would highlight Filipino identity traits. As with many ilustrados (Filipino intellectuals educated in Europe), Paterno wrote about the downside of European colonization. In 1887, he published his first of many volumes on Filipino history. In *La Antigua Civilización Tagala* (Ancient Tagalog Civilization), he glorified the pre-Spanish Tagalog culture. Unfortunately, his rich imagination produced historical studies that fall into the genre of historical fiction. His most energetic historical effort was his seven-volume *Historia de Filipinas* published in Manila between 1908 and 1910.

After living in Spain for more than two decades, Paterno returned to the Philippines in 1894 to become the director of the Museo-Biblioteca de Manila. Although suspected of revolutionary tendencies, he was not arrested by Spanish authorities. In 1897, Spanish governor-general Primo de Rivera appointed Paterno sole mediator in discussions of the terms of peace between Filipino revolutionaries and the Spanish colonial government. After five months of negotiations, both sides agreed to the Pact of Biak-na-Bato and signed the agreement on December 14, 1897. The treaty ended the first phase of the Philippine revolution and resulted in

the voluntary exile of Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy and other revolutionary leaders to Hong Kong. Paterno went with Aguinaldo.

Following the return of Aguinaldo and other Filipino revolutionary leaders to the Philippines in May 1898, they renewed their struggle against Spanish colonial authorities. Paterno served as president of the Assembly of Representatives from September 15, 1898, to May 7, 1899. Aguinaldo then appointed Paterno as the prime minister of the First Philippine Republic on May 7, 1899, succeeding Apolinario Mabini. On June 2, 1899, Paterno issued a declaration of war against the United States. Captured by American forces in Benguet in November 1899, he was granted amnesty after the Philippine-American War.

In 1910, Paterno published his recollections of the peace treaty between Spain and the Filipino revolutionaries in *El Pacto de Biak-na-bato* (The Pact of Biak-na-Bato). Of all of Paterno's historical works, *El Pacto de Biak-na-bato* is the most credible and important. Paterno's study serves as a valuable counterpoint to the versions of the negotiations recorded by Governor-General Primo de Rivera and Aguinaldo. Paterno died of cholera in Manila on April 26, 1911.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Biak-na-Bato, Pact of; Mabini, Apolinario; Philippine-American War; Primo de Rivera y Sobremonte, Fernando

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Pauncefote, Julian

Birth Date: September 13, 1828

Death Date: May 24, 1902

British diplomat and ambassador to the United States (1893–1902). Born in Munich, Germany, on September 13, 1828, Julian Pauncefote was educated in Paris and Geneva and at Marlborough College in Wiltshire. He was called to the law in 1852. Three years later, he became private secretary to British secretary of state for the colonies Sir William Molesworth.

In 1862, Pauncefote decided to practice law in Hong Kong and became that colony's attorney general in 1865 and then chief justice. In 1873, he was appointed chief justice of the Leeward Islands and was knighted. In 1876, he became assistant undersecretary of state for the colonies and later in the year assumed the same post at the Foreign Office. In 1882, Pauncefote was named permanent undersecretary of the Foreign Office.

In 1889, Prime Minister Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, Lord Salisbury, appointed Pauncefote to be British minister to the United States. In this post, Pauncefote worked to create friendly relations with the



Sir Julian Pauncefote was British ambassador to the United States during 1893–1902. (Library of Congress)

United States, successfully negotiating the Bering Sea fishery dispute of 1890–1892. In April 1893 when the position of minister to the United States was raised to ambassador, Pauncefote became the first British ambassador to the United States. He played a key role in defusing the First Venezuela Crisis (1895–1897), eventually accepting American arbitration of the boundary dispute between British Guiana and Venezuela.

During the events that preceded the Spanish-American War, Pauncefote assisted U.S. secretary of state William R. Day in drafting the Great Powers Note of April 6, 1898, which he then signed for Britain. Upset with President William McKinley's war message to Congress of April 11, 1898, Pauncefote sought to organize a meeting of representatives of the great powers in order to avoid hostilities, but acting British foreign secretary Arthur J. Balfour, who was eager to win the support of the United States and not undercut President William McKinley, rejected this suggestion.

Pauncefote participated in the Peace Conference at The Hague in 1899 and was a member of the Court of Arbitration created by it. Recognized for his services in that regard, he was made Baron Pauncefote of Preston in 1899. Still serving as ambassador to the United States, Pauncefote died in Washington, D.C., on May 24, 1902.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Balfour, Arthur James; Day, William Rufus; Gascoyne-Cecil, Robert Arthur Talbot; Great Britain, Policies and Reactions to the Spanish-American War; McKinley, William; Venezuela Crisis, First

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Peace, Protocol of

Preliminary peace proposal signed between Spain and the United States that formally ended hostilities and served as a basis for the subsequent Treaty of Paris. On July 26, 1898, French ambassador to the United States Jules-Martin Cambon contacted the U.S. government on behalf of the Spanish government. The Spanish requested an immediate cease-fire and negotiations for peace. President William McKinley replied to the offer on July 30 via Cambon, who

had represented Spanish interests during the war. Cambon had also expended effort prior to the beginning of hostilities in an attempt to head off war.

On August 2, 1898, Spain tentatively accepted the U.S. proposals of July 30 but with certain reservations concerning the cession of the Philippines. Before agreeing to a cease-fire, McKinley insisted that a preliminary peace protocol be brokered with the Spanish. Thus, on August 11, U.S. secretary of state William Rufus Day and Ambassador Cambon hammered out a preliminary peace proposal known as the Protocol of Peace. This protocol, signed on August 12, 1898, officially ended hostilities between Spain and the United States and was to serve as the basis for more formal negotiations for a lasting peace agreement. That pact, known as the Treaty of Paris, was signed on December 10, 1898. It was Cambon who suggested Paris as the site of the treaty talks, which McKinley readily accepted.

The Protocol of Peace was quite brief and consisted of only six articles. The first article called for Spain to relinquish all control of Cuba. The second article stipulated that Spain was to cede Puerto Rico and other islands in the West Indies to the United States and also called for the cession of Guam to the United States. The third



President William McKinley (standing right, next to table) and members of the government watch as French ambassador Jules-Martin Cambon signs the Protocol of Peace, a document preceding the formal peace negotiations ending the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

article held that the United States would control Manila and its bay until a formal peace agreement was signed, at which time the final disposition of the Philippines would be determined. The fourth article stipulated that Spain immediately evacuate Cuba, Puerto Rico, “and other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies.” The fifth article called for both nations to appoint up to five commissioners who would meet in Paris no later than October 1 with the goal of producing a peace treaty. The last article formalized the cessation of hostilities as of August 12, 1898.

Although Cambon had worked to limit the amount of Spanish territory ceded to the Americans, he realized that he had an uphill fight. Once the talk of a cease-fire had begun in July, it became more apparent that the United States would exact steep territorial concessions from the Spanish. At first hopeful that he could get the Americans to limit their sovereignty in the Philippines to the city of Manila, Cambon soon realized that U.S. acquisition of the entire Philippine archipelago was practically a foregone conclusion. Indeed, when the hostilities ended, McKinley was more disposed to taking all of the islands, and Congress had already made its preference known on the issue.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cambon, Jules-Martin; Day, William Rufus; Guam; McKinley, William; Paris, Treaty of; Philippine Islands, U.S. Acquisition of; Puerto Rico

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Peace Commission

A 10-man commission composed of 5 Americans and 5 Spaniards that met in Paris, France, to negotiate the peace treaty—the Treaty of Paris—ending the Spanish-American War. The commission included politicians, judges, and military leaders and convened from October 1 to December 10, 1898, the day the treaty was signed.

Realizing that defeat was inevitable, the Spanish government in Madrid sent a message to President William McKinley on July 18, 1898, to request a cessation of hostilities and talks that would lead to a permanent peace agreement. The message was relayed to the U.S. government by Jules-Martin Cambon, French minister to the United States. Meanwhile, Spanish Minister of State Juan Manuel Sánchez y Gutiérrez de Castro, Duque de Almodóvar del Río, sent a telegram to the Spanish ambassador in Paris directing him to en-



In this political cartoon by Charles Lewis Bartholomew, Uncle Sam points a miniature battleship at a terrified Spain after winning most of the chips in a “Peace Commission Game.” (Library of Congress)

gage the services of the French government to help negotiate a cease-fire. This would serve as a preliminary step to final peace negotiations.

On August 2, Spain accepted the U.S. proposals for peace but with some reservations regarding the disposition of the Philippine Islands because McKinley was not entirely sure what to do with the archipelago. Prior to meeting in Paris, the formal Protocol of Peace was signed in Washington, D.C., on August 12, 1898. It officially ended hostilities between Spain and the United States in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines.

By September 16, American and Spanish commissioners for the peace talks had been officially appointed. On the American side, McKinley selected his five-man delegation with care. Three prominent members of the Senate were chosen in an obvious effort to win support for the pact in advance. The U.S. commissioners were William R. Day, U.S. secretary of state who resigned his post (and was succeeded by John Hay) in order to head the peace delegation; William P. Frye, Republican senator from Maine and president pro tempore of the Senate; Whitelaw Reid, Ohio journalist, owner of the *New York Tribune*, minister to France, Republican vice presidential candidate on the 1892 ticket, and a mild imperialist; Democratic senator from Delaware George Gray, a respected jurist; and Minnesota Republican senator Cushman K. Davis, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The Spanish commissioners included Eugenio Montero Rios, president of the Spanish Senate; Buenaventura Abarzuza, a senator and associate justice of the Supreme Court; José de Garnica y Diaz; Wenceslao Ramirez de Villa Urrutia, envoy extraordinary; and General of the Army Rafael Cerero y Saenz.

Prior to the commencement of negotiations in Paris on October 1, the American commissioners were divided over the issue of Philippine annexation. Day, representing the anti-imperialists and former president Grover Cleveland's "little America," opposed the acquisition of the islands. Senator Frye, an advocate of Hawaii annexation, along with Reid and Davis meanwhile urged the retention of all the islands. It would be these three who would ultimately carry out the president's wishes in this matter.

Before addressing the Philippines, however, a protracted controversy over Cuba took nearly a month once negotiations started. American commissioners insisted on independence for Cuba in keeping with the spirit of the Teller Amendment that denied any intention on the part of the United States to annex the island. The Spanish delegation, however, led by Rios and Urrutia, insisted on handing Cuba over to the United States. The real stumbling block was that annexation would have involved the United States absorbing nearly \$400 million in debt incurred by Spanish authorities in their attempts to crush the rebellion. The American commissioners flatly rejected such a course.

The question of what to do with the Philippines occupied even more time. McKinley had instructed his delegation to focus on the commercial advantages of the islands and to insist that the United States could not accept anything less than Luzon, the largest island and home to the principal city of Manila and its valuable harbor. The reality was that McKinley had already decided on an expansionist course and believed that popular opinion would eventually catch up with him. In early November, the Spanish commissioners warned that the demand for all of the Philippines, added to the insistence that Spain assume full responsibility for the Cuban debt, could end the negotiations. Reid, Frye, and Day then suggested that Spain be allowed to retain the southern islands of Mindanao and Sulu. But the new secretary of state, John Hay, then cabled the commissioners that the president would accept nothing less than all of the Philippines. On November 28, the Spanish commissioners reluctantly accepted the American proposal of a \$20 million payment for all the islands.

Reid and the other expansionist members of the American commission also entertained the question of the annexation of the Caroline Islands during the course of negotiations. American capitalists were considering prospects for a cable between Hawaii and Manila, making the Carolines an attractive acquisition. But the German government quickly preempted such a U.S. acquisition. In fact, a secret accord was struck in which Spain agreed to sell to Germany the islands of Kusaie, Ponape, and Yap in the Carolines. The Spanish commissioners informed their American counterparts that the Caroline archipelago was beyond the scope of the proposed treaty. The American commissioners acquiesced on the point, paving the way for a final settlement.

On December 10, 1898, the peace commissioners on both sides signed the Treaty of Paris formally ending the Spanish-American War. The treaty dictated that Spain renounce all rights to Cuba and agree to an independent Cuba, cede Puerto Rico and Guam to the

United States, and give up possessions in the West Indies. The treaty also stipulated that Spain sell the Philippines to the United States for \$20 million. On December 21, McKinley issued his so-called Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation, formally ceding the Philippines to the United States and ordering American troops there to impose American sovereignty over the islands, which was to occur before the U.S. Senate ratified the Treaty of Paris. Although the war with Spain was officially over, the conflict in the Philippines lasted almost three more years.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

See also

Cambon, Jules-Martin; Caroline Islands; Davis, Cushman Kellogg; Day, William Rufus; Frye, William Pierce; Gray, George; Guam; Hay, John Milton; McKinley, William; Paris, Treaty of; Peace, Protocol of; Philippine Islands, U.S. Acquisition of; Puerto Rico; Reid, Whitelaw

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Peanut Club

Nickname given to daily press conferences held at the Cuban Junta's headquarters in New York City. Sponsored by the Cuban Junta, press conferences were typically held at 4:00 p.m., Monday through Friday, beginning with the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898). Reporters attending the press conferences dubbed them the Peanut Club because Cuban Junta officials always had copious amounts of peanuts for reporters to eat. Horatio Rubens, a New York City attorney and chief legal counsel to the group, presided over most of the press conferences.

The Cuban Junta was formed in September 1895 shortly after the beginning of the Cuban War of Independence. Its principal purpose was to seek U.S. support for the Cuban cause and to lobby politicians and others in positions of power to champion their effort and pressure the Spanish to abandon Cuba. The Cuban Junta worked closely with the yellow journalists of the day and became a favorite cause of newspaper publishers such as Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst. It is believed that the Cuban Junta had two of its agents working directly for two influential American newspapers, the *New Orleans Times-Picayune* and the District of Columbia *Washington Star*.

Perhaps the most visible function of the Cuban Junta was to conduct a far-flung public relations effort designed to sway public

opinion to the Cuban cause. While some of the accounts of Cuban troubles were clearly accurate, many were not. Some incidents and reports were purposely exaggerated, while others were fabricated altogether. These stories and reports coming from the Cuban Junta invariably portrayed the Spanish as barbaric aggressors with no moral compass. The Cubans, on the other hand, were portrayed as heroic liberators insistent on the establishment of a pure and independent Cuban democracy.

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See also

Cuban Junta; Cuban War of Independence; Hearst, William Randolph; Journalism; Newspapers; Pulitzer, Joseph; Yellow Journalism

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Pearl of the Antilles

A commonly used nickname for the island of Cuba. The Antilles are the chain of islands, including Cuba, that form the majority of the West Indies, located in the Caribbean Sea between North and South America. The Antilles are divided between the Greater Antilles and the Lesser Antilles. Included among the Greater Antilles are Hispaniola (present-day Dominican Republic and Haiti), Cuba, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico. The Lesser Antilles lie to the southeast and include the many smaller islands of the Leeward and Windward Islands. The origin of "antilles," a French word, is somewhat obscure, but a variant of it appeared on European maps dating to the late medieval period. During the early period of European exploration in the area, the Caribbean Sea was often referred to as the Sea of the Antilles.

Cuba, the largest island in all of the Antilles, came to be known as the Pearl of the Antilles because it was coveted by all of the major colonial powers beginning in the 16th century. Indeed, Spain, France, and Britain all cast their lot to control the island of Cuba, but in the end Spain maintained control of Cuba practically uninterrupted for nearly 400 years. Christopher Columbus, the first European to visit Cuba, which occurred in October 1492, declared it to be "the most beautiful land human eyes have ever beheld." His arrival was made all the more moving by the warm reception he received by the Siboney Indians who inhabited the island. From that point on, Europeans and especially the Spanish saw in Cuba an infinite land of precious resources and prosperity. Less than a generation later, however, the Spaniards' quest for gold and other sources of wealth in Cuba had seriously undermined the native social fabric of the island. European diseases wiped out native populations, and the Spanish imported African slaves for

labor. Besides its rich natural resources, Cuba offered a generally salubrious climate that lent itself well to the cultivation of crops such as sugarcane and cotton, which only increased the island's allure from the European perspective.

By the late 16th century, a prosperous slave-based Cuban economy, much of which was based upon the cultivation of sugar, had turned cities such as Havana into elegant microcosms of European society. Controlling the island of Cuba gave Spain de facto control over much of the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico, which was particularly important in defending its interests in Mexico as well as in Central and South America. It also allowed the Spanish to control the strategic Florida Strait and its interests in Florida and along the Gulf Coast. Indeed, long after the once-mighty Spanish Empire began to crumble in the New World, Cuba remained Spain's most stable and prosperous colony. Not until the 1860s would a concentrated rebellion against Spanish rule take root on the island, more than 50 years after revolts had caused Spain to lose many of its other American colonies.

Europeans were not the only people to cast covetous eyes upon the Pearl of the Antilles. Over the years, many Americans—including leading politicians—had shown interest in controlling the island. Thomas Jefferson himself stated bluntly that "we must have Cuba" nearly a century before the Spanish-American War began. Southern planters in the United States also greedily eyed the sugar plantations in Cuba, hoping to one day enjoy a controlling interest in sugar production and trade. They also saw in Cuba an additional slave state for the union.

Cuba's natural beauty and bountiful resources, strategic location in the Caribbean, and proximity to the Americas without a doubt earned it the sobriquet Pearl of the Antilles. Even after the Spanish-American War ended, the United States exercised virtual control over the island until Fidel Castro's 1959 communist-inspired revolution cast away nearly every vestige of American hegemony there. And still, more than 100 years after the war and almost 50 years after Castro's revolution, the United States still maintains a naval base in Cuba at Guantánamo Bay, a powerful sign that Cuba remains the Pearl of the Antilles to the present day.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cuba; Cuban Sugar; Ostend Manifesto

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Penny Press

Inexpensive, sensationalistic newspapers that began circulating in the 1830s and were the precursors to the yellow journalism of the



Newsboy selling papers on a street corner in 1896. (Library of Congress)

1880s and 1890s. Unlike the partisan newspapers of the pre-American Civil War period, the penny press papers (that is, newspapers that sold for a penny), such as Edward Bennett's *New York Herald*, emphasized sensationalistic crime stories that appealed to a large working-class reading audience. During the Civil War, the *New York Herald* and other similar newspapers sent reporters directly into the field. Because of the demands of the reading public about facts in the war and the world economy that had been imposed by the telegraph, the penny press changed journalism from partisan publications to fact-based reporting. Indeed, the penny press was the prototype of modern journalism.

Prior to the 1830s, newspapers were often called broadsides and were not cheap to produce. Improvements in printing technology, especially the steam-powered cylinder press (rotary press), led to great reductions in the cost of producing newspapers so that they could be sold for a penny, as opposed to the papers produced by the flat plate process that commonly sold for six cents a copy. Two of the leaders in the penny press, Benjamin Day's *New York Sun* and Edward Bennett's *New York Herald*, were aggressively hawked on the streets by paid salesmen. This led to a remarkable rise in their circulations, which allowed the penny press to rely on higher advertising rates to increase profits. The *Herald* reached a circulation of more than 75,000 before the Civil War even though the price had increased to two cents a copy. These tabloid-style papers also differed from the Jacksonian-era partisan papers, which had as their sole goal the election of candidates from specific parties and which

often were founded and operated by party operatives. The Jacksonian-era presses also benefited greatly from the franking privilege in Congress whereby elected officials could send for free any mail to constituents, bombarding voters with a legislator's most recent speeches or commentary.

Bennett and Day, however, emphasized stories that would appeal to buyers, especially crime and particularly the more sensationalistic and lurid stories that could be found. Relying heavily on police reports, the *Herald* and *Sun* were really the forerunners of today's *National Enquirer*, and while penny presses failed at higher rates, before long every city had one. For example, Philadelphia had the *Daily Transcript*, and Boston had the *Daily Ledger*. These papers appealed to immigrants, and the motto of the *Sun* ("It Shines for All") reflected the alleged democratic effects that they had on mass publishing. Certainly, the penny press made publishers such as Bennett quite wealthy.

The penny press changed reporting, which, after all, had merely meant repeating verbatim politicians' speeches in many of the Jacksonian-era papers. Bennett's reporters fought a number of legal battles to report directly from courtrooms without being held in contempt, and Bennett personally investigated the murder of a young prostitute in 1836. The *Herald* sent a reporter to cover the Mexican-American War and had more than 60 reporters covering the American Civil War. By that time, a revolution in journalism had taken place partly due to the telegraph, which placed a premium on word economy. Flowery and verbose stories were replaced by tightly written fact-based reporting that got to the point quickly.

Some journalism historians argue that the inverted pyramid appeared at this time in which the most important facts were presented first, then facts of lesser importance, and so on. The demand for facts during the American Civil War combined with the appearance of professional publishing managers killed the old partisan papers. Already, the partisan press had been unable to pay for itself. Collections on circulations were always behind, and without subsidies from political parties, the partisan press would have collapsed much sooner. The benefits provided by the franking privilege also aided these newspapers. According to one student of the postal system, shipping a newspaper was about eight times cheaper than shipping a book. This, in turn, drove publishers away from book publishing and into newspaper publishing.

In the years leading up to the Spanish-American War, even the mainstream press had begun to borrow reporting and publishing techniques from the penny press. Indeed, publishing magnates such as Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst began publishing sensationalistic and lurid accounts of Spanish atrocities in Cuba, which fed the public's hunger for such reporting and fanned the flames of interventionism. After the United States declared war on Spain in April 1898, the so-called yellow press, a linear descendant of the penny press, dispatched scores of reporters, along with photographers, to the front lines to report to the American public on the war effort. By the turn of the 20th century, journalism in the

United States had become thoroughly modernized, not to mention remarkably lucrative.

LARRY SCHWEIKART

See also

Hearst, William Randolph; Journalism; Pulitzer, Joseph; Telephone and Telegraph; Yellow Journalism

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Pershing, John Joseph

Birth Date: September 13, 1860

Death Date: July 15, 1948

General of the Armies of the United States and commander of U.S. forces in France in World War I. Born in Laclede, Missouri, on September 13, 1860, John “Black Jack” Pershing worked odd jobs and taught school to support his family until receiving an appointment to the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1882. Commissioned a second lieutenant upon graduation in 1886, he joined the 6th Cavalry Regiment in New Mexico and saw limited action in the final subjugation of the Apache Indians. He also participated in the campaign to quiet the Sioux in 1891 following the tragic confrontation at Wounded Knee.

In 1891, Pershing became professor of military science at the University of Nebraska, where he also studied law. He completed a law degree in 1893 and, frustrated by the lack of military advancement, flirted with the idea of a legal career. In 1895, however, he returned to the field with the 10th Cavalry, an African American unit. He joined the staff of commanding general Nelson A. Miles in Washington in 1896 and then was an instructor of tactics at West Point in 1897. Here, cadets unhappy with Pershing’s dark demeanor and rigid style labeled him “Black Jack,” a derogatory reference to his 10th Cavalry posting.

With the start of the Spanish-American War in 1898, Pershing left his teaching assignment to rejoin the 10th Cavalry for the Cuba Campaign, arriving at Tampa, Florida, just in time to board the regiment’s transport for Cuba. His men performed well during the Santiago Campaign, and Pershing distinguished himself in the Battle of Las Guásimas on June 24. In the fight for San Juan Heights on July 1, he drew praise for his own coolness and bravery under fire and was later awarded the Silver Star for this action. Contracting malaria, he returned to the United States to recover. There he was



General of the Armies of the United States John J. Pershing, who commanded U.S. forces in France during World War I, first distinguished himself in Cuba during the Spanish-American War and in Moro Province during the Philippine-American War. (Library of Congress)

promoted to major of U.S. Volunteers in August and was assigned to the office of the assistant secretary of war, where he was given oversight of the War Department’s new Bureau of Insular Affairs, charged with administering the Philippines and Puerto Rico. Pershing believed that the United States had acted correctly in acquiring the Philippines and firmly believed in a U.S. civilizing mission there.

In September 1899, Pershing was assigned to the Philippines. There he campaigned successfully against the Moros in the Lake Lanao region in central Mindanao in 1901–1902, attracting further recognition for his ability to win their friendship and trust. Commander in the Philippines Brigadier General Adna Chaffee appointed Pershing commander of Camp Vicars on Mindanao in June 1902, and Pershing put into practice his policy of waging the peace, resorting to force with the Moros only as a last recourse. As recognition of the high esteem in which he was held, the Moros gave him the title of datu (chieftain).

Pershing returned to the United States for General Staff service and to attend the Army War College in 1903. As military attaché to Japan during 1905–1906, he became an official observer of the

Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). Impressed with Pershing, President Theodore Roosevelt nominated him for direct promotion from captain to brigadier general in September 1906, vaulting him ahead of 862 more senior officers. Pershing spent most of the next eight years in the Philippines, where he continued to display effective leadership as military commander of Moro Province and crushed the last major Moro uprising at Bud Bagsak in January 1912. Returning to the United States, he commanded briefly at the Presidio, San Francisco, before moving to Fort Bliss near El Paso, Texas, in 1914 to confront problems associated with the Mexican Revolution. His wife Frances Warren and their three daughters, who remained at the Presidio, died in a house fire there in 1915.

Following the raid by Mexican revolutionary leader Francisco “Pancho” Villa on the small border town of Columbus, New Mexico, on March 9, 1916, Pershing took charge of a Punitive Expedition of 10,000 men into Mexico with orders to capture or kill Villa and his followers while avoiding conflict with Mexico. The expedition lasted 10 months, cut deep into northern Mexico, and threatened all-out war. Although Villa escaped, Pershing tested new technologies, including machine guns, aircraft, motorized transport, and radio.

Following the U.S. declaration of war on Germany on April 6, 1917, President Woodrow Wilson named Pershing, only recently promoted to major general, to command the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) in France on May 12, 1917. Pershing, promoted to full general in October 1917, stubbornly refused to have his forces broken up in smaller units as fillers for British and French forces. However, during the crisis occasioned by Germany’s 1918 Spring (Ludendorff) Offensives, Pershing offered individual U.S. divisions to the Allied command, and the Americans quickly proved their worth.

Pershing directed American forces in the Aisne-Marne Offensive (July 25–August 2, 1918) and the St. Mihiel Salient Offensive (September 12–17). He hoped to follow up this latter victory with a drive on Metz and beyond, but Allied commander General Ferdinand Foch favored a broad-front strategy and refused. Pershing then redirected American efforts into the massive Allied Meuse-Argonne Offensive (September 26–November 11). He opposed the armistice of November 11, 1918, preferring to fight until Germany surrendered, but was overruled.

After overseeing the demobilization of American forces, Pershing returned to the United States a hero in 1919. Congress confirmed his status as a four-star general with the rank title of general of the armies that September. After serving as army chief of staff during 1921–1924, Pershing retired. In 1923, he also became chairman of the American Battle Monuments Commission, the organization responsible for the administration of all American military cemeteries outside the United States. He continued serving in that capacity until 1948.

Active in public life thereafter, Pershing received the Pulitzer Prize for his memoir, *My Experiences in the World War* (1931). He died at Washington, D.C., on July 15, 1948. A stern disciplinarian

with high standards and a superb administrator with an ability to pick able subordinates, Pershing was also a military diplomat of high order and among the most significant leaders in American military history.

DAVID COFFEY

See also

Bud Dajo Campaign; Lake Lanao Campaigns; Las Guásimas, Battle of; Moros; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign

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Philanthropy

In the last third of the 19th century, U.S. industrialists gave away vast sums. If the last decades of the 19th century were known for their unbridled economic expansion and speculation in the United States, so too were they known for the rise of organized philanthropy on a scale never before witnessed. Indeed, the phenomenon of private philanthropy on a massive scale was distinctly American, and in no other industrialized nation—not even in Western Europe—had such a thing ever occurred. Helping to fuel such philanthropic endeavors were modern industrialization and rapid and massive consolidation within industries, which left solitary individuals in control of dizzying sums of money. Also promoting this trend were U.S. government policies that emphasized a laissez-faire economic philosophy that ensured to businesses negligible taxation and practically unfettered access to markets, expansion, consolidation, and profits.

Since the late 1860s, American industrial expansion had brought about the Gilded Age, a term first used by Mark Twain to describe American society in the Victorian era. That same society had helped produce the so-called robber barons, a pejorative term used to describe some of America’s most powerful and wealthy industrialists. During the Gilded Age, industrialists such as Cornelius Vanderbilt, Henry Clay Frick, John D. Rockefeller, and Andrew Carnegie amassed personal fortunes; indeed, not even most of the European aristocracy could lay claim to such monetary empires. The American industrialists lived life large, erecting gigantic homes along New York City’s Fifth Avenue that were fit for kings. Indeed, for roughly a three-mile stretch, each mansion that went up seemed larger and more ornate than the other. Nowhere in the world was such wealth concentrated in such a small space. These same wealthy men also built grand cottages along the shore, such as at



Adult reading room in the Carnegie Library of Homestead, Munhall, Pennsylvania, circa 1900. (Library of Congress)

Newport, Rhode Island, where the largest of such summer residences, used just a few weeks per year, was constructed in the 1890s by Cornelius Vanderbilt II. This Renaissance Italianate mansion features 70 rooms and a great hall with 45-foot-high ceilings.

Some decried the lavishness of the 1890s industrialists. In his much-celebrated book *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899), the Norwegian-born American economist and sociologist Thorstein Veblen coined the phrase “conspicuous consumption,” used to describe the apparently unbridled wealth and consumption of the nation’s wealthiest people. Viewing the spectacles of immense wealth with chagrin, Veblen argued that the vast consumption patterns of men such as Vanderbilt were driven by a narcissistic desire to impress and awe with little regard as to how they accumulated their fortunes.

Despite such damning criticisms, there was an upside to the accumulation of great wealth, for many industrialists gave away some if not all of their money, giving rise to admirable philanthropic achievements. The trend had begun more modestly in the early 19th century when John Jacob Astor had funded the Astor Library, which became the foundation for the New York Public Library, the

second-largest such institution in the nation and the world’s biggest privately financed library.

Not until the 1880s and 1890s, however, did philanthropy become big business. The steel magnate Andrew Carnegie, a proponent of the so-called gospel of wealth, once said that to die rich is to die disgraced. Carnegie donated almost his entire fortune to charity (an estimated \$350 million, or approximately \$4.3 billion in today’s dollars), in the process building 5,000 libraries around the nation and many other such public institutions. John D. Rockefeller, the oil baron, gave away \$500 million. The world-renowned financier John Pierpont Morgan, who had accumulated the biggest private art collection in the world, gave away all of it. This formed the core of the Metropolitan Museum in New York and the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, Connecticut. Even Henry Clay Frick, perhaps the most controversial of the robber barons, gave away his impressive art collection to New York City, including his home on Fifth Avenue, and bequeathed \$15 million to maintain them, a princely sum at the turn of the century.

Besides the obvious public good that came from such endeavors, such grand philanthropy had turned the United States from a ver-

itable cultural desert in 1800 into an impressive intellectual and cultural mecca by 1900. The foresight of the nation's leading industrialists ensured that U.S. economic power was matched by its urbanity and enlightenment. This groundswell of philanthropy helped to fuel Americans' desire to spread their democratic institutions and economic prowess to other parts of the globe. It also seemed to point to the necessity of expanding into new markets to keep the economy expanding. All of these factors helped to push America into war in 1898 and to acquire a significant overseas empire by the end of the century.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Carnegie, Andrew; Frick, Henry Clay; Gilded Age; Morgan, John Pierpont, Sr.; Robber Barons; Rockefeller, John Davison; Twain, Mark

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Philip, John Woodward

Birth Date: August 26, 1840

Death Date: June 30, 1900

U.S. Navy officer and commander of the second-class battleship *Texas* during the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3, 1898. Born in Kinderhook, New York, on August 26, 1840, John Woodward Philip was appointed to the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, in 1856 and graduated in 1861. During the American Civil War (1861–1865), he served in the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron. In July 1863, he was wounded while aboard the screw gunboat *Chippewa* in an action not far from Charleston, South Carolina. Following the war, he saw duty in a variety of overseas postings.

In October 1897, Captain Philip became the commanding officer of the *Texas*. With the beginning of the Spanish-American War in April 1898, his ship began blockade duty off the Cuban coast on May 21, 1898, and subsequently conducted a bombardment of a Spanish fort in Guantánamo Bay. The *Texas* then spent the month of June in blockade duty off the harbor of Santiago de Cuba, where Spanish rear admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron was anchored. Half of the battleship's crew were kept on full alert each night in readiness should the Spanish attempt a breakout.

On July 3, 1898, the Spanish squadron attempted to escape to sea. As the principal Spanish warships emerged from the harbor, the *Texas* moved toward them and opened fire with its 12-inch guns on the Spanish flagship, the armored cruiser *Infanta Maria Teresa*. Blinded by smoke from its own guns, the *Texas* narrowly missed colliding with the U.S. armored cruiser *Brooklyn*. The *Texas* next



U.S. Navy captain John Woodward Philip commanded the battleship *Texas* during the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3, 1898. (Naval Historical Center)

engaged the Spanish armored cruisers *Vizcaya* and *Almirante Oquendo*. A shell from the *Oquendo* exploded close to the *Texas*'s bridge. As Philip described it, "I remember pitching up in the air, with my coat tails flying behind me, as if I had been thrown by one of [Theodore] Roosevelt's broncos." The *Texas*'s secondary battery later joined other U.S. warships in hammering two Spanish torpedo boat destroyers, the *Furor* and *Pluton*, that were run ashore and destroyed.

An hour after the battle had commenced, the *Texas* passed the burning *Oquendo*, which had run ashore and raised a white flag. Philip ordered his crew to cease firing on the Spanish ship and told his men, "Don't cheer boys—the poor fellows are dying." As the chase continued, the *Vizcaya* was torn apart by shellfire and run ashore. The *Cristóbal Colón*, the final surviving Spanish ship, was closely pursued by the *Texas*, the first-class battleship *Oregon*, and the *Brooklyn* until the *Cristóbal Colón* began to run out of fuel and ran ashore, ending the battle.

From September to December 1898, Philip served as commander of the 2nd Squadron in the North Atlantic Fleet with his

flag on the battleship *New York*. On January 19, 1899, he took command of the New York (Brooklyn) Navy Yard and Navy Station and received his final promotion to the rank of rear admiral in March 1899. Philip died on active duty at the New York Navy Yard on June 30, 1900. Two U.S. Navy destroyers were subsequently named for him.

GLENN E. HELM

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of

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Philippine-American War

Start Date: February 4, 1899

End Date: July 4, 1902

A war between U.S. occupation forces in the Philippines and Filipino nationalist insurgents (Filipino Nationalist Army) led by General Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy. The conflict began on February 4, 1899, and military actions ended on April 13, 1902, upon the surrender of the last Filipino general. The war was officially declared over on July 4, 1902. Armed conflict did not come to a complete halt until 1913, however, with Moro (Muslim) and other armed guerrilla groups continuing to wage sporadic resistance against American forces throughout the archipelago. Many of these conflicts occurred independently from one another. Some historians consider these conflicts to be a continuation of the war beyond 1902.

The origins of the Philippine-American War lie in the American victory over Spain in the Spanish-American War of 1898. Under the terms of the Treaty of Paris, signed on December 10, 1898, the United States acquired the Philippine Islands from Spain for \$20 million. President William McKinley proclaimed that the United States would now have sovereign rights over the Philippines, couching his expansionist aspirations in the rhetoric of benevolent assimilation.

By this time, Aguinaldo had already declared independence from Spain on June 12, 1898. Not long after, on January 23, 1899,

the First Philippine Republic was officially inaugurated, complete with a new constitution modeled on those of Mexico, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Brazil, Belgium, and France. Malolos was the capital of the new republic, and Aguinaldo was the first president. Initially, the Filipinos had considered the Americans to be allies in their revolutionary war against Spain, but after the American annexation of the Philippines, American intentions became clear. The United States was not about to grant the Filipinos independence. This precipitated a war that would last much longer and cost far more lives than the Spanish-American War. While American forces sought to enforce their acquisition of the Philippines, the Filipinos fought to uphold the First Philippine Republic. In essence, the two sides were fighting for colonization and independence, respectively.

Tensions between American and Filipino forces first began to mount in Manila in August 1898. Filipino revolutionaries had already wrested control of most of the Philippines from the Spanish except for a tiny walled section of Old Manila called the Intramuros. Some 12,000 Filipino soldiers had amassed around the perimeter of the Intramuros and were playing a waiting game, expecting the Spanish to surrender once their food supplies ran out. Meanwhile, the Spanish governor-general, Fermín Jáudenes y Alvarez, held secret discussions with Commodore George Dewey and Major General Wesley Merritt. Through these discussions, an agreement was reached whereby Spanish and American forces would stage a mock battle so that Spain could save face by surrendering to the Americans instead of to the Filipino rebels. After the staged First Battle of Manila, Spain handed over control of the Intramuros to the Americans on August 13, 1898. From there, U.S. forces set about occupying the rest of Manila, excluding Filipino troops beyond the line of demarcation. It was at this point that relations between the Americans and their former Filipino allies deteriorated rapidly.

The actual Philippine-American War commenced on February 4, 1899, and was sparked by an incident on San Juan Bridge in Manila, where American troops were guarding the boundaries of U.S.-occupied Manila. A group of Filipino soldiers strayed close to the line of demarcation and were ordered to halt. When the orders were not heeded, an American army private shot and killed one of the soldiers. This became the very first shot of the war. The Second Battle of Manila (February 4, 1899) that followed resulted in 250 American and 2,000 Filipino casualties. By March 25, American troops had forced the retreat of the Filipino Nationalist Army from Manila. At the opening of the war, the Filipino army was under the overall command of Aguinaldo, while Major General Elwell Otis was the appointed commander of the American forces. The United

Estimated Casualties of the Philippine-American War

	<i>Total Mobilized</i>	<i>Killed in Action or Died of Wounds</i>	<i>Died of Disease</i>	<i>Wounded</i>	<i>Civilian Deaths</i>
Philippines	80,000–100,000	16,000	Unknown	Unknown	250,000–1 million
United States	126,000	1,500	2,825	2,818	N/A

States began the campaign for its acquisition of the Philippine Islands with a U.S. Expeditionary Force of just more than 20,000 soldiers as of January 31, 1899. By April 16, 1902, it had required 126,000 troops to vanquish the Filipino army. With Manila secure, U.S. troops began their thrust into northern Luzon under Major General Arthur MacArthur. Confronting American forces were Filipino insurgents led by General Antonio Luna. MacArthur's first objective was to capture Malolos, the capital of the First Philippine Republic. This was accomplished on March 31, 1899. The Americans continued to win hard-fought victories, in particular at the Battle of Quingua (April 23, 1899) and the Battle of Zapote Bridge (June 13, 1899). The latter was the largest single battle in the Philippine-American War. During the battle, 5,000 Filipino troops squared off against 3,000 American troops. While the Filipinos had the advantage in numbers, the Americans had the advantage of superior firepower, inflicting more than 500 casualties in just a few hours of heavy fighting, as compared to the 75 casualties suffered by the Americans. Major General Henry Ware Lawton, who commanded the U.S. forces at Zapote Bridge, expressed in his dispatches his admiration for the bravery displayed by the Filipinos in battle.

On November 12, 1899, Aguinaldo dissolved the regular army of the First Philippine Republic and reformed it into a series of guerrilla units. Battles such as the one at Zapote Bridge had made the Filipinos aware of the futility of engaging the Americans in large traditional military formations, especially considering their motley and substandard weaponry. The shift to guerrilla tactics would enable the Filipinos to capitalize on their vastly superior knowledge of the landscape and offset their disadvantaged position in the conflict.

The guerrilla war made the American occupation of the Philippines increasingly more difficult over the next few years, with the Filipino army carrying out frequent and deadly raids and surprise ambushes. In the first four months of the guerrilla campaign alone, the Americans suffered almost 500 casualties. The most famous of the Filipinos' guerrilla victories were the Battle of Pulang Lupa (September 13, 1900) and the surprise attack that came to be known as the Balangiga Massacre (September 28, 1901), masterminded by General Vicente Lukban. Both of these guerrilla actions resulted in decisive Filipino victories and heavy American casualties, sending shockwaves through the U.S. high command. At first, there was speculation that the Filipinos might fight American forces into a stalemate and force them to withdraw. However, the guerrilla tactics propelled the Americans to launch a vicious series of reprisal attacks.

In retaliation for the Balangiga Massacre, Brigadier General Jacob Smith issued the infamous order to kill all males aged 10 and up on the island of Samar and burn all the villages until there was nothing left but "a howling wilderness." This campaign was assigned to a marine detachment under the command of Major Littleton Waller. Besides such scorched earth campaigns, American forces also concentrated civilians into so-called protected zones



U.S. forces firing on Filipino insurgents from Block House No. 13, Manila, during the Philippine-American War. (Library of Congress)

that were, for all intents and purposes, concentration camps in which thousands more died. In the United States, there was instant outrage against American tactics in Samar. Congress also held public hearings concerning the atrocities in the Philippines. For his part, General Smith was deemed to have overstepped his prerogatives and was court-martialed and forced to retire from the army.

The American repression severely weakened Filipino resolve. In addition, the insurgents were steadily losing their top generals. General Luna was assassinated by rivals within the Philippine leadership in June 1899, and Brigadier General Gregorio de Pilar was killed in action at the Battle of Tirad Pass on December 2, 1899. This battle was successfully fought as a delaying action by the Filipinos to allow Aguinaldo to escape from the American advance. It was only a matter of time, however, before Aguinaldo was captured. After continually shifting his base of operations for the duration of the war, evading the American pursuit for as long as he could, Aguinaldo was finally apprehended by Colonel Frederick Funston in Palanan, Isabella, on March 23, 1901. Not long afterward, on April 1, 1901, Aguinaldo pledged his allegiance to the United States at the Malacañang Palace in Manila, publicly calling on his followers to lay down their arms and accept American rule.

Aguinaldo's surrender and about-face came as a shock to those still fighting for Philippine independence. General Mariano Trias replaced Aguinaldo at the helm of the Filipino army but surrendered to the Americans soon afterward. The leadership then fell to General Miguel Malvar, who launched an offensive campaign in the Batangas region of southern Luzon against American-held towns. He achieved several small victories but won the ire of Brigadier General J. Franklin Bell, who pursued him relentlessly. Malvar, along

with his entire command, finally surrendered on April 13, 1902. He was the last Filipino general to capitulate. By the end of the month, a further 3,000 of Malvar's men surrendered. Northern Luzon, by this point, had already been pacified, and now southern Luzon followed suit.

On July 4, 1902, President Theodore Roosevelt declared the Philippine-American War (or what the Americans called the Philippine Insurrection) over. While this marked the official end of the conflict, some historians consider the war to have continued unofficially until 1913. Indeed, sporadic resistance against American military forces continued throughout the archipelago, spearheaded in different regions by different guerrilla organizations largely fighting independently from one another. General Macario Sakay led one of the strongest groups. He had been a senior member of the Katipunan, a secret mass nationalist organization that had led the Philippine revolution against Spain from 1895 to 1898. Sakay revived the Katipunan for the new war against the United States and even founded a short-lived independent republic—the Katagalugan Tagalog Republic—in the mountains of southern Luzon. This lasted from 1902 to 1907, when Sakay and the Katipunan leadership were captured and executed by American forces.

Mindanao, in the south of the Philippine archipelago, was the last region to be pacified by U.S. occupation forces. There, the Moros resisted until 1913 in what the Americans called the Moro Rebellion. The Moros were never a part of the Filipino Nationalist Army under Aguinaldo but instead fought independently. Nevertheless, many historians consider the Moro Rebellion to have been the second front in the Philippine-American War. When Roosevelt proclaimed the end of the war in 1902, he added that his proclamation did not include Mindanao, where Moro forces were still refusing to submit. The last major engagement between American and Moro forces was the Battle of Bud Bagsak (January 11–15, 1913). As many as 500–1,000 Moros were killed in an American attack led by Brigadier General John J. Pershing. Not long afterward, much of the Moro leadership surrendered, and on March 22, 1915, the sultan of Sulu signed an agreement with the Americans recognizing and accepting U.S. sovereignty.

In the final analysis, it took the Americans more than three years and \$600 million to defeat the First Philippine Republic. Estimates of the number of Filipino soldiers who fought from 1898 to 1902 vary between 80,000 and 100,000, with tens of thousands of auxiliaries. While the Filipinos had the advantage of a superior knowledge of the local terrain, climate, and populace, their lack of adequate weapons, ammunition, and training were serious impediments to their campaign. Many of their rifles and cannon had been taken from the Spanish during the revolution of 1896–1898 or from captured or dead U.S. soldiers. The American ground forces were much better equipped, with added assistance from U.S. warships positioned off the coast when needed. In addition, the Americans were issued the most state-of-the-art weaponry of the time, including the Krag-Jørgenson bolt-action rifle and the Colt M1911 handgun. The latter was developed specifically for the war in the

Philippines and was designed so that it could kill a charging Filipino soldier with a single shot.

During the first phase of the war, 1899–1902, the Filipino Nationalist Army suffered an estimated 16,000 military deaths. Filipino civilian deaths are estimated to have been between 250,000 and 1 million, taking into account not just those killed directly by the war but also those who died of malnutrition and disease as a result of the conflict. This was out of a total population of 7 million Filipinos at the time of the outbreak of the war. A further 100,000 Filipino civilians perished in the Moro Rebellion. The U.S. military lost 4,325 soldiers during 1898–1902. Up to 1,500 of these were the result of actual combat, while the rest died of disease. A further 2,818 American soldiers were wounded. American forces continued to suffer periodic casualties in the suppression of the Moro Rebellion in the southern Philippines until 1913.

MARCO HEWITT

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Atrocities; Balangiga Massacre; Bell, James Franklin; Bud Bagsak, Battle of; Funston, Frederick; Lawton, Henry Ware; Lukban, Vicente; Luna de St. Pedro, António Narciso; Luzon Campaigns; MacArthur, Arthur; Malvar, Miguel; Manila, First Battle of; Manila, Second Battle of; Moro Campaigns; Moros; Otis, Elwell Stephen; Pacification Program, Philippine Islands; Pershing, John Joseph; Philippine-American War, U.S. Reaction to; Philippine Islands; Philippine Islands, U.S. Acquisition of; Pilar, Gregorio del; Samar Campaigns; Smith, Jacob Hurd; Tirad Pass, Battle of; Waller, Littleton Tazewell

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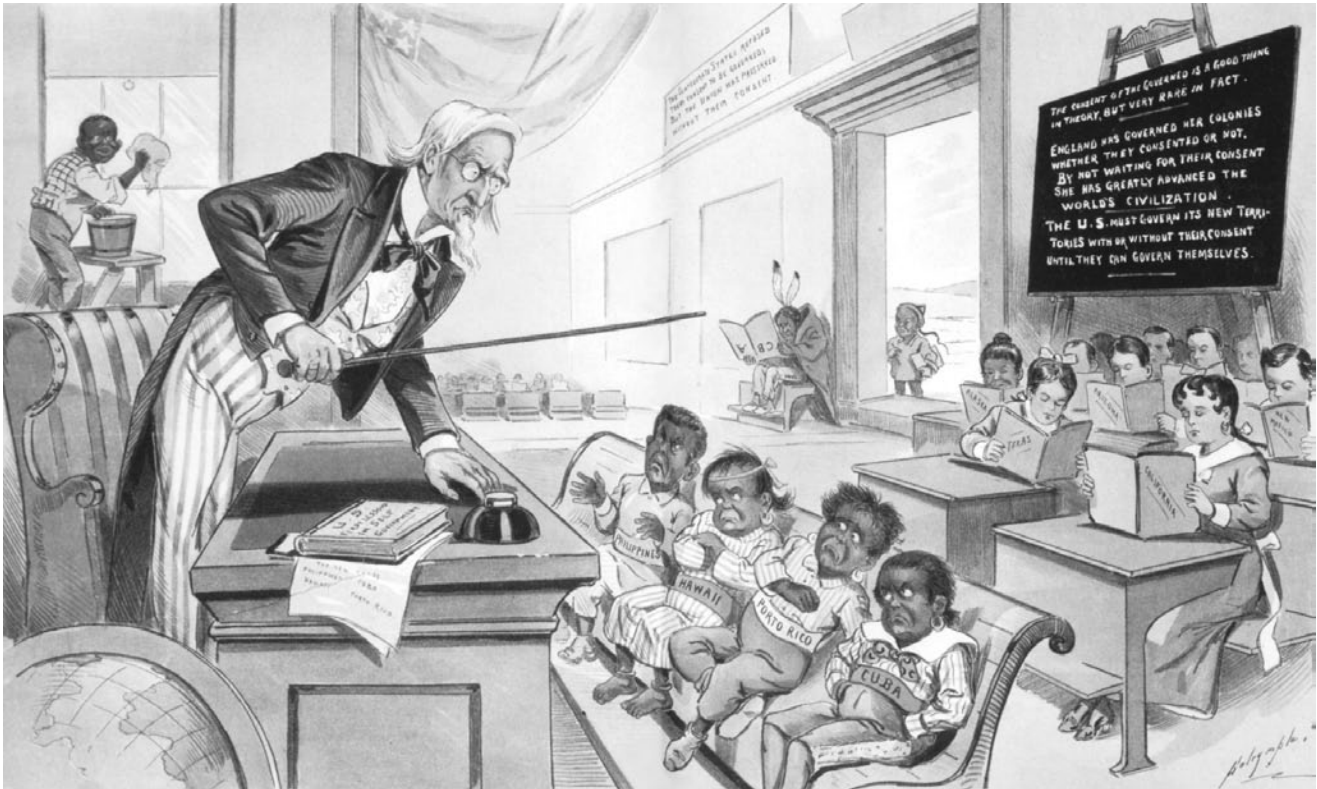
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Philippine-American War, U.S. Reaction to

The Philippine-American War that commenced on February 4, 1899, provoked various reactions in the United States, from vocal support to fierce protest. The widely popular Spanish-American War had just come to an end, finalized in the Treaty of Paris of December 10, 1898. In this pact, Spain ceded control of Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines to the United States. The treaty was the



Political cartoon titled "School Begins" showing Uncle Sam lecturing four children labeled "Philippines," "Hawaii," "Porto Rico," and "Cuba" in front of children holding books labeled with various U.S. states. In the background is an American Indian holding a book upside down and a Chinese boy at the door. Cartoon from an 1899 issue of *Puck*. (Library of Congress)

source of intense anti-imperialist debates both in and out of Congress. The outbreak of the Philippine-American War compelled rapid approval by the U.S. Senate of the Treaty of Paris on February 6, 1899, ensuring the transition of the United States to imperial power status.

American citizens were almost immediately polarized over the consequences of imperialism and overseas expansion. Issues of race, class, gender, and religion were all employed to support both sides of the imperialist argument and clearly framed reactions to the Philippine-American War. Political parties and organizations, yellow journalism, and U.S. military actions in the Philippines all influenced these issues and attitudes during the three-year-long insurgency.

Politically, the war was seen as pivotal to the interpretation of the U.S. Constitution and American foreign policy. Democrats, largely anti-imperialists, argued that the Constitution did not allow the United States to hold colonies or infringe on the sovereignty of another nation. They opposed the conduct of the U.S. military in the fighting, and some contended that foreign people of color had no place in U.S. government. Republicans, largely expansionists, asserted that benevolent assimilation and the spread of democracy were important ideals and that the war was a necessary duty to uphold American honor in the face of Filipino aggression. Most Filipinos, mirroring their former Spanish overlords, were Roman

Catholic; nevertheless, many Republicans promoted policies of Christianization (even though the vast majority of Filipinos were already Roman Catholics), uplifting and educating the "little brown brothers" overseas. Much of this mind-set had emerged from the ideas of social Darwinism and the so-called white man's burden, made famous by Rudyard Kipling.

A number of religious leaders responded to the antiwar arguments, although this was not with one voice. There was some religious opposition to war in general, primarily among Quakers, who were traditionally pacifists. But the missionary impulse generally also stirred support for the war from among both Protestants and Catholics. Many African Americans, particularly the black press, identified with the Filipinos, who were publicly portrayed as dark-skinned and inherently inferior. Sympathetic African Americans were vocally anti-imperialist, opposing the white domination of the Philippines.

Public discussions about citizenship and suffrage in the Philippines highlighted the limitations of civil rights within the United States. Thus, African Americans and suffragist women used the war to promote their own agendas. However, white suffragist women did not generally identify with the Filipinos and never organized an anti-imperialist platform. Many American women believed in the idea of social uplift, and some supported the war by traveling to the Philippines to serve there as teachers. Others,

however, were shocked by the brutality of guerrilla warfare and counterinsurgency.

The U.S. military had waged a conventional war with the Filipino Republican Army throughout much of 1899. In the United States, both the press and the public argued over whether the Filipinos were savage or civilized. Filipino revolutionary Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy's conventional tactics were intended to sway public opinion in his favor and convince the world that the Filipinos were indeed civilized and capable of governing themselves. When American forces won the Second Battle of Manila (February 4–23, 1899), which pitted Filipino insurgents against U.S. troops, the American public generally supported the war effort against the natives despite Aguinaldo's conventional strategy. Drawing on their experience with Native Americans in the West, U.S. citizens could easily conceptualize the indigenous Filipinos as Indians to be conquered, pacified, and ruled. Newspaper reports often reflected this attitude, comparing battles in the Philippines to the Indian Wars and promoting public support. In December 1899, with the war going against him, Aguinaldo shifted strategy, beginning a guerrilla war that would continue for another three years.

Individuals such as Mark Twain and groups such as the Anti-Imperialist League worked hard to oppose the war, but they were generally in the minority. Some anti-imperialists communicated directly with Aguinaldo, offering support and guaranteeing Philippine independence if McKinley lost the presidential election of 1900. Indeed, Filipino guerrillas began a series of offensive actions before the election hoping that an increase in American casualties would sway opinion in the United States against the war. The campaign was unsuccessful. McKinley's reelection demoralized the anti-imperialist faction, but it nevertheless continued its dissent into the new century.

As the Philippine-American War progressed, Americans worried increasingly about the consequences of the foreign expedition. Issues of immigration and long-term military occupation raised concerns about maintaining racial purity in the United States. Many groups, particularly women's organizations, were concerned with the idea of moral decay induced by contact with tropical peoples and venereal diseases carried by returning soldiers. In fact, anti-imperialists utilized the fear of venereal disease to demand the end of the war and the return of U.S. forces. Their demands went unheeded. Despite these worries, support for the war remained generally strong.

The final Philippine campaigns, however, deeply affected American reaction to the war. In October 1901, Brigadier General Jacob Smith began counterinsurgency operations on Samar, instructing his subordinates to make the island "a howling wilderness." In Batangas, Brigadier General James Franklin Bell began a system of concentration centers to isolate civilians from insurgents. Allegations of torture and other brutalities against civilians and prisoners made headlines, shocking the American public. In the U.S. Senate, the Committee on the Philippines (also known as the Lodge Committee for its chairman, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge) would hear

weeks' worth of testimony about military misconduct in the Philippines, and numerous military officers faced courts-martial for their actions.

By the end of the war in April 1902, many Americans had grown disillusioned about the conduct of American forces abroad. Part of this sentiment was certainly due to rising antiforeign, anti-imperialist ideas, but it was also provoked by the vicious and unpredictable nature of guerrilla or insurgency warfare in which the normal rules of military engagement were rendered moot.

Despite pockets of dissent, the Philippine-American War generally had the support of the American public, at least until its closing months. For three years, the U.S. military carried out a progressive program to promote education, improved sanitation, better communication, and other public works. However, the Samar and Batangas campaigns fundamentally changed the U.S. reaction to the conflict. The visibility and negative reaction to these operations shaped perceptions of the Philippine-American War.

DAWN OTTEVAERE NICKESON

See also

African Americans; Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Anti-Imperialist League; Atrocities; Bell, James Franklin; Benevolent Assimilation; Committee on the Philippines; Democratic Party; Imperialism; Kipling, Rudyard; Lodge, Henry Cabot; Manila, Second Battle of; McKinley, William; Missionaries; Pacification Program, Philippine Islands; Paris, Treaty of; Republican Party; Samar Campaigns; Smith, Jacob Hurd; Social Darwinism; Twain, Mark; White Man's Burden; Yellow Journalism

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Philippine Commission

Commission formed at the behest of President William McKinley in December 1898 to advise him on effective colonial policies for the newly acquired colony of the Philippine Islands. The acquisition of the island archipelago was formalized by the Treaty of Paris, signed on December 10, 1898. There were actually two Philippine Commissions. The first one lasted from 1898 to 1901; the second endured from 1901 to 1903.

The aim of the first Philippine Commission, as envisioned by McKinley, was to help formulate policy and advise him on how to best incorporate the island into the American system, acculturate



Members of the U.S. Philippine Commission meeting with Filipino nationalist representatives, circa 1899. (Library of Congress)

its inhabitants, and govern the colony. The commission was composed of five members: Jacob G. Schurman, president of Cornell University; Dean C. Worcester of the University of Michigan's Zoology Department; Colonel Charles Denby, former U.S. minister to China; Rear Admiral George Dewey, hero of the Battle of Manila Bay; and Major General Elwell Otis, military commander in the Philippines. All five men opposed U.S. annexation of the islands. McKinley chose these men precisely because of their opposition to annexation, believing that their counsel would be less biased.

To assist the U.S. War Department's so-called policy of attraction, the commission had two goals. First, it hoped to attract Filipino elites to the cause of American rule. Second, it sought to "produce an authoritative record of events on the island" that would justify American actions, attract Filipinos to the American way of thinking, and undermine the arguments of those opposed to annexation.

Arriving in the Philippines in January 1899, the members of the commission met daily, seeking ways to diffuse the growing tensions between the United States and the Filipino nationalist movement. Filipino nationalists had been agitating for years for independence from Spain, and a guerrilla war had been under way before the Spanish-American War. At the conclusion of the war, Filipino guerrillas and various Filipino political groups had pressed the United States for independence.

The Philippine Commission frequently sought input from Filipinos on the nature of American rule and trumpeted the large number of natives who appeared before it. However, the majority

of Filipinos who met with the commission were from the middle and upper classes and from the capital city of Manila. Filipinos from the hinterlands and the working and poor classes never ventured before the commission. The commission did, however, enjoy some considerable success in convincing Filipino elites to support American rule and participate in colonial governance.

A key aim of the Philippine Commission was to identify, classify, and develop a policy for dealing with the myriad ethnic and linguistic groups that made up the archipelago's population. As such, Worcester conducted an exhaustive study of the islands' peoples. Included in the commission's first report was a chapter titled "The Native Peoples of the Philippines," written by Worcester. In it he sought to identify the major peoples constituting the Filipino nation. Worcester identified some 84 distinct ethnic groups in the Philippines. This number was used by those in favor of annexation as proof that the islands were so badly divided as to be incapable of self-rule. Worcester argued that such a large number of competing peoples needed direction and that the demands of governing such a disparate population could lead to chaos. The report identified the Tagalogs as the best candidates for training and education to lead a future independent Philippines. The report's findings, however, were disputed by anti-imperialists in the United States and Filipino nationalists on the island.

The commission suffered from frequent internal bickering as tensions between the civilian members and the military members increased. Both Dewey and Otis thought that the commission was a bad idea and was incapable of solving the major problems

confronting the occupation authorities. And in the end, the group was unable to head off the Philippine-American War, which began in February 1899. Schurman resigned from the commission in 1901, which hamstrung the group.

McKinley immediately formed a second Philippine Commission in 1901. This time the commission was headed by William Howard Taft. In addition to Taft, the new commission membership included Worcester, Luke E. Wright, Henry Clay Ide, and Bernard Moses. It received broad legislative powers and was to serve as the incubator of American rule in the Philippines. The second commission became the islands' first colonial administration on July 4, 1901, with Taft becoming the first colonial governor of the Philippines. The commission was charged with helping create provincial and municipal governments throughout the archipelago and paving the way for civilian rule. The commission charge included the instructions to respect local customs as much as possible. The second commission went about its work fitfully, with conflict between Taft and Major General Arthur MacArthur, the American military commander, greatly hampering its work.

RICK DYSON

See also

Colonial Policies, U.S.; Dewey, George; MacArthur, Arthur; McKinley, William; Otis, Elwell Stephen; Philippine-American War; Philippine Islands; Philippine Islands, U.S. Acquisition of; Taft, William Howard; Tagalogs

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Philippine Constabulary

Paramilitary police organization formed by the United States on August 8, 1901, to assist in pacifying the islands. The Philippine Constabulary was part of the civil government and was a distinct entity from the U.S. Army and the Philippine Scouts. With a cadre of American officer personnel, the constabulary recruited and trained local men to gain critical local area knowledge. Recruits were Filipino males ages 18–25 who were in sound health and were conversant in both Spanish and English. Tasked with taking over the security mission from conventional military units, the constabulary garrisoned population centers to protect them from rebel and bandit raids and hunt down the same. The constabulary was also capable of operating as a military unit and occasionally joined U.S. Army and Philippine Scout units in actions to destroy rebel strongholds.

After the successful capture of Filipino insurgent leader General Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy on March 23, 1901, hostilities continued



Members of the Filipino Constabulary at Manila in the Philippines. The 5,000-man constabulary played an important role on the side of the United States in the Philippine-American War. (Library of Congress)

with the surviving guerrilla elements. The government and public opinion had by then grown tired of the level of effort needed to pacify the islands and of stories emerging about army atrocities. William Howard Taft, the new governor of the islands, decided that a strong police force composed of Filipinos would eventually remove the need for U.S. Army involvement in the Philippines. The creation of a constabulary was officially authorized with passage of the second Philippine Commission's Organic Act Number 175 on July 18, 1901.

The Philippine Constabulary was officially born as the Insular Constabulary on August 8, 1901, with the appointment of 70 hand-picked officers to begin recruiting and training. The majority of the constabulary officers were U.S. army volunteers, with two Filipinos commissioned as third lieutenants, which was a revolutionary move at the time. The first chief of the constabulary was Henry T. Allen, a captain in the U.S. regular army but then serving as a lieutenant colonel of a volunteer cavalry battalion. Allen was elevated to brigadier general of volunteers and served until his retirement in 1907.

The Philippine Constabulary adopted the tactics, rank structure, and command style of the U.S. Army. The first group of officers attended an expedited training course to familiarize themselves with police procedures and Filipino society. Upon completion of the training course, teams consisting of one captain and three or four lieutenants were dispatched to areas with civil unrest to recruit local Filipino enlistees to conduct police duties in coordination with army pacification efforts. Each Philip-

pine province was designated a force of 150 constables, although this number was rarely achieved.

There was no standardized method for recruitment and training of Filipino enlistees, especially in provinces far from Manila. Common practice consisted of an officer being issued a supply of guns and uniforms and a cash advance and then assigned to a specific locality. On-the-job training was usually deemed suitable for preparing the new recruits. Often, as the only representative of the government for miles around, a constable would be called to take on additional duties, such as those of health officer, construction supervisor, school principal, and public works manager.

The Philippine Constabulary focused its efforts on three regions: Luzon, the Visayan islands of Leyte and Samar, and the Moro Provinces. The constabulary's first challenge immediately after its creation was the pacification of central Luzon, where many of Aguinaldo's followers still waged a guerrilla war and raided local villages. While raiding provided the rebels with valuable food, weapons, money, and fame that aided in recruiting new rebels, it also proved a source of dissatisfaction among the local population. The constabulary thus developed a strategy of garrisoning villages to protect the population, conducting manhunts, gathering intelligence from disaffected locals, and assaulting neighboring rebel hideouts. Resistance rarely developed above the level of common banditry, however, and the rebels were often indistinguishable from criminal gangs or bandits, known as *ladrones*. It is estimated that in 1901 alone the constabulary captured or killed at least 3,000 bandits.

There were a few Luzon insurgents who were notorious, however. The charismatic Antonio Colache was a Spanish deserter who had formed a network of civilian supporters that allowed him to supply his forces and evade the Philippine Constabulary's manhunts. Unfortunately for Colache, a constabulary raid that failed to capture him resulted in the revelation of the identities of his supporters. His network now compromised, he himself was taken prisoner in May 1902.

Simeon Ola, another insurgent leader, was able to gather a force of several hundred followers, necessitating the formation of a joint 2,000-man force of Philippine Constabulary, Philippine Scouts, and U.S. Army personnel. The presence of so many troops, food control efforts, and the new tactic of concentrating rural farmers into guarded camps denied Ola his support base and led to his surrender on September 23, 1903.

Macario Sakay was perhaps the greatest insurgent threat because of his ability to organize the disparate rebel leaders of central Luzon and the southern Tagalogs under his command. As a result, he was able to organize larger raiding parties that allowed him to attack and defeat Philippine Constabulary and Philippine Scout garrisons, securing rifles and new followers. To combat Sakay, habeas corpus was suspended, and a tougher antibanditry law was passed to compel insurgents to surrender or suffer tougher penalties. Mirroring the campaign against Ola, a force of 785 constables with more than 2,000 army troops and Philippine Scouts was organized to track down Sakay. Constabulary garrisons were

established in every village, linked by telegraph lines. Once again, rural residents were concentrated into controlled camps. Over time, Sakay's followers were gradually captured until he himself finally surrendered in July 1906. Pockets of resistance continued on the island but never proved a threat to the government's administration and had virtually ended by 1914.

Efforts to pacify the Visayan islands of Leyte and Samar were referred to as the Pulajan Campaign, named after the local Muslim group. The resistance there was a combination of political resistance and religious motivations built on a localized form of Islam. The Philippine Constabulary arrived on Leyte in August 1901 to find a relatively calm, stable situation. The majority of the constables moved on to Samar in response to the September 28, 1901, Balangiga Massacre, which presented a more pressing security concern. Rebel leader Jorge Capile took advantage of their departure and organized forces to push back the fledgling Constabulary garrisons. The authorities found it necessary to bring in more than 200 constables under Colonel Wallace Taylor to pursue Capile until his surrender in June 1902.

An even bigger threat appeared in spiritual leader Papa (or Pope) Faustion Ablena, who used his claims of mystical powers to inspire resistance among the Muslim populations of Leyte and Samar. He sold amulets that would supposedly provide immunity from bullets for the true believer. Ablena's raiding of towns for supplies developed the same level of animosity among local populations as on Luzon. However, he consistently evaded capture and always had a willing supply of recruits to replace losses inflicted by the Philippine Constabulary. By July 1904, constabulary units from neighboring islands were moved to Leyte with a U.S. Army and Philippine Scout contingent to capture Ablena.

On Samar, unlike Leyte, there were many spiritual leaders, or papas, but the greatest was Papa Pablo. The level of violence on Samar was so great despite Philippine Constabulary, U.S. Army, U.S. Marine Corps, and Philippine Scout efforts that Colonel Taylor's constables were transferred from Leyte to Samar after they had defeated Capile, despite ongoing operational needs on Leyte. At the height of the violence, rebels were able to wipe out entire patrols and garrisons.

In November 1905, Philippine Constabulary temporary chief Brigadier General Henry Tureman Allen took personal command of the Pulajan Campaign and brought with him 1,800 constables. The resulting pressure and food control policies allowed the constabulary to reduce rebel forces until Papa Pablo was captured in November 1906 and Ablena in June 1907. The Pulajan Campaign was officially ended in 1907, although pockets of resistance continued to spring up until 1917.

The Philippine Constabulary's greatest challenge was on the islands that make up the southern Philippines, known as the Moro Provinces. Ethnically different from the rest of the islands and Muslim by faith, the area had been ruled by the Spanish in name only. Piracy, rebellion, and internal wars were a culturally accepted norm. Real power belonged to a collection of sultans and local tribal datus

(chiefs), none of whom was able to achieve the popularity of Aguinaldo or Ablena. The army had been successful in establishing harmonious relations with the larger port cities and installing garrisons there. Extending authority inland had proved much more difficult, however. The constabulary arrived on the island in 1903 and began to recruit from the local populace, a controversial move because of the locals' apparent hatred of foreign control. They proved to be fierce in battle, and many rebel Moro units were simply annihilated, as they refused to retreat.

The Philippine Constabulary developed a divide-and-conquer strategy that pitted rival datus against each other, making itself a necessary intermediary. Datus who resisted built forts, known as cottas, in remote areas. The constabulary and other security forces engaged in innumerable pitched battles in an effort to eliminate these strongholds. In the battles, the defenders often fought to the death.

The Philippine Constabulary's first major battle took place on the island of Sulu. When regional governor Major General Leonard Wood learned of a datu building a major cotta on Mount Bud Dajo, he ordered a combined army-constabulary force to destroy the outpost. The resulting Battle of Bud Dajo of March 5–8, 1906, ended with only 6 of the estimated 800–1,000 Moro fighters surviving.

By 1909, authorities believed that peace had been established in the south, a notion shattered in 1910. A new group of individuals known as Juramentados, who violently opposed the presence of Christians in Moro lands, emerged. The Juramentados believed that the more Christians they killed, the greater the rewards in heaven. Many operated singly outside of the control of any group and engaged in suicidal attacks against U.S. forces. As a result, the regional governor at the time, Brigadier General John Pershing, issued a disarmament order on September 8, 1911, that many Moros resisted. The Philippine Constabulary found itself in a new round of cotta reductions and pitched battles. Despite a campaign of civil improvement and the recruitment of Muslims into the government and security forces, resistance in the Moro areas continued until the handover of rule to the Commonwealth of the Philippines in 1946. Some Moro violence continues to this day.

From the start of the Philippine Constabulary, Filipinos filled out the enlisted ranks. Some rose to junior-level officer ranks based on their accomplishments in battle. With U.S. involvement in World War I, Filipino officers began to assume senior positions, replacing American officers deployed to France in the summer of 1917. That same year, the Insular Constabulary was officially renamed the Philippine Constabulary, and command was turned over to a Filipino, Brigadier General Rafael Crame. The Philippine Constabulary continued to operate until World War II, at which time it was folded into the Philippine Army.

JAMES E. SHIRCLIFFE JR.

See also

Allen, Henry Tureman; Balangiga Massacre; Bud Dajo, Battle of; Bud Dajo Campaign; Cottas; VIII Corps; Ladrone Islands; Luzon Campaigns; Moro Campaigns; Moro Province; Moros; Pacification Pro-

gram, Philippine Islands; Pershing, John Joseph; Philippine Islands, U.S. Occupation of; Philippine Scouts; Samar Campaigns; Taft, William Howard; Tagalogs; United States Army; Visayan Campaigns; Wood, Leonard

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Philippine Expeditionary Force

As a follow-up to Commodore George Dewey's naval victory over the Spanish squadron in the Philippines in the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, President William McKinley directed that an expeditionary force be sent to the islands. On May 3, commanding general of the army Major General Nelson A. Miles initially recommended to Secretary of War Russell A. Alger the dispatch there of a mixed force of regulars and volunteers, composed of some 5,000 infantry, cavalry, and artillery troops.

Major General Wesley Merritt, veteran of the American Civil War and the Indian Wars and the second-ranking general in the army, was appointed to command the expeditionary force, which was designated VIII Corps. Major General Elwell S. Otis, like Merritt another veteran of the Civil War and Indian Wars, was named its second-in-command. Although the War Department subsequently increased the strength of the expeditionary force to 20,000 men, Merritt argued for a stronger representation of regulars in this force than Miles was willing to allot. Furthermore, Merritt believed that his assignment embraced the entire Philippine archipelago, whereas Miles saw only the city of Manila and its port facilities as the objective. The fact that the army's two ranking soldiers differed to such an extent with regard to the expedition's role underscores the ambiguity surrounding the U.S. mission in the Philippines, about which President McKinley had been vague at best. In any event, a mixed force of 5,000 regulars and 15,000 volunteers was earmarked for VIII Corps.

San Francisco was the VIII Corps assembly and embarkation point. The troops were assigned to Camp Merritt, near Golden Gate Park. Because Merritt was busy in Washington, D.C., Otis had charge of preparing the expeditionary corps for departure. As the various regiments arrived there, they were issued weapons and supplies and given training in simulated battle exercises. In contrast to the confusion experienced by V Corps at Tampa, Florida, which was then sent to Cuba, preparations at San Francisco proceeded relatively smoothly.

Troops being sent to the Philippines knew little or nothing about the islands. It took several months for the Office of Military Infor-



Soldiers of the Philippine Expeditionary Force stand behind a cemetery wall waiting for an insurgent attack in 1899 during the Philippine-American War. (Library of Congress)

mation to distribute its sourcebook, *Military Notes on the Philippines*. In the meantime, the War Department provided such information as was available, including at least one encyclopedia article.

Because the U.S. Navy had bought up most of the available shipping and because the Cuban theater of war had priority, there were insufficient numbers of transports available to accommodate Merritt's entire command in one lift, so VIII Corps had to be divided into three contingents. The first, consisting of 115 officers and 2,386 enlisted men under Brigadier General Thomas M. Anderson, sailed on May 25, 1898. After more than a month at sea, they arrived in Manila Bay on June 30. They were immediately put to work un-

loading supplies at Cavite and establishing camps. A second group, consisting of 158 officers and 3,404 enlisted men under Brigadier General Francis V. Greene, departed on June 15 and arrived in the Philippines on July 17. The third and largest contingent, 198 officers and 4,642 enlisted men under Brigadier General Arthur MacArthur and accompanied by Merritt, sailed on June 27 and arrived at its destination on July 25. The total of these three forces was 10,946 officers and men, all members of VIII Corps, arrived in the Philippines before the capture of Manila.

Merritt's first task was to secure Manila. This First Battle of Manila occurred on August 13, although Merritt was unaware that

Spain and the United States had agreed to the Protocol of Peace the previous day. At his own request, Merritt was relieved of command in the autumn of 1898 because of ill health, and command of the Philippine Expeditionary Force devolved to Otis. Initially, Otis was faced with the difficult task of maintaining peace and order among recalcitrant Filipino revolutionaries who resented the U.S. presence in their islands.

When war broke out between the United States and the Filipino Republican Army, headed by Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, in February 1899, Otis had to deal not only with Aguinaldo but also increasingly disgruntled U.S. volunteers. Once the war with Spain ended, these volunteers, who had been mustered into federal service to fight Spain, saw no reason to remain in the Philippines and fight a war against Filipino insurgents. Eventually, the volunteers were shipped back to the United States and replaced with U.S. volunteer regiments recruited specifically for the Philippine fighting. The Philippine Expeditionary Force that sailed from San Francisco in the early summer of 1898 had undergone an almost complete transformation by early 1900.

JERRY KEENAN

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Alger, Russell Alexander; Anderson, Thomas McArthur; Camp Merriam and Camp Merritt; Greene, Francis Vinton; MacArthur, Arthur; Manila, First Battle of; Manila Bay, Battle of; McKinley, William; Merritt, Wesley; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Otis, Elwell Stephen; Philippine-American War

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Philippine Islands

Southeast Asian archipelago composed of more than 7,107 islands located in the western Pacific Ocean between the Philippine Sea and the South China Sea. The location of the Philippines along major trade routes has made the island chain strategically and economically important to both Eastern and Western powers for much of its modern history. The islands cover almost 115,831 square miles and are divided into three main groups: Luzon in the north, the Visayas in the middle, and Mindanao in the south. As it is today, Manila was the capital city of the Philippines during the period of Spanish rule from 1565 to 1898.

Filipinos are Austronesian peoples (from Southeast Asia and Oceania). Significant minorities at the time of the Spanish-American War included Spaniards, Chinese, and Arabs. Except for the Moro (Muslim) population in the Philippines, many Filipinos were Roman Catholic, a reflection of Spanish influence. Many Fil-

ipino surnames were Spanish, and a good number of Filipinos spoke at least some Spanish. At the time of the Spanish-American War, Tagalog was the other principal spoken language, and variations of it were spoken throughout the archipelago. There are also at least 12 other regional languages spoken in the Philippines.

The climate of the Philippines is tropical, with hot and humid summers and slightly cooler and drier winters. The mitigating factors of this pattern are altered mainly by proximity to the sea and/or elevation. The Philippines have a number of impressive mountain ranges and volcanoes, some of which are still active. Mount Apo, located on Mindanao, is the Philippines' highest peak at 9,692 feet above sea level. As with many areas of the Pacific Rim, the Philippines are subjected to periodic earthquakes and volcanic eruptions.

Chinese, Arabs, and indigenous peoples of the Pacific Rim actively traded with Philippine tribes as early as 900 CE, often establishing permanent or semipermanent settlements. A wave of Malaysian immigration during the 14th and 15th centuries brought Islam to the southern islands of Sulu and Mindanao. This ethnic mixing resulted in a diverse population that speaks more than 100 languages and dialects and practices a wide variety of religions.

In 1521, Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan, sailing for Spain, led the first European expedition to sight the archipelago. Magellan was soon killed by the Visayan chieftain Lapulapu, who became a symbol of Filipino resistance to colonial domination. A later expedition claimed the islands for Spain and named them in honor of Philip, the Spanish prince who became King Philip II. Spain permanently colonized the Philippines in 1565, establishing Manila as the capital, and soon controlled much of the Tagalog-speaking area of Luzon.

At the time of Spanish settlement, family-based villages, known as barangays, were the primary form of government. This independent village structure facilitated European conquest because the barangays were unable to unite against the Spanish. Resistance, although widespread, was usually localized and on a small scale. In the barangays, male *datus* (chiefs) traditionally constituted the political and military leadership, while powerful female *babaylans* controlled spiritual, agricultural, and social processes. As spiritual leaders, *babaylans* were particular targets of Spanish conversion and often led local revolts. Eventually, Spanish friars converted much of the population of the islands, undermining these traditional forms of self-government, and Catholic orders became the focus of political and economic power.

The barangay was adopted into the Spanish government of the Philippines. Filipinos, often *datus*, acted as heads of the barangays, which came under the jurisdiction of Spanish priests and provincial governors. These officials answered to the governor-general, who was appointed by the king of Spain. Throughout Spanish rule, upper-level political offices were appointed and held exclusively by Spaniards, excluding Filipinos from most positions of significant power.

Rebellion was common during the Spanish colonial period, especially in Muslim areas. Loss of political and cultural freedom,

forced labor, religious differences, and the abuses of the *encomienda* (feudal-like labor) system contributed to ongoing native unrest. However, Spanish military garrisons were often small and understrength, which resulted in the development of special tactics, techniques, and procedures to support the colonial army mission and keep order.

For example, Spain often enlisted and conscripted Filipino soldiers to suppress regional uprisings and to fight small wars of aggression by foreign powers. For Filipinos living under the restrictions of colonial rule, service in the army offered an opportunity for regular pay and higher social status. Filipino soldiers were instructed in European tactics and military practices, a process that accelerated acculturation of the native population.

Military service also helped the colonial government emphasize ethnic differences and prevent nationalist solidarity, as native soldiers from one region were sent to fight revolts in different areas. This tactic emphasized traditional tribal rivalries and regional differences. In particular, Christianized Filipino soldiers were used to suppress ongoing unrest in the southern islands where the Muslim Moros had never been pacified by the Spanish. Filipino soldiers fought not only in native revolts but also in foreign colonial conflicts. Filipinos, for instance, fought for Spain against the Chinese and Dutch and against the British when they occupied Manila during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). Spain's utilization of native soldiers helped it maintain its hold on the Philippines.

Spain kept the Philippines closed to the West until the 19th century, using Manila as its center of trade between Asia and Mexico. The China Market was important to this galleon trade, as silk and porcelain were exchanged for silver and other Mexican commodities. Mexican independence disrupted this trading arrangement, and Spain opened the Philippines to trade with the West in 1821, when it formally conceded Mexican independence. Soon, Americans, British, Japanese, French, Germans, Dutch, and other nationalities established banks, businesses, and homes in Manila. Not surprisingly, this influx of foreign settlement and economic interests contributed to social and political changes. Also vitally important to Spanish economic control of the islands were vast farms, or plantations, where highly valued cash crops were raised in large quantities and then shipped to Spain and other parts of its empire.

By the 19th century, Spanish colonialism had significantly changed Filipino life. Society was highly stratified by race and class and influenced by European experiences with revolution. Peninsulares, Spaniards born in Spain or of pure Spanish descent, constituted the upper classes, followed by a small middle class of insulares, who were born in the colonies or were mestizos of mixed Spanish descent. Chinese mestizos and native Filipinos, or indios, were on the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder. Some Filipinos belonged to the landed elite, known as *ilustrados*, and many of these families educated their children in Europe. Using this education, *ilustrado* reformers began seeking ways to improve the colonial government, while *ilustrado* revolutionaries sought Philippine independence. Although a sense of nationalism was slowly develop-

ing, the stark social differences and varied goals for Philippine self-government often prevented cohesion among the Filipino people.

The 1872 Cavite Mutiny helped lay the foundation for the Philippine Revolution of 1896. A workers' strike at the naval shipyard in Cavite led to the arrest of three native priests, Mariano Gómez, José Apolonio Gómez, and Jacinto Zamora. Known collectively as the Gomburza, the three priests were executed by Spanish officials. This event deeply influenced nationalist leaders such as José Rizal and helped create a deeper sense of national identity and patriotism among Filipinos. The Propaganda Movement emerged among liberal Filipinos exiled to Europe after the 1872 executions and among Filipino students studying abroad. These reformers hoped to effect changes in Spanish colonial policy and secure representation for the Philippines in the Spanish Cortes (parliament).

Despite the desire for reform rather than independence, propaganda movement leaders were often arrested when they returned to the Philippines. In 1887, Rizal came back to the islands after writing his controversial anticolonial novel *Noli Me Tangere* (Don't Touch Me) but was soon forced to flee to Europe and then Hong Kong. He returned again in 1892 to form the Liga Filipina, a nationalistic civic organization for Filipinos that stressed education as the key mode with which to move Filipinos toward reform and independence. The Spanish government exiled Rizal to Dapitan, effectively undermining the Liga Filipina, but Andrés Bonifacio soon formed the revolutionary Katipunan, a secret society dedicated to the immediate and violent overthrow of Spanish rule.

Dissent among the Katipunan, however, led to its discovery by Spanish authorities, causing Bonifacio to tear up his *cedula* (residence certificate) and initiate the Philippine Revolution on August 23, 1896. This initial declaration of war caused provincial uprisings throughout the Philippines, including Cavite where *ilustrado* Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy was leading the revolutionary resistance.

Aguinaldo and Bonifacio established rival governments, weakening the revolution. In a compromise election, Aguinaldo was chosen as president of the military junta, provoking Bonifacio to oppose him. Aguinaldo ordered Bonifacio's arrest and had him executed, but Spain utilized the opportunity to move against the revolutionary army. Aguinaldo and his followers surrendered under the December 1897 Pact of Biak-na-Bato and went into brief exile in Hong Kong.

With the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in April 1898, Aguinaldo believed that Philippine independence was fully attainable. Commodore George Dewey soundly defeated the Spanish in Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, and soon established a repair and coal-station for the Asiatic Squadron in the Philippines. The American consul in Hong Kong, Rounseville Wildman, along with U.S. naval attachés, secured Aguinaldo's cooperation against the Spanish, and Aguinaldo and his lieutenants returned to the Philippines.

The United States did not immediately institute a coherent policy toward the Philippines, and both Dewey and U.S. Army commander Major General Wesley Merritt were uncertain about Aguinaldo's position. The Spanish census of 1898 placed the

Filipino population at close to 5.28 million, while Merritt's expeditionary force had only 12,000 regulars and volunteers. The U.S. Army nonetheless kept Aguinaldo out of Manila and excluded him from the conflict by arranging a Spanish surrender in August 1898.

Aguinaldo moved to the town of Malolos north of Manila and initiated a constitutional convention there in September. The Treaty of Paris officially ended the Spanish-American War on December 10, 1898, with Spain ceding the Philippines to the United States for \$20 million, but the Malolos Constitution nevertheless established the First Philippine Republic in January 1899 with Aguinaldo as president.

The U.S. Congress and the American people engaged in heated debates about the consequences of imperialism and acquiring the Philippines as a colony. The Treaty of Paris was not ratified until February 6, 1899, after shots had already been exchanged between U.S. soldiers and Filipino insurgents on February 4, 1899, beginning the Philippine-American War. The Second Battle of Manila was fought on February 4, and by August 1899 there were more than 11,000 U.S. soldiers deployed to the Philippines to suppress the insurrection.

The Filipino Nationalist Army, under the leadership of Aguinaldo, initially fought a conventional war against the U.S. Army but lacked the resources to win such a campaign. By November 1899, Aguinaldo had dispersed his army and began fighting a guerrilla war. These tactics led to atrocities on both sides, causing a variety of reactions from the United States and abroad. On March 23, 1901, forces under U.S. Army brigadier general of volunteers Frederick Funston captured Aguinaldo, effectively destroying the First Philippine Republic. Aguinaldo swore allegiance to the United States just days later, but many of his generals refused to capitulate, and the war continued in earnest until July 1902.

Although the Philippine-American War officially ended in 1902, resistance to the American occupation continued for years thereafter, especially in Muslim areas. The Americans suppressed numerous revolts, including the Pulahan Rebellion in Samar from 1904 to 1907 and the various Moro rebellions in Mindanao, which endured until at least 1913. Meanwhile, Filipino political leaders, such as Manuel Quezon, worked for independence until the Tydings-McDuffie Act was approved by the U.S. Congress on March 24, 1934. Also known as the Philippine Independence Act, Tydings-McDuffie established a 10-year transition period to Filipino self-government. The process was interrupted by the Japanese occupation during World War II, but Manuel Roxas became the president of the independent Philippine Republic in July 1946.

DAWN OTTEVAERE NICKESON

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Biak-na-Bato, Pact of; Bonifacio, Andrés; China Market; Coaling Stations; Colonial Policies, U.S.; Filipino Nationalist Army; Filipino Revolutionary Movement; Hong Kong; Ilustrados; Katipunan; Liga Filipina; Manila, First Battle of; Manila, Second Battle of; Moros; Philippine-American War; Philippine-

American War, U.S. Reaction to; Philippine Republic, First; Rizal, José; Spain, Army; Tagalogs; United States Army

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Philippine Islands, Blockade of

Start Date: 1898

End Date: 1903

Following the defeat of the Spanish Pacific Squadron at the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, the U.S. Asiatic Squadron successfully established a blockade of the Philippine Islands with the chief goal of disrupting the First Philippine Republic's interisland communications and finances, thereby hindering insurgent activity. U.S. Navy gunboats successfully severed waterborne traffic, isolated each island's resistance movement, and prevented both the transfer of reinforcements and the creation of safe havens. Also, the Filipino Nationalist Army was severely limited in its ability to equip itself with modern firearms, having to rely mainly on rifles and ammunition taken from the Spanish.

The blockade also contributed greatly to the already-existing food crisis in the Philippines. Roughly a month after the blockade began, widespread rice shortages throughout southeastern Luzon were reported. Indeed, Brigadier General John C. Bates remarked that the blockade had starved out the natives in Zamboanga and allowed a bloodless occupation by the U.S. Army.

In his annual report of 1899, Secretary of the Navy John D. Long stated that the blockade was to be maintained to the extent laid down by the general policy of the War Department. Rear Admiral John C. Watson, who had replaced Admiral George Dewey on June 20, 1899, as commander of the Asiatic Squadron, intended to utilize the blockade to shut off all illicit traffic. Watson viewed such traffic as vessels that flew the Philippine Republic's flag and traded with closed ports. During most of 1899, only three ports were open for trade—Manila, Iloilo City, and Cebu City—with such items as matches, rice, oil, nipa, and fish listed as contraband.

In order to enhance the effectiveness of the blockade, the Asiatic Squadron was restructured in the autumn of 1898. Instead of utilizing the large steel warships that had won the battle against the Spanish Pacific Squadron, the U.S. Navy turned to 25 gunboats,

many of which had been captured from the Spanish after the battle. The gunboats ranged in size from 250 to 900 tons, were armed with cannon and machine guns, and were commanded by junior officers, some hardly out of the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis.

Initially, the gunboats were assigned to a larger mother ship, which helped with administration and resupply. Later, however, the navy divided the archipelago into four patrol areas. Each had its own station. These were located at Zamboanga, Cebu, Iloilo, and Vigan, with gunboats assigned to specific stations.

Not everyone believed that the naval blockade was effective. Lieutenant Colonel Thomas R. Hamer, military governor of Cebu, was a strong critic. He saw the blockade as destructive to Cebuano interests. The majority of Cebu's maritime traders owned small vessels that operated along the coast and neighboring islands. Hamer allowed the small vessels to clear Cebu City for all ports except for two that he believed were still under revolutionary control. He also continued to petition Manila to allow exceptions to the blockade but never achieved his goal.

The Asiatic Squadron played a crucial role in the Philippine-American War by shutting down coastal traffic and disrupting the revolutionaries' efforts to raise and transport arms and funds. The squadron also played a critical role in providing U.S. ground forces with an amphibious capability that the insurgents lacked. This proved vital in numerous military operations.

R. RAY ORTENSIE

See also

Asiatic Squadron; Bates, John Coalter; Dewey, George; Filipino Nationalist Army; Gunboat Operations, Philippine Islands; Long, John Davis; Manila Bay, Battle of; Philippine Republic, First; United States Navy; Watson, John Crittenden

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Philippine Islands, Spanish Colonial Policies toward

The Philippine Islands were part of Spain's colonial empire for more than 300 years. During the early years of Spanish rule, the islands were subject to the jurisdiction of the viceroy of New Spain. At the end of the 19th century, the Philippine possession was among the last remaining overseas colonies of Spain and the center of one of the first nationalist movements in Asia.

The Spanish first arrived in the Philippines in March 1521 when explorer Ferdinand Magellan came ashore there during the course of his planned circumnavigation of the globe. He claimed the islands for Spain, naming them the *Islas de San Lazaro*. Magellan es-



Binondo church and convent in Manila in 1899, a remnant of the successful conversion of the vast majority of Filipinos to Christianity by the Spanish. (Library of Congress)

tablished friendly relations with several tribes and converted some of the natives to Christianity but was later killed by local chieftain Lapu Lapu. The Spanish sent out other expeditions to the islands, however, including one in 1543 led by Roy López de Villalobos. He gave the name of *Las Islas Felipinas* to Samar and Leyte, for Crown Prince Philip, heir to the Spanish throne, who became king as Philip II. This name was later applied to the entire archipelago.

The Spanish did not establish a permanent settlement in the islands and organize them formally as a colony until 1564, when Philip II sent out Miquel López de Legazpi as the first governor-general. He arrived with an expeditionary force of 500 men in five ships and firmly established Spanish control over the Philippines. Following the defeat of the local Muslim ruler Rajah Solayman six years later, López de Legazpi made Manila the administrative center of the islands. He selected it for its location on Manila Bay and the surrounding rich agricultural lands. Although many of the islands had not been under central rule before, the Spanish established their authority at little human cost except for the Muslim areas in the southern islands, where intermittent resistance continued during the period of Spanish rule. Spanish authorities mounted periodic campaigns against the Muslim provinces until the end of Spanish rule.

The Spanish did little to develop the islands economically. Rather, the Philippines served chiefly as an entrepôt to other Asian markets, particularly China. Manila became a vital link in the Spanish galleon trade between Canton, China, and Acapulco, Mexico. The Spanish imported Chinese silk and porcelain in Chinese junks, paying for the goods in Mexican silver. They then reloaded these

goods on galleons to be shipped to Mexico. Because the Philippine economy depended heavily on the galleon trade, there was little incentive for internal improvements.

Because church and state were so closely bound together in the Spanish system, Spain's rule in the islands saw vigorous efforts to convert the natives to Christianity. This was accomplished fairly easily except in the areas where Islam had made converts. Although the majority of the indigenous population became Christians, this heightened tensions with the Muslim areas, especially on Mindanao. Christian ritual in the Philippines incorporated native customs and traditions.

Spanish administration in the Philippines was headed by the governor-general. As a province of New Spain, the Philippines fell under the overall jurisdiction of the Spanish viceroy in Mexico. Following Mexican independence in 1821, the islands were governed directly from Madrid. The governor-general was the representative of the Spanish monarch, commander in chief of military forces in the islands, and vice-patron of the Catholic Church. Spanish rule was indirect, with Spanish officials preferring to exercise their authority through local *datus* (chiefs). The village chiefs were recognized as a noble landowning class with considerable power. This, however, led to considerable tension with the mass of the population of landless tenant peasants. Indeed, this class division has remained a source of economic, social, and political strife to the present. The colonial government was also marked by extensive corruption. Most of the Iberian-born officials in Manila came out to the islands with the sole purpose of seeking a personal fortune, and few had any interest in developing the colony to the benefit of its people.

Spanish authority was wielded through most of the islands by the local *datus* and the friars of the Catholic Church. Indeed, the friarocracy of Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians exercised considerable power and ultimately held extensive lands throughout the islands. The extensive authority of the friars became one of the chief causes of the Philippine Revolution in 1896.

Spanish rule began to crumble as a consequence of the British capture of Manila in 1762 during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), an event welcomed by the persecuted Chinese minority in the islands. Although the Treaty of Paris of 1763 restored Spanish rule, much of the China trade had been lost to the British. The Spanish trade monopoly was also broken, for after the war it was far easier for foreign ships and merchants to trade with the Philippines. In addition, Spanish prestige also suffered considerably in the military defeat at the hands of the British, and frequent unrest and revolts occurred thereafter.

Meanwhile, such developments as the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 dramatically cut travel time to Spain, and an enlightened upper class of Filipinos, known as the *ilustrados*, were able to study in Europe. Colonial authorities in Manila were deeply suspicious of educated Filipinos, whom they feared were actively plotting revolts. Although there were some far-sighted liberal governors, such as Carlos Maria de la Torre who implemented reforms during 1869–

1871, the vicissitudes of Spanish politics and frequent changes in administrators made such advances short-lived. Spanish reactionary administrators only served to foster Filipino nationalism and hastened the end of Spanish colonial rule over the islands. Revolutionary agitation broke out in 1896.

DINO E. BUENVIAJE AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Imperialism; Manila; Mindanao; Moros; Philippine Islands; Tagalogs; White Man's Burden

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Philippine Islands, U.S. Acquisition of

Event Date: December 10, 1898

The cession of the Philippine Islands by Spain to the United States for a one-time indemnity payment of \$20 million was effected with the signing of the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898. This treaty marked the formal end of the Spanish-American War following the Protocol of Peace, which had been signed on August 12, 1898. Under the terms of the Treaty of Paris, Spain granted independence to Cuba and, along with the Philippines, ceded Guam and Puerto Rico to the United States.

Negotiations surrounding the treaty first commenced in Paris on October 1, 1898. The U.S. Peace Commission was headed by William R. Day, former secretary of state, who was accompanied by Whitelaw Reid (a journalist and ambassador) and Senators Cushman K. Davis, William P. Frye, and George Gray. The Spanish commission was led by Eugenio Montero Ríos, president of the Spanish Cortes (parliament) at the time, and included four other high-ranking Spanish officials. French diplomat to the United States Jules-Martin Cambon also assisted in deliberations on behalf of Spain. With the exception of Britain, much of Europe was sympathetic to the Spanish side. In the end, the Philippine Islands emerged as the main point of contention in the negotiations. No representatives from any of Spain's contested possessions, including the Philippines, were invited to take part in the negotiations regarding the Treaty of Paris. The commissioners failed to give due recognition to the fact that prior to the Spanish-American War, Filipino revolutionary forces had already been engaged in an active revolt against Spain. On June 12, 1898, a full six months prior to the signing of the treaty, Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, Filipino leader of the anticolonial movement at that time, had already declared the independence of the Philippines and had set about the task of creating a new revolutionary government and constitution. He had also created a commission to lobby for the official recognition of Philippine independence by foreign governments. Toward this end,



Political cartoon titled "Hit him hard!" showing U.S. president William McKinley about to swat "insurgent Aguinaldo," depicted as a mosquito. Other "insurgent" mosquitoes prepare to attack. Cover of *Judge*, 1899. (Library of Congress)

Aguinaldo appointed Don Felipe Agoncillo to be the diplomatic representative to the United States.

In October 1898, Agoncillo attempted to meet with President William McKinley in Washington but was refused access. Agoncillo then shifted his diplomatic operations to Paris, where he attempted to make contact with the American commissioners involved in the treaty negotiations but was again ignored. Filipinos were incensed at the rebuffs, and by this time, Agoncillo was already advising Aguinaldo to prepare for possible war with the United States.

McKinley had already decided that the Philippines should remain a permanent U.S. possession. Although other alternatives to full annexation had been actively considered—including annexation of only Manila, just Luzon, or the whole archipelago except for Mindanao—McKinley and his top aides ultimately dismissed them. Fearing that the annexation of only Manila or even Luzon would make them difficult to defend, the president decided to push for full annexation. Others in McKinley's camp also pointed out that if the United States did not annex all of the Philippines, other nations would, the most likely being Germany or Japan.

Before the Treaty of Paris could take effect, it had to be ratified by the U.S. Senate. Debate on the treaty occurred between late De-

cember 1898 and early 1899. On December 21, 1898, in what became known as the Proclamation of Benevolent Assimilation, McKinley described the American mission in the Philippines as one intended to do good. The annexation would, however, be carried out "with all possible dispatch," clearly a code for the use of force, if necessary, to subdue native opposition.

Senators George Graham Vest and George Frisbie Hoar were among the loudest opponents of the treaty. One of the arguments against the annexation of the Philippines was that it would be unconstitutional for Filipinos to be administered under U.S. law when not represented by lawmakers in Congress. This was part of a larger debate over whether the United States was a democratic republic or an empire. Some feared that annexation would eventually lead to citizenship for Filipinos, whom they believed were inferior peoples not worthy of full citizenship. This point of view was clearly from the social Darwinist perspective. Still others worried that cheap labor from the Philippines would endanger America's domestic labor market.

Among the most enthusiastic proexpansionists in the Senate were Senators Henry Cabot Lodge and Knute Nelson. They argued that the Constitution only applied to U.S. citizens, a view that the Supreme Court upheld in what became known as the Insular Cases, the bulk of which were decided between 1901 and 1905. These cases held that full constitutional rights did not automatically apply in all areas under U.S. control. On the flip side of the social Darwinist argument, those who were social Darwinists but supported annexation opined that the United States had a moral obligation to bring democracy and free-market systems to the Filipinos.

While the Senate debate was taking place, revolutionaries in the Philippines officially inaugurated the First Philippine Republic on January 23, 1899, with Malolos as the new capital and Aguinaldo as president. Meanwhile, Aguinaldo's diplomatic envoy, Agoncillo, returned to Washington to lobby against the ratification of the treaty on behalf of the new republic. This time, he was able to address the U.S. Senate, although his efforts again proved futile. The Senate rejected the Bacon Amendment, which rejected permanent U.S. sovereignty over the Philippines, with Vice President Garret Augustus Hobart casting the tie-breaking vote. On February 6, 1899, the Senate ratified the Treaty of Paris by a vote of 57 to 27, just a single vote more than the required two-thirds majority.

The United States at this time was already occupying Manila. When the Philippine Army, once allied with the Americans, was excluded from Manila by an American-imposed line of demarcation, relations between the two sides began to deteriorate rapidly. On February 4, 1899, just two days prior to the crucial Senate vote to ratify the Treaty of Paris, the Philippine-American War began, sparked by a U.S. soldier opening fire on four Filipino soldiers who had strayed into the U.S.-occupied zone. The outbreak of hostilities, however, was blamed on the Filipinos. Initially, it had seemed as if the Senate might vote against ratification, but once the war broke out, the mood of the Senate turned patriotic and in favor of annexation. With the ratification of the Treaty of Paris,



the Philippines came under formal American rule, symbolizing the emergence of the United States as a world power as well as a significant power in Asia.

As popular as annexation may have appeared, it nevertheless met ardent and widespread opposition. In the United States, the Anti-Imperialist League was at the forefront of the campaign against annexation, which it saw as a continuation of the U.S. expansionist agenda in the Pacific beginning with the 1898 acquisition of Hawaii. The league included such notable figures as famed writer Mark Twain, renowned industrialist Andrew Carnegie, former president Grover Cleveland, and 1896 Democratic nominee William Jennings Bryan. The league highlighted the inconsistency of American policy, which, through the Teller Amendment, had ensured that it would not seek to annex Cuba yet still went on to annex the other Spanish colonies of Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. In the Philippines, resolutions were passed in towns throughout the country decrying American imperialism and expressing allegiance to the First Philippine Republic. There can be little doubt that the annexation of the Philippines helped to inflame passions in the archipelago and played a significant role in the Philippine-American War. Bryan made opposition to imperialism a key platform of his campaign against McKinley in the election of 1900, which Filipinos tried to influence by escalating attacks on the eve of the election.

MARCO HEWITT

See also

Agoncillo, Felipe; Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Anti-Imperialist League; Benevolent Assimilation; Bryan, William Jennings; Carnegie, Andrew; Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Colonial Policies, U.S.; Hawaiian Islands; McKinley, William; Paris, Treaty of; Peace, Protocol of; Peace Commission; Philippine-American War; Philippine Islands; Philippine Republic, First; Social Darwinism; Teller Amendment; Twain, Mark

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Protocol of Peace had been signed. The military occupation lasted almost 23 months under Brigadier Generals Elwell Otis and Arthur MacArthur. The army's occupation formally ended with the appointment of Commissioner William Howard Taft as the first civilian governor of the Philippines and his assumption of executive authority on July 4, 1901. However, even under Taft's and subsequent civilian administrations, subordinate district governors were often army officers operating in districts where insurgent Filipinos were still active.

The U.S. Army occupation of the Philippines was guided by a dual pacification strategy that focused equally on combat operations to eliminate the military power of Filipino nationalist insurgents and on nation-building operations designed to improve the quality of life of Filipinos and win them over to U.S. administration. These two strategies were known as chastisement and attraction, respectively. Military government operations in the Philippines were primarily concerned with components of the strategy of attraction. This program included the promotion of educational opportunities, economic prosperity, Western-style governance, legal reforms, health and sanitation guidelines, and public works.

The U.S. Army placed great emphasis on education as the basis for efficient and effective government of the islands. Toward this end, education was one of the army's top priorities after the conclusion of the conventional phase of the war. In virtually every village and town, army units established schools, and soldiers were detailed to serve as teachers. These early army efforts in education were ad hoc and were largely ineffective in terms of education, however. Nevertheless, they had two very important and lasting legacies. First, they quickly demonstrated to the civilian population that the priorities of the occupying Americans supported the aspirations of the native Filipinos, who placed educational opportunities high on their list of desired reforms. Second, the army established a staff department of education under Captain Alfred Todd that systematically and accurately analyzed the educational needs of the population. Todd's analytical work became the basis for the major educational efforts later undertaken by the civilian administration. By September 1900, the army had in operation more than 1,000 schools that enrolled more than 100,000 students and spent more than \$100,000 on school supplies.

The army employed only a few measures in the area of economic reform, although it did recognize the importance of improving the economic conditions to long-term governance of the islands. The army also established the Bureau of Mining and Forestry, which documented resources and sought to preserve them until such time as the government could establish firm procedures for regulating their exploitation and extraction.

The army did not establish a complete or comprehensive system of government in the islands before it was replaced by the civil government. However, it did establish the basic outlines for governance. Otis organized national, provincial, and municipal governments. The national government apparatus was the military

Philippine Islands, U.S. Occupation of

Start Date: 1898

End Date: 1901

The U.S. Army occupied the Philippines with the surrender of the Spanish garrison at Manila on August 13, 1898, one day after the



Girls' class at school in Kabayan on the island of Luzon, circa 1900–1923. As a part of the pacification program during and after the Philippine-American War, the U.S. Army built schools in nearly every Filipino town. (Library of Congress)

government headquarters in Manila. Intermediate provincial governments, under a district military governor, were also organized. The district military governor was advised by an elected district council. Finally, local government was organized under the guidance of General Order 43 in 1899 and General Order 40 in 1900. Local municipal government was completely indigenous under the authority of a locally elected mayor supported by an elected municipal council. Guidance for limited suffrage for males over the age of 21 was established by the military and included literacy (in either English, Spanish, or the local language) and property ownership. All local ordinances were determined by the elected officials but subject to approval by the local military commander.

The American military government also took over the Spanish revenue system on the islands. The Americans left most of the Spanish tax system intact. Under U.S. control, the system was simplified and provided greater revenue than it had under the Spanish. This was largely because of the elimination of much of the corruption in the system during Spanish control. The revenue generated was used mainly to support army operations.

The army also took over the Spanish legal system but left it largely intact. The Americans recognized the national supreme court and organized a hierarchy of district courts and local municipal courts. The bulk of Filipino legal officials, judges, and lawyers

remained in their positions. In 1900, army officials overhauled the Spanish criminal code and included many of the characteristics of American law in the new code, including the right to a speedy trial, defense through witnesses, and the rights of bail, retrial, appeal, and habeas corpus. The army also appointed court advisers to ensure that Filipino officials applied the new legal code correctly. During the entire period of military government, military courts operated alongside but independent of the civil courts with overlapping jurisdictions.

A major concern of army officials was health and sanitation. This was both a military operational concern as well as a genuine interest in the quality of life of the general population. The army addressed these issues through strict sanitation guidelines and regulations issued through Manila's Board of Health, which served as the administrator of national health policy for the military government. Army commanders closely supervised the enforcement of sanitation policy at the municipal level. The other aspect of the health and sanitation program was an active national vaccination program, executed through the assigned surgeons of army units garrisoned throughout the country. Occupation authorities supervised the preparation of vaccines within the country, and the army medical service in the Philippines was manned at levels much higher than normally prescribed. The ratio of surgeons to troops



Men in front of a tent with a Filipino woman and a patient sitting on a stretcher, 1st Reserve Hospital, Manila, in 1899. (Library of Congress)

was 1 to every 176 men. Surgeons and their hospital corps assistants provided charity health care to the local population wherever army units were garrisoned. Army health and sanitation efforts had quick and very demonstrative results. Between October 1899 and June 1900, the death rate from disease in Manila was cut in half. Similar results were achieved in most areas of the country by the end of the army occupation.

The Americans also began a significant program of public works as an integral aspect of the occupation. Public works programs were designed to accomplish three goals: assist the operational capability of the army, raise the quality of life of the Filipino population, and employ the local populace for public works projects. The primary focus of public works during the military occupation was road and bridge construction. At the same time, roads and bridges contributed to the military capability of the army and greatly enhanced the local and national economies.

Army occupation policies in the Philippines from 1898 to 1901 were very successful as a comprehensive effort to meet the strategic objectives of the army's mission. At the military campaign level, occupation policies were the heart of the policy of attraction that was a key to the pacification strategy. Occupation policies were also very effective at undermining insurgent propaganda and demonstrating the attractiveness of American administration. At the national strategic level, the army's occupation policies provided a firm basis for the transition of the islands from military to civil government. Ultimately, the occupation policies established by the U.S. Army contributed to building the institutions vital to eventual Philippine independence.

LOUIS A. DiMARCO

See also

MacArthur, Arthur; Otis, Elwell Stephen; Pacification Program, Philippine Islands; Philippine Islands; Philippine Islands, Spanish Colonial Policies toward; Taft, William Howard

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Philippine Republic, First

Start Date: 1899

End Date: 1901

Unrecognized independent state established by Filipino leaders at the end of the Philippine insurrection against Spain. Also known as the Malolos Republic, the First Philippine Republic was established by the Malolos Constitution on January 23, 1899. It all but dissolved on April 1, 1901, when president of the Republic, Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, took an oath of allegiance to the U.S. government after his capture by American forces.

Filipino revolutionaries, led by Aguinaldo, were initially encouraged by the outbreak of the Spanish-American War and considered the United States an ally in their insurgency against Spain. With the United States avowedly fighting Spanish colonialism in Cuba, Aguinaldo declared Philippine independence from Spain on June 12, 1898. U.S. rear admiral George Dewey refused to attend the independence ceremony, not wanting to legitimize a Filipino government as long as the United States was uncertain about the future disposition of the islands. Because U.S. forces then controlled Manila, Aguinaldo established his seat of government in Malolos, Bulacan Province, convening the Malolos Congress to draft a constitution on September 15, 1898. On September 29, 1898, the delegates officially ratified Aguinaldo's Declaration of Independence. Japanese and American journalists witnessed the proceedings.

The Malolos Congress worked throughout the autumn of 1898 to create a republican government in the Philippines. Using European, American, and Latin American models, the delegates outlined the first representative republic in Asia. The constitution created three branches of representative government, delineated the separation of church and state, and recognized the individual rights of citizens. Constitutional committee member Felipe Calderon feared that a strong executive branch would be controlled by Aguinaldo and the armed forces, so he helped frame a dominant legislature to prevent a military oligarchy. In the end, the result was a form of parliamentary republic. The congress ratified the constitution on November 29, 1898, and Aguinaldo signed it on December 23, 1898.



Inauguration ceremony of Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy as president of the First Philippine Republic at Malolos on Luzon, in the Philippine Islands, January 23, 1899. (Library of Congress)

While the congress was still in session, Filipino diplomat Felipe Agoncillo attempted to secure overseas recognition for the fledgling republic. However, the peace commissioners meeting in Paris to negotiate peace between Spain and the United States refused to recognize or include a Filipino representative. In the end, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States for the sum of \$20 million in the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898.

Despite lack of support from the international community, the final draft of the Malolos Constitution was accepted by Filipino revolutionary leaders on January 23, 1899. In Malolos that same day, Aguinaldo took the oath of office as the first president of the republic, and Filipino nationalist military forces (later the Army of Liberation) pledged loyalty to the republic. Aguinaldo's first act as president was to pardon Spanish prisoners of war and grant business rights to Europeans and other aliens within the republic. Meanwhile, Agoncillo traveled to the United States to try to prevent ratification of the Treaty of Paris and ensure the sovereignty of the First Philippine Republic, but the outbreak of the Philippine-American War on February 4, 1899, disrupted diplomatic relations. Two days later, the U.S. Senate ratified the treaty. The outbreak of the Philippine-American War and the ratification of the Treaty of Paris made the governance of the republic virtually untenable.

Nevertheless, the republic struggled to survive. It was initially headed by Apolinario Mabini, cabinet president and secretary of

foreign affairs; Teodoro Sandico, interior secretary; Baldomero Aguinaldo, secretary of war; Mariano Trias, finance secretary; Gracio Gonzaga, secretary of welfare; León María Guerrero, secretary of agriculture, industry, and commerce; and Máximo Paterno, secretary of public works and communications. Mabini was later succeeded by Pedro Alejandro Paterno y Debera Ignacio as cabinet president and Felipe Buencamino as foreign secretary. Replacing Sandico as interior secretary was Severino De las Alas.

During the Philippine-American War, Aguinaldo's government spearheaded the resistance to American colonial rule. The First Philippine Republic functioned as the unrecognized Philippine government until Aguinaldo's capture by U.S. forces and Macabebe Scouts under the command of Brigadier General Frederick Funston on March 23, 1901, at Palanan, Isabela. Although the Filipino resistance continued, the First Philippine Republic was effectively dissolved by Aguinaldo's oath of allegiance to the U.S. government on April 1, 1901, at the Malacanang Palace in Manila.

DAWN OTTEVAERE NICKESON

See also

Agoncillo, Felipe; Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Funston, Frederick; Mabini, Apolinario; Macabebe Scouts; Malolos, Philippines, Capture of; Malolos Constitution; Paris, Treaty of; Philippine-American War; Philippine Islands, U.S. Acquisition of; Spanish-American War, International Reaction to

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Philippine Scouts

A military auxiliary force made up of native Filipinos established to support the U.S. Army during the Philippine-American War (1899–1902). The Philippine Scouts helped American troops navigate the often forbidding terrain of the Philippines and acted as interpreters for a native population that spoke a myriad of dialects.

As a consequence of the Treaty of Paris ending the Spanish-American War, the United States found itself as the colonial ruler of the Philippine Islands, a 7,000-island territory of 10 million people. After a short conventional conflict with American forces that began in February 1899, a Filipino guerrilla army, known as the Army of Liberation and led by Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, took to the rural areas and began an insurgency aimed at gaining full independence. Among other U.S. military responses to the insurgency was the formation of the Philippine Scouts, a native auxiliary force that would serve alongside U.S. troops in the Philippines for almost 50 years.

The U.S. Army in the Philippines was far from an ideal force to prosecute a conflict that had evolved into a guerrilla war. The approximately 25,000 U.S. troops present in the summer of 1899 were a combination of state volunteer organizations and a growing number of newly recruited regular army personnel. Aside from inexperience, the troops were challenged by the hostile terrain and disease-ridden tropical environment in which they had to operate. The tactical situation dictated that small units, capable of rapid movement and supplied with effective intelligence, would be required to prosecute the counterinsurgency.

In considering this strategy, the U.S. Army could draw upon its experience of the prior 30 years in the struggle against the American Indians of the Great Plains and the Southwest. During that period, the army had routinely employed Indian scouts operating with regular army units with significant success. These scouts brought a unique knowledge of the environment and the enemy and, when coupled with disciplined troop formations, were formidable fighting organizations.

In the Philippines, the mission of the scouts was to conduct reconnaissance in advance of main American units, warn of contact with the insurgents, and fix enemy forces to facilitate their defeat by main forces. At the commencement of hostilities, American soldiers had performed these missions. While they served heroically in

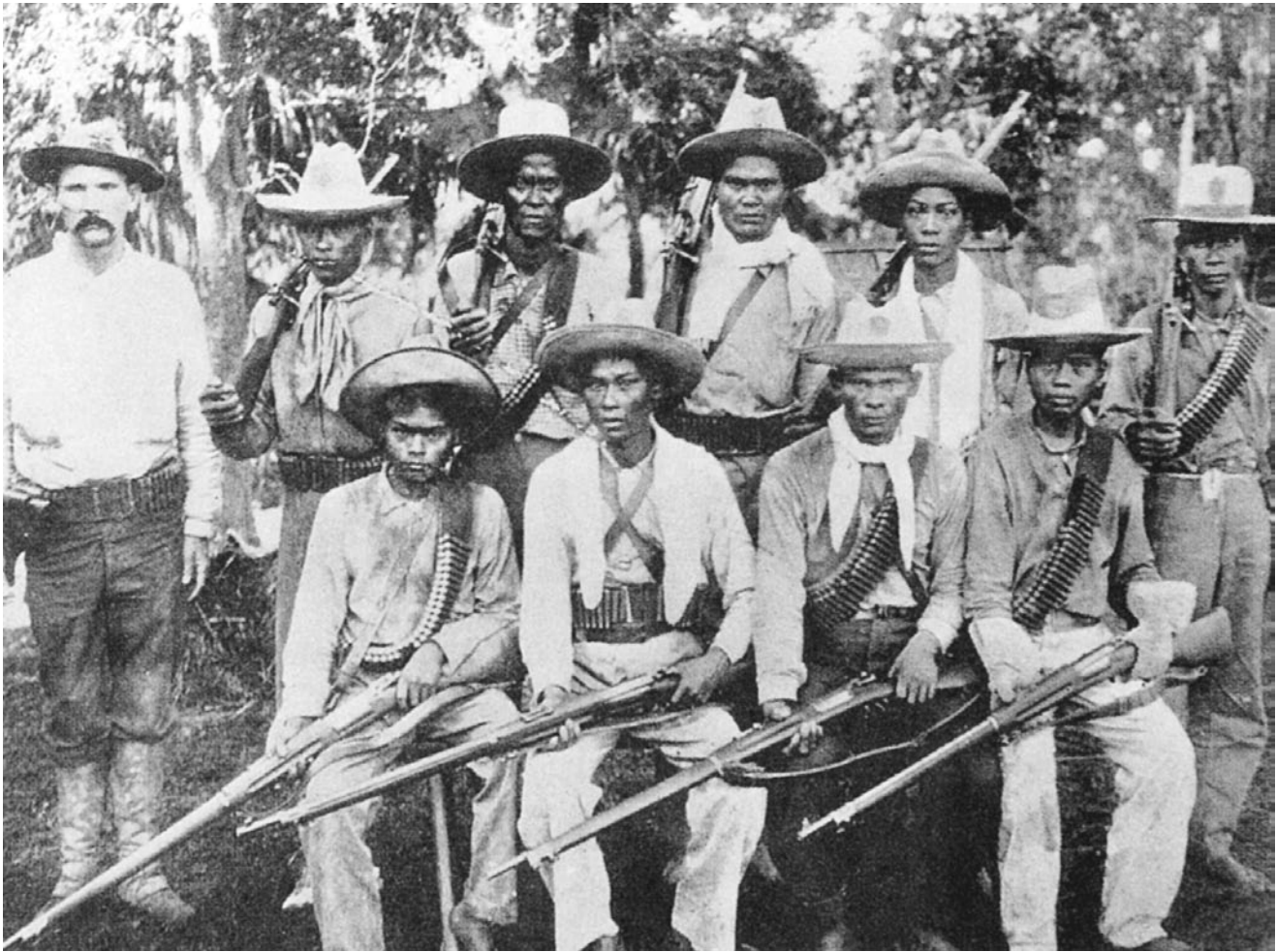
an extremely difficult assignment, they were seriously hindered by their ignorance of the terrain, population, and language. In light of this, initiatives were begun to recruit indigenous forces to serve in the scout mission.

In the recruitment of native scouts, historical and tribal considerations loomed large. Much of the support for the insurrection came from the Tagalogs, a tribe dominant in central Luzon. As a result, the vast majority of scouts were recruited from other tribes—the Ilocanos, Visayans, and most notably the Macabebes—a group that had a history of working with the former Spanish colonial government because of their strong hatred for the Tagalogs. This not only motivated them but made them prone to committing atrocities. In the late summer of 1899, Lieutenant M. A. Batson brought the first group of Macabebe volunteers into a U.S. camp. The initial reaction of American military leaders was not enthusiastic. Neither Major General Elwell Stephen Otis, military governor of the Philippines and commander of U.S. forces, nor Brigadier General Arthur MacArthur, commander of the army's 2nd Division on Luzon, believed that they could be trusted enough to be armed.

But the Macabebes, through a series of closely supervised local operations against the guerrillas, gradually gained the confidence of the army and were hired as civilian employees and issued rifles. This first unit of scouts began training in September 1899. A subsequent successful engagement of Philippine guerrillas precipitated the authorization of several more companies, and by the end of 1899, a complete battalion, dubbed Batson's Macabebe Scouts, was in operation.

The first large-scale use of the Philippine Scouts occurred during the Northern Luzon Campaign of October 1899. Aguinaldo's Army of Liberation was still operating in units of significant size in this area, and Otis feared that the rebels would retreat to the mountains and begin a guerrilla war. Accordingly, the Northern Luzon Campaign plan envisioned a quick three-pronged encirclement of Aguinaldo and his fighters. This two-month-long campaign did not achieve its overall strategic purpose, as Aguinaldo escaped and armed resistance continued. Reasons for the failure included extremely wet weather, which hampered mobility and logistics, and questionable tactical decisions on the part of American commanders. The Philippine Scouts, however, acquitted themselves admirably in a series of engagements and grueling marches. Most critically, they earned the trust and respect of all levels of American leadership. The scouts went on to play a significant role in most subsequent military campaigns in the Philippines.

As 1900 began, the Philippine insurrection had assumed the character of a guerrilla war. Aguinaldo had formally declared as much in November 1899, but given his status as a man on the run and the huge geographic area of the country, the insurrection was in reality a large number of localized conflicts. Local American commanders received considerable leeway in the prosecution of a conflict that was both an attempt to win over the people of the Philippines and subdue many diverse groups of guerrillas.



The Macabebe Scouts were some of the first Filipinos to serve alongside U.S. forces during the Philippine-American War. These men fought under U.S. Army lieutenant Matthew Baston. (National Archives)

Throughout 1900, the Philippine Scouts steadily expanded in numbers and came to be a significant factor in achieving the latter goal.

By January 1901, 1,400 Philippine Scouts were in service alongside American troops. Two factors were to more than treble their size within six months. First, American commanders continued to lessen their reflexive distrust of armed native auxiliaries. Second, the looming departure of many U.S. volunteer troops whose tours were up presented U.S. leadership with potential personnel shortages. Accordingly, authority to enlist scouts was delegated to a lower level, and by mid-1901 some 5,500 scouts were serving with the army. Various units of these scouts, usually named after their American commanding officers or tribes from which they were drawn, fought on a number of different islands. Among the most famous were Macabebe, Ilocanos, and Cagayan scouts.

The highly fluid nature of guerrilla warfare, characterized by small units led by junior officers operating far from central authority and often amid the civilian population, unfortunately produced many incidents of atrocities against civilians and abuse of prisoners. Naturally, the Philippine Scouts were implicated in a number of these incidents, most notably on the island of Panay,

where in November 1900 Philippine Scouts were responsible for the burning of some 5,000 houses in the town of Igbaris and the torture of its mayor.

The single most famous feat of arms performed by the Macabebe Scouts was likely their role in the capture of Aguinaldo in March 1901. He had settled in a small town in Isabella Province in Northeast Luzon, where he was effectively protected from army patrols by a network of local agents and observation posts. After intelligence obtained by the U.S. Army from intercepted communications betrayed his position, the district commander, Brigadier General Frederick Funston, designed an elaborate ruse. Aguinaldo's communication had requested reinforcements, so Funston, along with 4 other American officers posing as prisoners, marched into the rebel leader's camp with 80 Macabebe Scouts posing as the reinforcements. Overpowering Aguinaldo's guards, they placed the leader under arrest and returned him to Manila. There, Aguinaldo issued to his guerrillas a proclamation calling for their disarmament.

Thanks to a combination of effective civil affairs efforts aimed at the Filipino people, the destruction of much of the guerrillas'

infrastructure by improved American intelligence and tactics (facilitated by the Philippine Scouts), and harsh military retribution on some islands, by mid-1901 many guerrilla leaders had begun to surrender, and the United States declared the Philippine-American War at an end on July 4, 1902.

The record of the Philippine Scouts, while not without its blemishes, was outstanding on the whole. They proved themselves hardy, canny, and extremely dedicated fighters, with a warrior spirit that allowed them to withstand not only savage combat but also the daunting conditions in which they operated. The Philippine Scouts continued to serve with honor throughout the remainder of U.S. rule in the Philippines. After fighting heroically against the Japanese in World War II, the scouts were disbanded in 1950 in the wake of Philippine independence.

ROBERT M. BROWN

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Atrocities; Funston, Frederick; Luzon; Macabebe Scouts; MacArthur, Arthur; Otis, Elwell Stephen; Philippine Islands; Tagalogs; Visayan Campaigns

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Philippines, Committee on the

See Committee on the Philippines

Pilar, Gregorio del

Birth Date: November 14, 1875

Death Date: December 2, 1899

Filipino general during the Spanish-American War and the subsequent Philippine-American War (1899–1902). Gregorio del Pilar was Filipino nationalist Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy's most trusted aide and supporter. Pilar, whose nickname was "Goyong," was born on November 14, 1875, in San José, Bulacan, into an ilustrado (middle-class) family of Filipino nationalists. After completing his bachelor's degree at the Ateneo de Manila in 1896, he joined Andrés Bonifacio's Katipunan, a secret nationalist organization dedicated to ending Spanish colonialism. In August 1896, Pilar returned to Bulacan to fight Spanish troops in his hometown. His success on the battlefield soon caught the attention of Aguinaldo, who by then had become the undisputed leader of the Katipunan following Bonifacio's execution on May 19, 1897.

On December 14, 1897, after suffering numerous military setbacks, Aguinaldo signed the Pact of Biak-na-Bato with Spanish authorities. In return for an indemnity of 400,000 pesos, Aguinaldo and 34 top military leaders, including Pilar, agreed to go into exile in Hong Kong. Aguinaldo, however, who never seriously considered abandoning the nationalist cause, used the money to rearm his revolutionaries with weapons purchased in Hong Kong. After U.S. Navy commodore George Dewey's Asiatic Squadron defeated the Spanish Pacific Squadron in Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, Aguinaldo and his men returned to the Philippines on May 19 to continue their struggle for independence.

Dewey encouraged Aguinaldo and his Filipino revolutionaries to fight the Spanish troops until U.S. ground forces could arrive. On June 1, 1898, Pilar, now a general, landed in Bulacan and without difficulty defeated the Spanish forces occupying that region. After liberating Bulacan, Pilar's troops went on to Manila to continue the struggle for independence.

After the Spanish were finally defeated and the Philippine Constitutional Convention elected Aguinaldo president on January 1, 1899, the U.S. government refused to acknowledge Filipino independence. After the Philippine-American War broke out on February 4, 1899, Aguinaldo and his supporters fled Manila. On April 23, Pilar's forces defeated U.S. troops led by Major James Franklin Bell at Quinua, Bulacan. The Filipinos, however, were outmanned and outgunned by the U.S. forces. By November 1899, Aguinaldo's forces were in the highlands of Concepcion. On November 22, 1899, Aguinaldo asked Pilar to lead a rear guard of 60 men to defend the Tirad Pass near Concepcion. Pilar's men proceeded to construct a series of stone trenches and barricades to inhibit American advancement up the narrow Tirad Pass. On December 2 during the Battle of Tirad Pass, also known as the Philippine Thermopylae, Pilar's troops held off more than 500 U.S. Marines for five hours, which allowed Aguinaldo and his troops sufficient time to escape capture. Pilar died in the battle on December 2, 1899. After U.S. forces captured Aguinaldo at Palanan, Isabela, on March 23, 1901, Filipino resistance crumbled, leading to the official end of the Philippine-American War in July 1902.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Bell, James Franklin; Biak-na-Bato, Pact of; Bonifacio, Andrés; Dewey, George; Katipunan; Pilar, Pio del; Tirad Pass, Battle of

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Pilar, Pio del

Birth Date: July 11, 1860

Death Date: June 21, 1931

Pio del Pilar was the nom de guerre of Filipino revolutionary and military leader Pio Isidro y Castañeda, who was born on July 11, 1860, in Culi-Culi, Makati, Philippines. His father, Isaac Isidro, a small farmer of Filipino ancestry from Makati, and his mother, a mestizo from the wealthy Castañeda family from Pasay, instilled a revolutionary spirit in their son at an early age. To protect his family from reprisals from Spanish colonial authorities, Pio changed his surname. Historians often incorrectly assert that he was a member of the wealthy del Pilar family from Bulacan. He was not, in fact, related to famed Filipino general Gregorio del Pilar (1875–1899) and his family. Most likely, Pio chose the name to honor Filipino revolutionary Marcelo Hilario del Pilar y Gatmaytan (1850–1896).

Neither Pio del Pilar nor his parents had much formal schooling. In 1867, he was conscripted into the Spanish colonial army, but a family friend, Lorenzo Protacio, intervened on his behalf, and Pilar terminated his military service within four months. While Pilar was still a teenager, his father died, and Pilar had to take control of the family farm. In 1887, while visiting a family friend, he met Filipino revolutionary José Rizal. Although excited by Rizal's Liga Filipina, Pilar did not join the organization. In 1895, Spanish colonial authorities, suspecting Pilar of revolutionary activities, arrested him and subjected him to torture. Ironically, Pilar was not yet a member of any Filipino revolutionary group. After subjecting him to weeks of torture, the colonial authorities released him.

In May 1896, Pilar joined the Katipunan, an ultrasecret Filipino nationalist group. He helped establish the Magtagumpay (triumphant) Chapter of the Katipunan in Culi-Culi, and his cohorts soon began calling him Pang-Una (leader). As with other revolutionary Katipunan cell leaders, Pilar designed a flag for his own chapter that was sewn by his mother. The flag was red with a white triangle. The letter "K" was in each angle of the triangle, which surrounded a rising sun with eight rays. The flag subsequently influenced the current Filipino flag. One of Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy's most trusted generals, Pilar led the eastern flank of Aguinaldo's revolutionaries against the Spanish in the Battle of Binakayan on November 9, 1896. The battle was the first major victory for the Filipino revolutionaries.

On February 16, 1897, Pilar defended the town of Bacoar against a Spanish attack. Following the split between Aguinaldo and Andrés Bonifacio in March 1897, Pilar sided with Aguinaldo. Following the Pact of Biak-na-Bato in December 1897, Pilar remained in the Philippines and received a commission in the Spanish Volunteer Militia. Once Aguinaldo returned to the Philippines from temporary exile in Hong Kong in May 1898, however, Pilar resumed his revolutionary activities until the Spanish surrendered to U.S. authorities.

Unlike Aguinaldo, who initially adopted a conciliatory stance toward the American occupiers of the Philippines at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War, Pilar wanted to continue the nationalist struggle. He had no use for Americans and in fact exhibited a visceral dislike for them. The incident at the San Juan Bridge in Manila on February 4, 1899, that sparked the Philippine-American War involved a member of Pilar's brigade. Following his defeat at the Battle of Zapote Bridge on June 13, 1899, the Filipino insurgency army adopted guerrilla tactics against the Americans.

Pilar was captured by American forces on June 8, 1900, at Guadalupe and was deported to Guam in January 1901. He returned to the Philippines in November 1902 and remained largely out of the public spotlight. Pilar died at Pasay, Philippines, on June 21, 1931.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Biak-na-Bato, Pact of; Bonifacio, Andrés; Katipunan; Liga Filipina; Philippine-American War; Pilar, Gregorio del; Rizal, José; Zapote Line

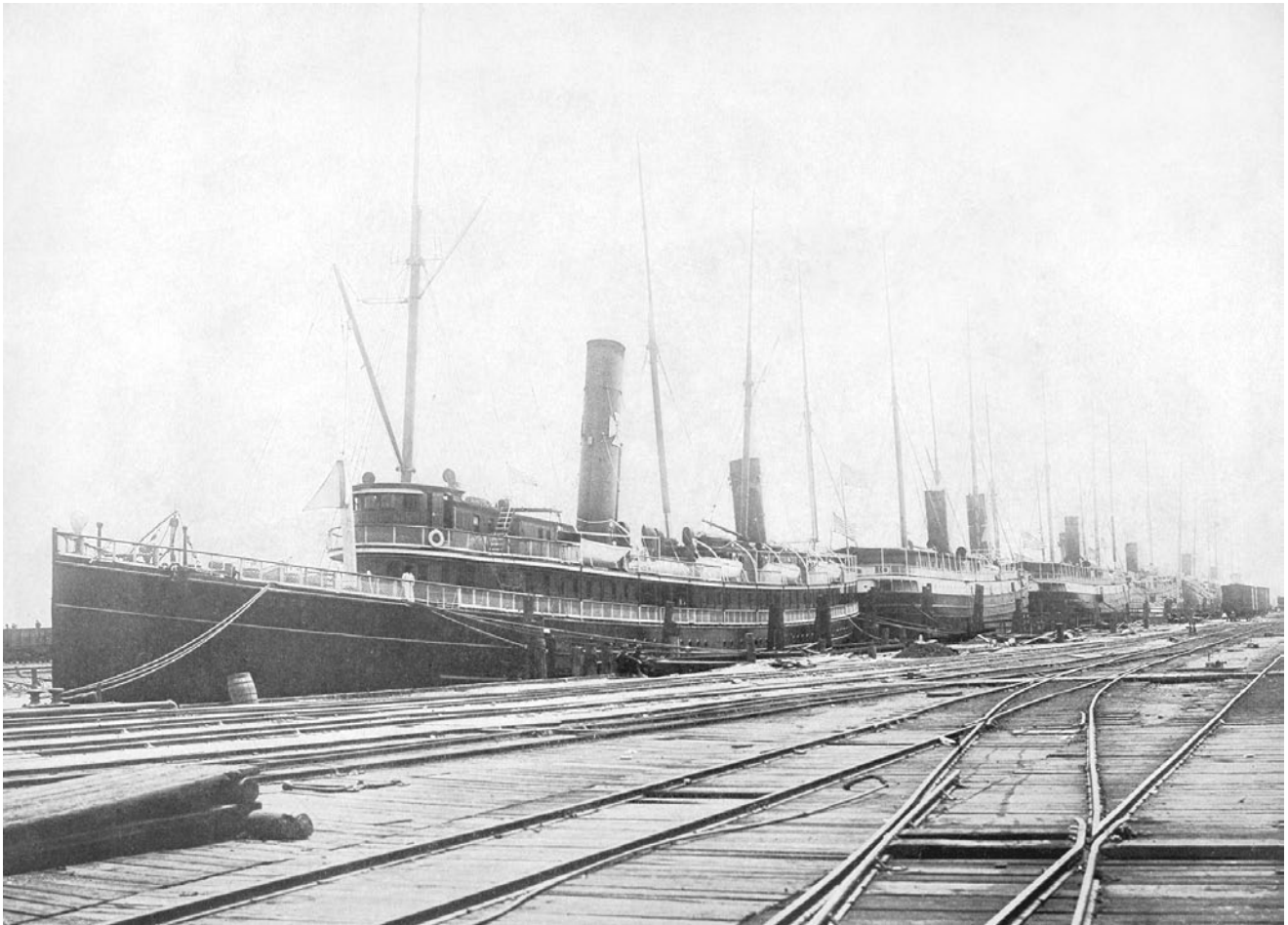
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Plant Railroad and Steamship Company

A major transportation and development company that operated a number of southern rail lines, including that serving Tampa, Florida, during the Spanish-American War. The Plant Railroad facilities at Tampa caused much initial confusion and delay in the mobilization of troops and the delivery and unloading of supplies as the U.S. Army prepared for the Cuban expedition in the late spring of 1898. Before and during the war, steamships owned and operated by the Plant Railroad and Steamship Company were used to relay secret dispatches from Cuba to the United States, facilitated by Martin Luther Hellings, a telegrapher for Western Union.

The Plant Railroad and Steamship Company was a large conglomerate founded and operated by Henry Bender Plant, a transportation entrepreneur who had begun his operation during the American Civil War as a parcel delivery company. After the war, he expanded his enterprise by purchasing a series of failing southern railroads, which he bought for next to nothing and then built up. By 1890, he owned 14 thriving railroads and several steamship lines. He had also built a number of high-end resorts and hotels in Florida, all served by his steamships and railways. The Tampa Bay Hotel, finished in 1891, was the most elaborate of these. Indeed,



Rail lines leading to the docks at Port Tampa in 1898 during the Spanish-American War. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War, 1898*)

Plant sought to turn the Tampa Bay area into a major commercial, transportation, and resort hub.

By 1898, Plant's dream was nearly realized, as Tampa had become a major seaport and transportation nexus, and his Plant Railroad and Steamship Company had a virtual monopoly over the railways and ports in the city. Goods moving into the area went by rail largely controlled by Plant and were then loaded onto his steamships. His work had helped convince the War Department that Tampa would serve as the major embarkation point for troops and supplies headed to Cuba and later to Puerto Rico.

Most of Plant's railway network ran from Georgia into Florida. Although Plant had modernized and upgraded these rail facilities, they proved to be inadequate to meet the huge demands of the Spanish-American War effort. Two primary factors caused the bottlenecks in Tampa. First, only two railroad companies served the greater Tampa area, and they were bitter rivals. Indeed, Plant did everything in his power to stymie his competitor; this rivalry reached new heights during the war. Second, only a single railroad track—controlled by Plant—served Port Tampa, resulting in gridlock as hundreds of boxcars attempted to navigate the track so that their cargoes might be loaded onto ships.

By mid-May 1898, more than 1,000 full railcars choked the railway yards in Tampa and at Port Tampa. The delays became so bad that boxcars full of uniforms, food, weapons, and ordnance were backed up as far as Columbia, South Carolina, more than 400 miles to the north. The situation was made all the worse because bills of lading had not accompanied the boxcars, and those unloading them had no idea as to their contents.

Although U.S. rail companies performed admirably during the war effort and cooperated quite well with the U.S. government, the situation in and around Tampa did not mirror this. Plant tried to monopolize government contracts, which forced his competitor to follow suit. In the meantime, goods were piling up, and the War Department was having a hard time moving troops into Tampa. In late May 1898, the crisis came to a head when Plant refused to allow any competitor's railcars to traverse his tracks. This would have virtually paralyzed the entire operation in Tampa. Finally, the War Department threatened the Plant Railroad and Steamship Company with a government seizure order, and Plant relented. By mid-June 1898, most of the bottlenecks at Tampa had been resolved.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Hellings, Martin Luther; Military Intelligence; Railroads; Tampa, Florida

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Platt, Orville Hitchcock

Birth Date: July 19, 1827

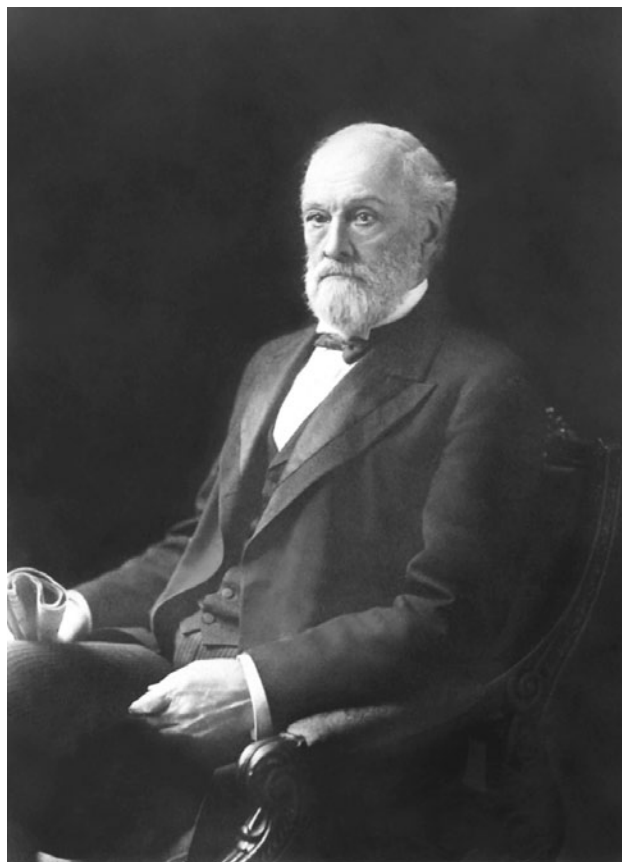
Death Date: April 21, 1905

U.S. senator and sponsor of the 1901 Platt Amendment that set the guidelines for U.S.-Cuban relations until 1934. Orville Hitchcock Platt was born on July 19, 1827, in Washington, Connecticut, where he attended local schools before reading for the law in Litchfield, Connecticut. In 1850, he was admitted to the Connecticut State Bar at which time he also moved to Towanda, Pennsylvania. There he began practicing law, but before year's end he moved back to Connecticut and settled in Meriden, where he continued his law practice.

In the mid-1850s, Platt became interested in state politics. Using his legal skills, he secured the post of clerk to the Connecticut Senate, which he held from 1855 to 1856. In 1857, he served as Connecticut's secretary of state. Elected to the Connecticut Senate in 1861, he served in that body until 1862. In 1864 and again in 1869, he served in the Connecticut House of Representatives, acting as its Speaker in 1869.

By now a committed Republican, Platt served as the New Haven County (Connecticut) state attorney from 1877 to 1879. In 1879, the Connecticut legislature elected him to the U.S. Senate, where he would serve until his death in 1905. Not a flashy politician by any means, he nonetheless developed a solid reputation during his many years of Senate service and chaired a number of important committees, including the Committee on Territories and the Committee on Cuban Relations. His work in these areas reflected his interest in the relationship of the United States to its territories, particularly those gained as a consequence of the Spanish-American War.

The Platt Amendment was actually the brainchild of Secretary of War Elihu Root, who in 1901 implored the Senate to pass the legislation and thereby solidify U.S. influence in Cuba. Platt agreed to sponsor the amendment, which was tacked on to the Army Appropriations Act in early 1901. On March 2, 1901, the Senate passed the appropriations bill, including the Platt Amendment. Besides transferring the naval base at Guantánamo Bay to the United States (for which the Americans would pay a token yearly rent), the amendment severely restricted the Cuban government's foreign



Republican senator Orville H. Platt was the sponsor of the 1901 Platt Amendment that outlined the provisions for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Cuba and defined future Cuban-U.S. relations. (Library of Congress)

policies and its ability to borrow money from overseas. It also granted the United States the right to intervene in Cuban internal affairs if it was deemed necessary.

The Platt Amendment was decried by the Cubans as nothing less than imperialism on the part of the United States designed to keep it in semiservitude to American interests. The Theodore Roosevelt administration insisted that the Cuban government incorporate the Platt Amendment into its own constitution. Although Roosevelt removed the remaining U.S. troops in Cuba in 1902, the United States would intervene in Cuba in 1906, 1909, 1912, and 1917–1923. The Platt Amendment stood until 1934, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy abolished it.

Platt died in Meriden, Connecticut, on April 21, 1905.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cuba; Cuba, U.S. Occupation of; Guantánamo Bay Naval Base; Roosevelt, Theodore; Root, Elihu; Teller Amendment

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Platt Amendment

U.S. congressional legislation forced upon Cuba that became law in January 1903. The Platt Amendment outlined the provisions for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Cuba and defined future Cuban-U.S. relations. U.S. troops had been stationed in Cuba since the Spanish-American War began in 1898. Drafted by U.S. secretary of war Elihu Root and presented to the Senate by Connecticut Republican Orville H. Platt, the Platt Amendment was an additional provision attached to the Army Appropriations Act passed by the U.S. Congress on March 2, 1901. The Platt Amendment was a replacement, of sorts, for the 1898 Teller Amendment, which had prohibited American annexation of Cuba.

Following the Spanish-American War and the departure of the Spanish from Cuba in 1898, the United States occupied the island until 1902. During this occupation, the U.S. government organized the Cuban economy and set up educational and health care systems on the island.

The Platt Amendment had several provisions. First, Cuba could never enter into any treaty with a foreign power that would impair its independence. Second, Cuba could not acquire foreign debt beyond its ability to pay from its own revenues. Third, Cuba gave the United States the right to intervene to preserve Cuban independence or to preserve law and order. Fourth, Cuba agreed to cede or lease land to the United States for the purposes of naval or coaling stations (the Guantánamo Bay Naval Base). Fifth, Cuba was required to include the provisions of the Platt Amendment verbatim in the new Cuban Constitution. In effect the Platt Amendment gave the United States a quasi protectorate over Cuba.

Under considerable pressure from the United States, the Cuban Constitutional Convention included the Platt Amendment provisions in its constitution on June 12, 1901. After American troops withdrew from Cuba in May 1902, the United States and Cuba incorporated the Platt Amendment into a formal treaty signed between the two nations on May 22, 1903. As a result of the Platt Amendment, the United States intervened in Cuba in 1906, 1909, 1912, and 1917–1923 to protect American interests. Congress repealed the Platt Amendment in 1934 as part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy, which sought to improve relations with Latin American and Caribbean nations. All the provisions of the treaty, except for the U.S. rights to Guantánamo Bay, were nullified. The American presence in Guantánamo Bay continues to this day, and the American lease on the area can be revoked only with the joint consent of both Cuba and the United States.

ANNA RULSKA

See also

Cuba; Guantánamo Bay Naval Base; Platt, Orville Hitchcock; Root, Elihu; Teller Amendment

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Plüddemann, Max

Birth Date: February 12, 1846

Death Date: January 23, 1910

German admiral who wrote about naval operations in the Caribbean during the Spanish-American War. Max Plüddemann was born in Stettin on February 12, 1846. He entered the Prussian Navy as a cadet aspirant in October 1863 and graduated from the naval academy in 1866 in the same class as future admiral Ernst Otto von Diederichs. Plüddemann was 1 of 6 of a total of 16 midshipmen of that class to make flag rank. He rose steadily in rank and held routine assignments at sea and in the naval administration. In September 1885, as a lieutenant commander and captain of the gunboat *Albatross*, he took possession for Germany of the island of Chuuk in Micronesia. His last post was that of head of the Nautical Department, and he retired from the navy as a rear admiral in June 1897.

Plüddemann was apparently not reactivated when he served as an official observer of U.S. ships of Rear Admiral William T. Sampson's North Atlantic Fleet during the Spanish-American War. Immediately following the war, Plüddemann published an article in the *Marine Rundschau* (Naval Review) with his observations. This article was quickly translated and reprinted that same year by the U.S. Navy as an 18-page booklet.

Among Plüddemann's observations were that the war had brought no major changes in naval warfare; the battleship was still supreme at sea; the U.S. Navy monitors were of little worth; torpedoes were largely ineffective; many Spanish mines were defective and had failed to explode; U.S. Navy ordnance was of high quality, but accuracy of fire was very poor, and claims of damage inflicted were exaggerated; Spanish gunnery was abysmal; the failure of the Spanish to remove combustible materials from their ships had caused the extensive fires on the Spanish ships at the Battle of Santiago de Cuba; and the U.S. Navy repair ship *Vulcan* was a valuable addition to the U.S. fleet.

Plüddemann died in Kleinmachnow near Berlin on January 23, 1910.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Diederichs, Ernst Otto von; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; United States Navy

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Political Cartoons

Print media and political cartoons strongly influenced public attitudes regarding events leading up to and during the Spanish-American War and also reflected American attitudes toward overseas expansion and the Philippine-American War (1899–1902). This relatively new mode of communication emerged during the American Civil War (1861–1865) and became a major vehicle of political expression in the closing decades of the 19th century. Increasing tensions with Spain prompted a circulation war among major newspapers in the United States, most notably those owned by Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst, who were perhaps the greatest paradigms of yellow journalism in the nation. In their newspapers especially, political cartoons played a significant role in defining the stark nature of the conflicts.

The genre of political cartoons greatly appealed to editors who desired graphic representations of Spanish tyranny and oppression. Political cartoons also appealed to readers who preferred a clear pictorial representation of the issues. Many politicians favored the cartoons as a way to garner wide-ranging support from American citizens. As such, the political cartoonists' creativity and political astuteness satisfied these often competing demands.

In the months leading up to the war, political cartoons alerted the American public to the ruthless tyranny of Spanish rule and domination. General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, the Spanish commander in Cuba and the architect of the infamous *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) system, was termed “the Butcher” and was vilified by the Hearst papers in a series of cartoons that portrayed mass starvation across generations with great attention paid to the shriveled and emaciated bodies of infants and young children. In contrast, the Spanish were usually portrayed as corpulent beasts. These cartoons helped prompt a strong humanitarian response from most Americans, who were willing to risk war to rescue the allegedly downtrodden Cuban people from the grip of Spanish rule.

On February 15, 1898, the U.S. battleship *Maine* sank in Havana Harbor, and cartoonists quickly produced sketches of heroic acts by the American sailors and pointed to Spanish culpability for the explosion that sank the ship. There was, of course, no hard evidence to indicate Spanish treachery in the affair, but political cartoonists



Cartoon by J. S. Pughe showing Uncle Sam as a large, fat man. Antiexpansionists opposed to the acquisition of overseas territories say, “Here, take a dose of this anti-fat and get thin again!” Uncle Sam replies, “No, Sonny! I never did take any of that stuff, and I’m too old to begin!” William McKinley, as a tailor, is measuring Uncle Sam for clothing. (Library of Congress)

and yellow journalists nevertheless used the incident to further encourage prowar sentiments. In newspapers across the United States, the image of the sinking of the *Maine* competed with mastheads dominated by carefully choreographed American flags bolstered by images of the Founding Fathers.

As in most political cartooning, the visual images from this era relied upon purposeful exaggeration as a means by which to highlight an issue or issues. In one famous cartoon, President William McKinley, drawn in huge proportions and dressed as Uncle Sam bulging out of his too-small clothing, is shown being measured by a tailor for a new suit. On the sleeves are written "Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and Philippines," a clear reference to imperialism.

While the Spanish were invariably portrayed as dictatorial tyrants and beasts, Filipinos were often portrayed as diminutive, often feminized characters, particularly during the Philippine-American War. The caricatures were none too subtle: Filipinos were allegedly weak, naive, and childlike, unable to take care of their own affairs. The Americans, who took many forms in these cartoons, invariably played a protective, usually paternalistic, role toward their Filipino "children." Other cartoons were patently racist, likening the Filipino guerrillas to African Americans and referring to them by such incendiary terms as "niggers" and "gugus."

The influence of political cartoonists was significant during the short-lived Spanish-American War and continued to dominate media discourse during the opening years of the 20th century. These artistic expressions reflected competing ideologies, portrayed the hegemony of American expansion, and captured the emotions of many Americans at the turn of the 20th century. While most cartoonists fashioned pictorials to satisfy the inclinations of politically motivated editors and newspaper owners, they nonetheless introduced a potent form of political expression that endures to the present day.

Political cartoons fanned hysteria on the part of many Americans, bolstered ideas of national supremacy, showcased American racism, and helped drum up popular support for a particular point of view. These political cartoons not only provide a chronology of the war but also reflect the attitudes and ideas of the American people toward this global conflict.

JAMES T. CARROLL AND PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cuba; Cuba, Spanish Colonial Policies toward; Expansionism; Hearst, William Randolph; Imperialism; Journalism; McKinley, William; Newspapers; Philippine-American War; Philippine Islands; Philippine Islands, Spanish Colonial Policies toward; Pulitzer, Joseph; *Reconcentration* System; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano; Yellow Journalism

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Ponce, Puerto Rico

City in Puerto Rico located about two miles inland from the Caribbean Sea in the central Southern Coastal Plain region of the island, south of Adjuntas, Utuado, and Jayuya. Ponce in 1898 was (and is today) the second largest city of Puerto Rico in terms of population, behind only San Juan. The city is named for Juan Ponce de León y Loayza, grandson of Spanish conquistador Juan Ponce de León. Ponce is often called La Perla del Sur (The Pearl of the South) and La Ciudad Señorial de Puerto Rico (Majestic City of Puerto Rico).

In 1898, Ponce had a population of about 37,500 people and was a center of opposition to Spanish rule. The city had no prepared military defenses. Prior to the U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico on July 25, Spanish colonel Leopoldo San Martín y Gil received orders to defend Ponce with some 500 men: three companies of the Patria Battalion, guerrillas, and volunteers. Many of his men had no weapons, however.

Realizing the importance of Ponce, U.S. expeditionary force commander Major General Nelson A. Miles made plans to take the city. He consigned this to the navy but also ordered Brigadier General George A. Garretson with six companies of the 6th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment and one of the 6th Illinois to move on Ponce by land to Yauco, six miles north of Guánica and on the railroad line and road to Ponce. Yauco was occupied on July 28 following a brief skirmish, allowing troops under Brigadier General Guy V. Henry to march up the highway to Ponce.

At the same time, on July 27, 1899, the U.S. Navy auxiliary cruiser *Dixie*, commanded by Captain Charles H. Davis, arrived at the port of the city, two miles south of Ponce. Several officers came ashore and demanded the surrender of Ponce under threat of naval bombardment. Two other U.S. warships, the gunboat *Annapolis* and armed yacht *Wasp*, then arrived, escorting transports carrying troops under the command of Major General James H. Wilson. Colonel Julison San Martín asked Spanish governor-general Manuel Macías y Casado for instructions, while at the same time foreign consuls and business leaders in Ponce urged Macías to comply with the U.S. demands. Macías agreed, provided that the Spanish garrison was allowed to withdraw unhindered.

An agreement was then reached that called for Ponce to be surrendered, with civilian government there to continue and the Spanish having 48 hours to withdraw their troops. Once the deal was struck, however, Macías repudiated it and removed San Martín, who had already evacuated Ponce, from command and ordered him imprisoned in San Juan. Returned to Spain and court-martialed after the war, San Martín was found innocent by reason of having obeyed a lawful order.

On July 28, the Americans took possession of the port, and the American flag was then raised. Troops under Henry arrived from Guánica, while Wilson's men disembarked from transports at the port and occupied the city proper. In the port of Ponce, the U.S. Navy seized 91 vessels but confiscated only 3 of these as legitimate prizes.

SPENCER C. TUCKER



Street in Ponce, Puerto Rico, in 1898. (Library of Congress)

See also

Garretson, George Armstrong; Guánica, Puerto Rico; Henry, Guy Vernor; Macías y Casado, Manuel; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Puerto Rico Campaign; Wilson, James Harrison; Yauco, Battle of

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Populist Party

Significant third party in the United States during the 1890s and the first decade of the 20th century. The Populist Party was formally organized in 1890 by members of the Farmers' Alliance and the Knights of Labor, an omnibus labor organization. The genesis of the Populist Party can be found in the economic cataclysm of 1873, which brought about a deep economic depression and the complete collapse of agricultural prices in the United States. In 1876, this led to the formation of the Greenback Party, which sought to revive American Civil War-era greenbacks, paper money issued by the

federal government. More important, the agricultural depression resulted in the formation of the Farmers' Alliance in 1876, formed largely by small independent farmers in Texas who sought cooperative action to ameliorate the agricultural situation in the United States. The alliance grew in size and scope and became strongest in the Great Plains, the South, and the West. It had relatively few adherents in the Midwest or Northeast.

By the end of the 1880s, the Farmers' Alliance had developed a comprehensive agenda for reform designed to help small farmers and rural merchants, many of whom were in debt and barely eking out an existence. The alliance called for heightened regulation of railroads and banks, the abolition of purchasing agents, and the abandonment of the gold standard as a way to counterbalance rising debt and falling prices in the agricultural sector.

Frustrated by its inability to attract serious attention from either the Republican Party or the Democratic Party, especially on the issue of free silver, key members of the Farmers' Alliance decided to form their own political party in 1889. The following year, these same individuals combined forces with the Knights of Labor, and the Populist Party was born.

Although the free coinage of silver—basically an inflationary scheme to help embattled farmers—was the keystone of the new



Political cartoon from the July 11, 1900, issue of *Puck* showing a python with the head of William Jennings Bryan, representing the Populist Party, swallowing the Democratic Party donkey. During the 1896 campaign for U.S. president, the Populists and the Democrats joined together under presidential candidate Bryan in an attempt to wrest control of the White House from the Republican Party. (Library of Congress)

party, there were other components to its platform as well. In 1892, when the Populist Party held its first official national convention in Omaha, Nebraska, it formally put forth its ambitious national agenda. The party platform called for the dissolution of national banks; the direct election of U.S. senators; a graduated income tax; an eight-hour workday for industrial workers; government management of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones; the initiative and referendum; and various civil service and electoral reforms. The 1892 platform clearly demonstrated the Populists' dislike and distrust of large banks and of the East Coast industrial-financial establishment. With former American Civil War brevet brigadier general and 1880 Greenback Party presidential nominee James B. Weaver as its first presidential candidate in the 1892 elections, the Populists garnered just over 1 million votes, not a bad showing for a small upstart political party.

Still, the Populist Party had a long and steep hill to climb if it was to overcome the two main political parties. The party was strongest in the West and the Great Plains and gained some inroads in the South, which was traditionally a Democratic bastion. The western farmers were most insistent on abandoning the gold standard in favor of a free silver or bimetal currency system that would have allowed the government to print greenbacks (dollars) based upon a 16:1 ratio of silver to gold. These individuals believed—rather erroneously—that abandoning the gold standard would

make credit cheaper and more available. In reality, most of the Populist schemes in this regard were little more than inflationary ideas that would not have affected credit as they had hoped. Notably, the Populist Party allowed some women unprecedented access to party decision making, and in the rural South attempts were made to reach out to African Americans, although this effort resulted in little gains for poor blacks.

In 1896, when the rural and Southern Democrats took control of the party from the Bourbon Democrats (most recently led by outgoing president Grover Cleveland), they co-opted most of the Populists' platform after William Jennings Bryan delivered his spellbinding "Cross of Gold" speech at the Democratic Convention in Chicago. In a fateful move, the Populist Party nominated Democrat William Jennings Bryan to be its presidential nominee in the autumn 1896 election. This decision to fuse with the Democratic Party spelled the beginning of the end for the Populists. Bryan lost to William McKinley, and the Populist Party was badly weakened. The party took the biggest hit in the South, which two years later found itself locked in a bitter fight for power with the Democrats. This was a contest that the Populists could not possibly have won.

When Bryan ran for president again in 1900 as the Democratic nominee, a sizable number of Populists supported him, but he again lost to McKinley. The Populists ran candidates in the presidential elections of 1900, 1904, and 1908, but with each passing year

their power base continued to shrink. By 1910, the Populist Party existed only on paper and did not participate in national elections thereafter. Be that as it may, the short-lived party left major imprints on the American political scene.

The Democrats ultimately took up many of the Populists' reform agenda, and Populist calls for political reforms became reality during the Progressive era (ca. 1900–1920). In 1913, for example, the 16th Amendment, providing for an income tax, and the 17th Amendment, allowing for the direct election of U.S. senators, were ratified. During World War I, a graduated income tax was instated at the federal level. And the introduction of the initiative, referendum, and recall on the state level were also hallmarks of Populist thinking. In the end, the Populists' decision to fuse with the Democrats in 1896 was a serious tactical error that made their party almost superfluous as an independent political force. Since the early 1980s, several small political groups have taken the name "Populist," but none wielded the influence of the original.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Bryan, William Jennings; Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Democratic Party; McKinley, William; Republican Party; Silver Standard

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Post, Charles Johnson

Birth Date: August 27, 1873

Death Date: September 25, 1956

American illustrator, journalist, and U.S. Army private who served in the Spanish-American War. Charles Johnson Post was born on August 27, 1873, in New York City. Exhibiting a flair for art and writing at a young age, he studied at the Art Student League in New York City under the artistic tutelage of John Twachtman, J. Carroll Beckwith, Harper Pennington, and Kenyon Cox. When the Spanish-American War began in 1898, Post enlisted as a private in the 71st Volunteer Infantry Regiment. Prior to that, he had been an illustrator for the *New York Journal*. Unlike many illustrators, he also wrote commentary that was frequently published. In June 1898, he departed with V Corps for Cuba. Because of his artistic experience and expertise, he was also contracted by the U.S. Army to produce a series of war sketches, many of which would become well known.

After the war, Post enjoyed a storied career as an artist, illustrator, journalist, photographer, and filmmaker. He served as an editorial writer and photographer for the Associated Press and directed the film *The Making of a Sailor* for the U.S. Navy. He was one

of the first individuals to successfully demonstrate motion pictures with sound dialogue, and he also invented the process of subtractive color photography. He published numerous books, including *Private Enterprise Did This* and *The Little War of Private Post*, which was published posthumously in 1960. The latter work features an in-depth look at the Spanish-American War through the eyes of Post, serving as a private in the U.S. Army. The book, reprinted in 1999 with an introduction by Graham A. Cosmas and Marylou K. Gjernes, provided vivid commentary and sketches that Post had drawn while on duty. Post died on September 25, 1956.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Artists and Illustrators; Journalism

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Powelson, Wilfred Van Nest

Birth Date: September 15, 1872

Death Date: May 20, 1960

U.S. Navy officer who gained temporary fame for his service on the so-called Sampson Board, the navy board of inquiry named after Captain William T. Sampson that first investigated the sinking of the U.S. battleship *Maine*. Born in Middletown, New York, on September 15, 1872, Wilfred Van Nest Powelson was appointed to the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, in 1889 as a cadet engineer and graduated first in his class in 1893. Intending to join the Corps of Naval Constructors, he was sent to Glasgow, Scotland, for additional education, an honor accorded only top Naval Academy graduates. However, after a year in Scotland, he decided to return to the United States as a line officer.

On his return, Powelson was stationed at the New York Navy Yard, where the *Maine* was being constructed. While waiting for its commissioning, he took the opportunity to examine the new battleship in detail, expecting incorrectly that he would be assigned to it.

Ensign Powelson was ultimately assigned to the dispatch steamer *Fern*. The day after the destruction of the *Maine* on February 15, 1898, the *Fern* steamed into Havana Harbor. Having light duty aboard his own ship, Powelson busied himself by examining the *Maine* wreckage and conversing with the divers exploring it. His background in naval architecture, familiarity with the ship's construction, and conversations with the divers resulted in his transfer to aid in the inquiry by the Sampson Board. He was charged with presenting the divers' findings to the board under oath.

Powelson's most important contribution to the board's conclusion was his observation that the *Maine*'s keel and adjacent steel plates—the structural backbone of the vessel that formed the lowest part of the ship—had been bent upward by nearly 40 feet. The keel itself rested 18 inches below the water's surface, while portions of the adjacent plates actually protruded 4 feet above the surface. This major displacement of the keel was interpreted as evidence suggesting that an underwater mine had caused the ship's sinking. Powelson shared his finding with one of his divers who, in turn, leaked it to the press. This information ultimately encouraged those pushing for war and brought Powelson national recognition. Later studies have suggested that Powelson's findings were either incorrect or could not be substantiated.

With the work of the Sampson Board completed on March 28, 1898, Powelson was assigned to the auxiliary cruiser *St. Paul*, formerly an ocean liner. His transfer was not by chance, for the cruiser was commanded by Captain Charles Sigsbee, former captain of the *Maine*, who had been very impressed by and appreciative of Powelson's testimony indicating that the *Maine* had succumbed to an external mine rather than an internal explosion.

Powelson took part in various actions during the Spanish-American War, most notably on June 22 when the *St. Paul* severely damaged the Spanish torpedo boat *Terror* in an engagement at San Juan, Puerto Rico. The shell that was believed to have put the Spanish ship out of action was from a 5-inch gun under Powelson's command.

The *St. Paul* was decommissioned and returned to civilian service in September 1898. While still aboard the ship as it was awaiting decommissioning, Powelson accidentally fell through a hatchway into the hold, breaking his leg and severely injuring his back. On his release from the hospital, he reported to the Navy Bureau of Equipment, to which he had been assigned just prior to the accident.

On March 3, 1899, Powelson was promoted to lieutenant junior grade and then to lieutenant on February 11, 1901. However, he never fully recovered from the injuries from the accident, which forced him out of the navy. On July 3, 1902, he left active service with the rank of lieutenant commander. Upon leaving the navy, he embarked on a successful career as an engineer, at one point serving as a government inspector of General Electric appliances. Powelson died in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, on May 20, 1960.

PATRICK MCSHERRY

See also

Maine, USS; *Maine*, USS, Inquiries into the Loss of; "Remember the *Maine*"; Sampson, William Thomas

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Pratt, E. Spencer

Birth Date: Unknown

Death Date: Unknown

U.S. diplomat. E. Spencer Pratt was U.S. minister to Persia during 1886–1891 and was serving as U.S. consul to Singapore in 1898. There English adventurer and sometime diplomat Howard Bray introduced Pratt to Filipino insurgent leader Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy. The two men held discussions during April 24–26, 1898. As a result of these talks, Aguinaldo returned to Hong Kong and there was persuaded by American consul Rounseville Wildman to catch passage on an American revenue cutter for the Philippines. During his meetings with Aguinaldo, Pratt is believed to have encouraged the Filipino revolutionary movement in its insurrection against Spanish colonial rule.

Aguinaldo's conversations with both Pratt and Wildman remain controversial, although both men subsequently claimed that they had made no promises to Aguinaldo regarding the future of the Philippines. Aguinaldo subsequently claimed, however, that Pratt had assured him that the United States would recognize the independence of the Philippines under a U.S. protectorate. Bray later confirmed Aguinaldo's claims.

SPENCER C. TUCKER



U.S. diplomat E. Spencer Pratt, believed to have encouraged Filipino nationalists in their efforts to end Spanish rule in the Philippines. (Library of Congress)

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Dewey, George; Hong Kong; Wildman, Rounseville

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Primo de Rivera y Sobremonte, Fernando

Birth Date: 1831

Death Date: 1921

Spanish Army officer and captain-general and governor-general of the Philippines (1897–1898). Born in Seville, Spain, in 1831, Fernando Primo de Rivera y Sobremonte joined the Spanish Army at a young age. He helped put down the Madrid insurrections of 1848 and 1866. In the Second Carlist War (1846–1849), forces under his command captured Estella, for which he was made Marquess of Estella. He also served briefly as minister of military affairs for King Alfonso XII during 1874–1875. In 1880, Primo de Rivera served as captain-general of Madrid and from 1880–1883 was captain-general of the Philippines. In 1895, he became captain-general of the Spanish Army.

Appointed captain-general and governor-general of the Philippines on March 22, 1897, Primo de Rivera replaced General Camilo García de Polavieja. Primo de Rivera's adjutant was Miguel Primo de Rivera y Orbaneja, his nephew and later dictator of Spain. Believing that he could end the insurrection against Spanish rule by conciliatory measures, Fernando Primo de Rivera issued a number of unconstitutional pardons to the insurgents. When this policy did not have the desired result, he resorted to a harsh policy of military action, especially in Cavite Province near Manila. On May 17, he issued another pardon, which received a better response and led him to consider the possibility of a negotiated settlement with the insurgent leadership. When Pedro Alejandro Paterno y Debera Ignacio offered to serve as a mediator, Primo de Rivera accepted. This decision led to negotiations and, ultimately, the December 1897 Pact of Biak-na-Bato whereby the insurgent leaders received a cash settlement and then went into exile in Hong Kong.

On March 3, 1898, Primo de Rivera cabled Spanish minister of the colonies Segismundo Moret y Pendergast indicating that he had learned from intelligence sources that U.S. Asiatic Squadron commander Commodore George Dewey had orders to attack Manila. Primo de Rivera then worked with Rear Admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón to prepare the Philippines, and especially the Manila area, against a U.S. Navy attack. On April 9, however, Primo de Rivera was suddenly replaced on orders from Madrid by Lieutenant General Basilo Agustín y Dávila. Primo

de Rivera left the Philippines on April 12, 1898, just days before the U.S. declaration of war.

Primo de Rivera subsequently twice served as minister of war. He died in Madrid in 1921.

SPENCER C. TUCKER AND PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Biak-na-Bato, Pact of; Dewey, George; Hong Kong; Montojo y Pasarón, Patricio; Paterno y Debera Ignacio, Pedro Alejandro

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Proctor, Redfield

Birth Date: June 1, 1831

Death Date: March 4, 1908

Union Army officer during the American Civil War, well-to-do businessman, and prominent Republican politician. Redfield Proctor was born in Proctorsville, Vermont, on June 1, 1831. His father, Jabez Proctor, was a prosperous farmer, merchant, and a well-respected Whig Party politician. The younger Proctor graduated from Dartmouth College in 1851 and from the Albany (New York) Law School in 1859. Between 1851 and 1857, he was a businessman in Proctorsville, working mainly in the local marble quarry industry. In 1860, he was admitted to the bar and practiced law in Boston until 1861. At the beginning of the American Civil War, Proctor returned to Vermont, where he secured a commission as a major in the 3rd Vermont Volunteer Regiment. He rose to the rank of colonel of volunteers before leaving the army in 1863.

Proctor began practicing law in Rutland, Vermont, in 1863, but he soon became preoccupied with the burgeoning marble industry in the state. By 1869, he had left his law practice and taken up a position as a manager at a local marble quarrying facility. In 1880, two quarries merged to form the Vermont Marble Company, and Proctor served as its first president. He became wealthy as a result of this work.

During the 1860s, Proctor had begun a career in politics. He served in the Vermont House of Representatives from 1867 to 1868 and in the Vermont Senate during 1874–1875. By now a well-known Republican politician, he was elected to serve as Vermont's lieutenant governor (1876–1878) and governor (1878–1880). In 1888, he again served in the state House of Representatives. President Benjamin Harrison named Proctor as secretary of war in 1889, a position he held until 1891 at which time he was appointed to fill a vacancy in the U.S. Senate. He served in the Senate until his death in 1908. By the time he reached the U.S. Senate, he was known as the "Marble King," as the company he now controlled was the largest marble-producing company in the nation.

Proctor enjoyed a stellar reputation in the Senate and was uniformly praised for his hard work, attention to detail, and fair-mindedness. Indeed, he became a frequent adviser to Republican president William McKinley before, during, and after the Spanish-American War. As a member of the Committee on Military Affairs, Proctor supported the appointment of Commodore George Dewey to command the U.S. Asiatic Squadron, which performed brilliantly at the Battle of Manila Bay (May 1, 1898). Proctor had earlier struck up a friendship with Dewey, who considered Proctor something of a mentor.

Before hostilities began between Spain and the United States, Proctor and several of his Senate colleagues went to Cuba to assess the situation there. When Proctor returned, he presented McKinley and his cabinet with a highly persuasive report that called for military intervention in Cuba. Proctor's findings played a significant role in the decision to go to war in April 1898.

Proctor was in many ways a quintessential Republican expansionist. Persuaded by the validity of Alfred Thayer Mahan's writings on naval power and desirous of a wider international role for the United States, Proctor aggressively lobbied for a larger navy and a more activist foreign policy, positions that he took with both the McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt administrations. In other areas Proctor also walked the party line, supporting high tariffs and the gold standard. He died in Proctorsville, Vermont, on March 4, 1908.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Asiatic Squadron; Dewey, George; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Manila Bay, Battle of; McKinley, William; Roosevelt, Theodore

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Progressivism

Far-reaching reform movement in the United States lasting from about 1900 to 1920. Progressivism treated a wide array of issues, including politics, the economy, government, business regulation, organized labor, education, and poverty mitigation. Progressivism was a response to the excesses of the so-called robber barons and the Gilded Age that reigned supreme during the last third of the 19th century. It was also a reaction to the problems caused by frenetic industrialization and massive immigration. Numerous Progressive initiatives had their roots in the Populist movement and Populist Party of the late 19th century. Progressivism was a broad-based bipartisan reform movement that encompassed both Republican and Democratic policy makers.

Presidents Theodore Roosevelt (a Republican) and Woodrow Wilson (a Democrat) considered themselves to be Progressive re-



Republican senator Redfield Proctor of Vermont, a member of the Committee on Military Affairs and a close adviser to President William McKinley, urged U.S. intervention in Cuba. (Library of Congress)

formers, although they envisioned somewhat different means to achieve the same ends. Interestingly, American efforts to bring civilization and American values to the Filipinos in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War were infused with Progressive rhetoric and ideology. While Progressives were generally well meaning and earnest about improving American society and government, there was a certain paternalism to their thinking. This reflected the fact that many of them were middle- and upper-class well-educated whites who believed that their status and education made them uniquely qualified to bring about Progressive reforms. The idea of equality in terms of race and ethnicity was not generally part of their mind-set. Nor were many Progressives advocates of gender equality. Indeed, not until 1920 were American women allowed to vote in federal-level elections, and this concession came about largely because of World War I.

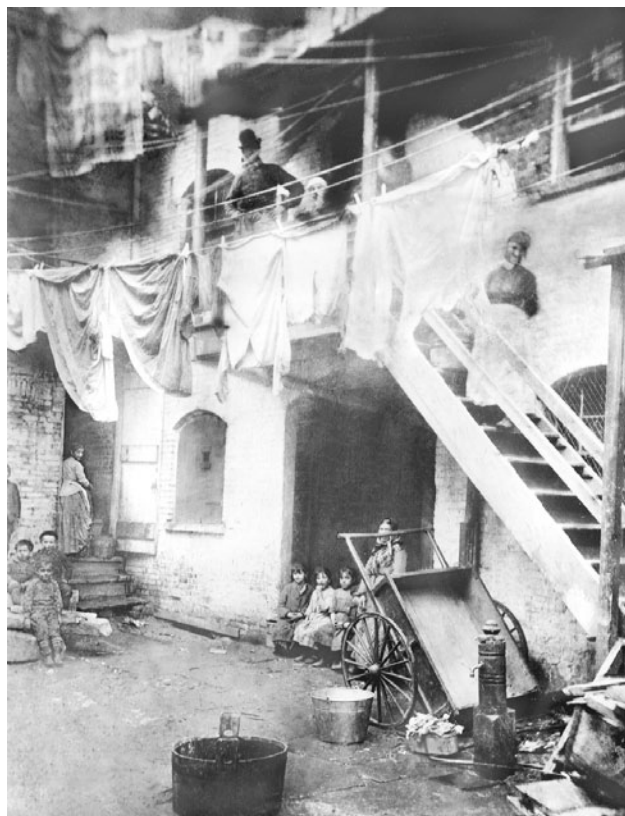
Progressivism began largely as a grassroots effort, taking hold first at the local level, then the state level, and finally the federal level. Democratic Party politicians such as William Jennings Bryan and Republican Party politicians such as Robert La Follette lent their substantial political clout to Progressive reform, while Republican presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft

and Democratic president Woodrow Wilson added their own momentum to the reform agenda. What made Progressivism in many ways unique among American reform movements was the fact that reformers believed in harnessing the power of the government to bring about change. Both Republicans and Democrats used the government—at all levels—to bring about Progressive reforms. Furthermore, Progressives believed in using newfound social sciences (such as sociology) and statistical analysis to identify problems and then apply solutions to them.

Because Progressivism was such a broad-based reform movement, it borrowed ideas and prescriptions from many different sources. The Populists, for example, had long called for more democratic representation by such mechanisms as the initiative, referendum, and recall. An initiative is a means by which citizens themselves can suggest and even write legislation or laws that can then be considered by deliberative bodies or approved directly by voters. A referendum allows the voters themselves to approve or disapprove laws or legislation passed by lawmakers. The recall empowers citizens to remove elected public officials from office. These measures were adopted by many localities and states during the Progressive era, especially in western states. The Populists also called for the direct election of U.S. senators, which became reality with the 17th Amendment to the Constitution in 1913. Again, the idea was to provide more political power to the people and to make government more accountable to the electorate.

Progressive efforts to mitigate poverty, improve low-income housing, clear slums and ghettos, and rid city governments of graft and corruption were also holdovers from the late 19th century. The Settlement House Movement popularized by reformers such as Jane Addams provided ample examples of how people's lives in the slums could be transformed with education, adequate housing, and decent medical care. Muckrakers and yellow journalists such as Jacob A. Riis, who made infamous the conditions of U.S. slums in such books as *How the Other Half Lives* (1890) and *Battle with the Slum* (1902), brought the conditions of America's poorest citizens to the fore. In places such as New York City, where the corruption of William Marcy "Boss" Tweed at City Hall had eviscerated the city's treasury, Progressive reformers and politicians found innovative ways to prevent such abuse and make the government accountable for its actions. During the Progressive era, many cities adopted a city-management system whereby the city's day-to-day operations were supervised by a salaried professional who was not a political appointee. Mayors were relegated to more figurehead roles. The commission system, introduced in Galveston, Texas, after the city was devastated by a hurricane in 1900, allowed voters to elect heads of local departments, with the commissioners also serving as a city council.

One of the most notable of Progressive initiatives was the regulation of big business and industry. The government tried to limit the power of certain corporations and industries in order to avoid monopoly and price fixing and worked with labor unions to ensure that their voices were heard but that they did not drown out the in-



Photograph by Jacob Riis of a tenement on Baxter Street in New York City, a neighborhood that Riis covered during his job as a police reporter in the late 1880s. The conditions he witnessed in New York tenements led him to write a photographic exposé, *How the Other Half Lives* (1890). (Library of Congress)

terests of scrupulous businessmen. Numerous states passed laws limiting child labor, establishing maximum work hours, and mandating safer working conditions. As a result, the number of Americans maimed or killed on the job because of unsafe working conditions dramatically diminished. Congress also passed the Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act in 1906 largely in response to Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, which exposed the poor sanitation standards in the meatpacking industry. This was also partly a response to the Embalmed Beef Scandal of the Spanish-American War.

Other Progressive reforms that became law in the first two decades of the 20th century include the Federal Reserve Act of 1913, which provided government supervision of the banking industry; the Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914, which strengthened antitrust regulations; and the Federal Trade Commission Act of 1914, which regulated trade practices. More important, the Progressive era resulted in a series of amendments to the U.S. Constitution: the 16th Amendment (1913) established the federal income tax; the 17th Amendment (1913) provided for the direct election of U.S. senators; the 18th Amendment (1919) mandated prohibition of alcohol; and the 19th Amendment (1920) extended the right to vote to women. There were direct links between Progressivism and the

Spanish-American War and Philippine-American War. The U.S. concern with the plight of the Cubans and Filipinos certainly fit into the philosophy of Progressive reform. Indeed, better education and control of communicable diseases such as yellow fever, malaria, and typhoid were high on Americans' agenda in these nations. William Howard Taft, who himself would become a Progressive president from 1909 to 1913 (albeit a conservative one), served as the first civilian governor-general of the Philippines from 1901 to 1903. In this capacity, he used the Philippines as a small-scale laboratory for Progressive reform. He undertook land reform that gave more land to Filipino peasants, built many schools, established medical clinics, and created programs designed to acculturate Filipinos to American society.

Most historians date the end of Progressivism at about 1920. Indeed, World War I and the civil liberty violations it engendered stymied further major reforms. The Russian Revolution and resulting anticommunist Red Scare of 1919–1920 also discouraged new reform legislation. By the early 1920s, Progressives had decided to settle into a conservative cocoon in which they could concentrate on new cultural trends and consumerism. Reflecting this newfound conservatism, the Republican ascendancy of the 1920s was founded upon a small, unobtrusive federal government, hardly the vehicle for advancing reform. Be that as it may, vestiges of Progressivism endured. Indeed, Senator Robert M. La Follette received almost 5 million votes as the Progressive Party candidate in the 1924 presidential election. Subsequent reform movements such as the New Deal of the 1930s and the Great Society of the 1960s traced their ideological heritage to the Progressive movement.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Bryan, William Jennings; Democratic Party; Journalism; Malaria; Populist Party; Republican Party; Robber Barons; Roosevelt, Theodore; Slums; Taft, William Howard; Typhoid Fever; Yellow Fever; Yellow Journalism

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Propaganda

The Spanish-American War was perhaps the first modern conflict in which propaganda employing the modern media of the day (chiefly newspapers and magazines) and enhanced by telegraphs and the newly created telephone played a significant role. There was not, however, a concerted or organized effort on the part of



Stereograph by Keystone View Company in 1899 titled "Cell from which Evangelica Cisneros escaped, Havana, Cuba." Cisneros was a Cuban woman jailed in Havana. William Randolph Hearst secured her alleged rescue. Manipulation of events in Cuba by much of the U.S. press helped to increase public sentiment for war with Spain. (Library of Congress)

the governments involved to engage in propaganda activity. That would not occur until World War I. Rather, propaganda during the Spanish-American War was conducted on a more ad hoc basis, mainly by those in the media. Those involved had varying motives, and not all were tied into the strategic interests of their country. The clearest examples of such propaganda ploys can be seen in the yellow journalism of the day, which publishers William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer most closely embodied. Propaganda also made its way into the music of the period by way of patriotic songs and even exhibited itself in a very limited way in the newly emergent medium of film, which was still in its infancy and was limited to short releases with no sound dialogue.

During the 1880s and 1890s, American newspapers engaged in a vicious circulation war, vying for readers' attention and, indirectly, their pocketbooks. In an era in which television and radio were not yet available, newspapers served as the sole source of news and information for a great majority of Americans. This meant that newspaper publishers and journalists played a critical role in the shaping of public opinion. In their quest to best the competition, however, they often played fast and loose with the facts. This was especially the case with Hearst- and Pulitzer-owned publications. Indeed, many

U.S. newspapers began a campaign to discredit and vilify the Spanish while romanticizing the struggle of Cuban rebels after the beginning of the Cuban War of Independence in 1895.

All of the nation's major big-city newspapers either had reporters on-site in Cuba or relied on syndicated reports and columns provided to them by the Hearst and Pulitzer papers in New York City. Thus, there was little in the way of checks and balances to ensure that the reporting was fair and accurate. Through pooled newspaper conglomerates such as the Associated Press, Americans in Boise, Idaho, were able to read the same reports from Cuba or the Philippines as Americans read in Chicago or San Francisco.

As tensions with the Spanish rose, reports from Cuba became more incendiary and more exaggerated. In many cases, reporters submitting stories to their home papers or to the Associated Press were not, in fact, witnesses to the events about which they wrote. Instead, they tended to rely on secondhand accounts or stories written by a single reporter who had claimed to witness an event. Invariably, the Spanish were portrayed as ruthless aggressors bent on subjugating the Cubans with threats and murder. Not surprisingly, the press enjoyed a bonanza when it began reporting on the excesses of the infamous *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) system instituted by Governor-General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau.

Thanks to advances made in the printing and photography fields, many of these stories were accompanied by emotionally charged illustrations and pictures, which added a new dimension to such over-the-top reporting. The Cubans were almost always portrayed in the best possible light, fighting for the noble cause of freedom against a colonial oppressor. Most of the press thus ignored wrongdoing or atrocities committed by the rebels.

A sure way to stoke the fires of moral indignation at home was to concentrate on the victimization of women in Cuba. This was done routinely and with considerable success. The most brazen example of this was the Evangelina Cosío y Cisneros saga, much of which was staged by William Randolph Hearst. Cisneros's plight became an instant cause célèbre and not only brought Hearst more readers but also further fanned the flames of public resentment toward the Spanish.

When the U.S. battleship *Maine* mysteriously exploded while at anchor in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, the yellow press almost immediately concluded that the tragedy had been the result of Spanish treachery. Reporting of this event was based solely on conjecture and was clearly influenced by the strong anti-Spanish sentiment in the United States. The fact that Spain had nothing to gain—and everything to lose—by destroying the battleship did not seem to have a place in reporters' stories on the incident. Nevertheless, the slogan "Remember the *Maine*!" became popularized by those Americans seeking war.

While it is not at all accurate to say that media-inspired propaganda alone pushed the United States to war in April 1898, it did make that decision considerably easier. During the war, the U.S. government exercised some control over the movement of correspondents in the field, but there was no concerted effort to censor

newspaper coverage, just as there was no concerted attempt on the part of the government to create or shape wartime propaganda. In the summer of 1898, a 90-second silent film titled *Tearing down the Spanish Flag* was created at the behest of the War Department. The clip showed the re-creation of a battle scene in which a tattered Spanish flag was hauled down and replaced by a pristine American flag. Few Americans saw the film, however, as commercial film and movie theaters still lay in the future.

During the Philippine-American War (1899–1902), newspapers and magazines again became the main vehicles for propaganda. The U.S. government did not play a large or direct role in the shaping of public opinion, which was left to editors, reporters, and artists. Almost no newspapers openly criticized the U.S. war effort in the Philippines, and Americans were almost always portrayed as paragons of enlightenment and benevolence. On the rare occasions when U.S. atrocities visited upon Filipinos were reported, correspondents were careful to point out that such activities were the products of individual men rather than U.S. policy as a whole.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Artists and Illustrators; Cosío y Cisneros, Evangelina; Cuban War of Independence; Hearst, William Randolph; Journalism; *Maine*, USS; Music; Newspapers; Philippine-American War; Pulitzer, Joseph; "Remember the *Maine*"; Yellow Journalism

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Protocol of Peace

See Peace, Protocol of

Puerto Rico

Caribbean island located between the Caribbean Sea to the south and the Atlantic Ocean to the north, just east of the present-day Dominican Republic. At the start of the Spanish-American War, Puerto Rico was a Spanish colony with a population of approximately 950,000 people. The island was annexed by the United States as a result of the December 1898 Treaty of Paris.

Puerto Rico, part of the Greater Antilles, covers an area of approximately 3,500 square miles. The topography of the island consists of roughly 25 percent level ground, with 40 percent classified as mountainous and 30 percent accented by hills. The climate on the island is comparable to that of its Caribbean neighbors, with

the moderate temperatures and plentiful rainfall that characterize the tropics. Major cash crops on the island included coffee, sugarcane, tobacco, and plantains and other tropical fruits. As in Cuba, the Spanish had built a plantation-based economy on Puerto Rico, the mainstay of which was coffee and sugar cultivation. Unlike Cuba, however, the island had little modern infrastructure.

The first European contact with Puerto Rico occurred on November 19, 1493, during Christopher Columbus's second expedition to the region. However, Puerto Rico was not colonized until 1508, when gold was discovered in the northeastern and southwestern portions of the island. Juan Ponce de León led the conquest of Puerto Rico (meaning literally "rich port"), which saw the brutal oppression and enslavement of the Tainos, a native people closely related to the Arawaks. Within a few years' time, the Tainos had been decimated due to disease, harsh working conditions, and Ponce de León's violent quelling of slave rebellions.

Despite the gold deposits found on the island in the 16th century, for much of the colonial period Puerto Rico remained solely a forward military position in the Spanish Empire at the gate to the Caribbean Sea. As a result, the tiny island fortress was repeatedly attacked by other European states. In 1595, for instance, Sir Francis Drake and John Hawkins attempted to take the island for England without success. However, a year later under the Earl of Cumberland, Puerto Rico came into English possession, albeit for a brief 65 days. The island also experienced attacks by other colonial-minded peoples such as the French and the Dutch. The last major attack on Puerto Rico before the American occupation in 1898 occurred in 1797 when yet another British attack was thwarted.

By and large, Spain neglected to develop the island during the colonial period. The limited economy was based on subsistence farming, some cattle ranching, and sporadic smuggling. The chief export was coffee, with sugar a close second. Throughout most of the 19th century, the island lacked major infrastructure needs such as telegraphs, banking institutions, and efficient roadways. Nevertheless, the island experienced periods of relative calm and autonomy. One such case came in 1873 with the abolition of slavery. Yet despite these periods, there were occasional instances of renewed concentration on behalf of the Spanish Crown, as demonstrated in the crushing of the 1868 revolt at Larres.

The island's population remained quite small until the 19th century, when a rapid increase in the number of inhabitants occurred. The population jumped from 163,192 people in 1802 to 953,243 by 1899. Despite this population growth, Puerto Rico retained its rural ways, as only 8.7 percent of the population lived in towns with 8,000 people or more. What is more, by century's end only 32,048 people lived in the capital city of San Juan. This was in stark contrast to the large and bustling capital of Cuba, Havana. The typical dwelling of the Puerto Rican at the time was the *bohío*. It was in essence a cramped windowless cabinlike structure made of wood, hay, dried palm fronds, or a combination of these. These rural dwellings had no running water or other modern conveniences.

It is true that Puerto Rico had once led the Caribbean in illiteracy rates, which stood at more than 83 percent. Indeed, students who wanted to continue their education had to travel to Spain or even in some cases to the United States or France. However, in 1882 Puerto Rico established its first secondary school. Even with the general lack of educational facilities until the close of the 1800s, Puerto Rico produced its own rich culture during this period, which can be seen in the works of both visual and written artists. Moreover, these artists played a key role in the political development of the island, as is seen in the works of poets such as Luis Muñoz Rivera and José de Diego.

The greatest economic growth in Puerto Rico during the 19th century came in agricultural. Similar to Cuba, agricultural development was lacking until the 1800s because of the aforementioned lack of infrastructure. While coffee was the dominant export until 1899, sugar also held an increasingly critical place in the growing island's economy. The United States was the chief customer of Puerto Rican sugar, importing raw sugar and refining it in stateside mills. There were attempts by Puerto Rican business owners to produce and ultimately sell refined sugar, as was demonstrated in Central San Vicente, but the effort brought little financial success.

As a result of the war with Spain, the United States invaded Puerto Rico on July 25, 1898, staging a landing at Guánica. The United States had been eyeing the island as a place of strategic importance since before the Thomas Jefferson administration. The value of Puerto Rico to the United States can be seen in the commentary of Secretary of State James G. Blaine, who wrote to President Benjamin Harrison on the subject in 1890. Blaine claimed that there were only three locations that were of enough strategic value to be taken with force: Hawaii, Cuba, and Puerto Rico. This idea was undoubtedly reinforced by the notions perpetuated in the 1823 Monroe Doctrine, Manifest Destiny, and the naval theories of Alfred Thayer Mahan. Yet there were economic considerations and opportunities as well. At the beginning of the 20th century, Puerto Rico was the 5th-largest market for U.S. exports in Latin America and 27th in overall global trade. By 1910, those rankings rose to 4th and 11th, respectively.

The conquest of the island by the American forces was proceeding rapidly when it was brought to a close by the Protocol of Peace. Many of the lower-class Puerto Ricans seized upon the U.S. invasion as the opportunity for retribution, and from July 1898 through February 1899, small groups of the impoverished mercilessly attacked Spaniards and those considered members of the upper echelons of society. This activity finally ceased when the military government installed by the United States in October 1898 under the leadership of Major General Guy V. Henry, which was similar to the one established by the United States in Cuba, repressed the rioting. What is more, during the military occupation, there was no major insurrection such as the one in the Philippines.

Article 2 of the Treaty of Paris brought Puerto Rico under the complete control of the United States. The question remained whether the small island should be granted independence,

admitted into the Union, or simply left as a colonial possession. The consensus among policy makers in Washington was that Puerto Ricans were incapable of running their own nation, while the question of statehood was complex and hotly debated. Ultimately, Puerto Rico was allowed to exist as a colonial dominion of the United States under the auspices of the 1899 Foraker Amendment. The original proposal called for all Puerto Ricans to be considered citizens of the United States with the extension of rights under the U.S. Constitution. However, the final legislation stipulated neither of these points and gave Puerto Rico only the originally proposed House of Delegates, which served under an American-dominated executive, legislative, and judiciary system. While citizenship was eventually granted to Puerto Ricans under the Jones Act of 1917, the island would not gain commonwealth status and thus the right to draft its own constitution until 1952.

ROB SHAFER

See also

Antilles; Blaine, James Gillespie; Guánica, Puerto Rico; Henry, Guy Verner; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Manifest Destiny; Monroe Doctrine; Paris, Treaty of; Puerto Rico Campaign; Rivera, Luis Muñoz

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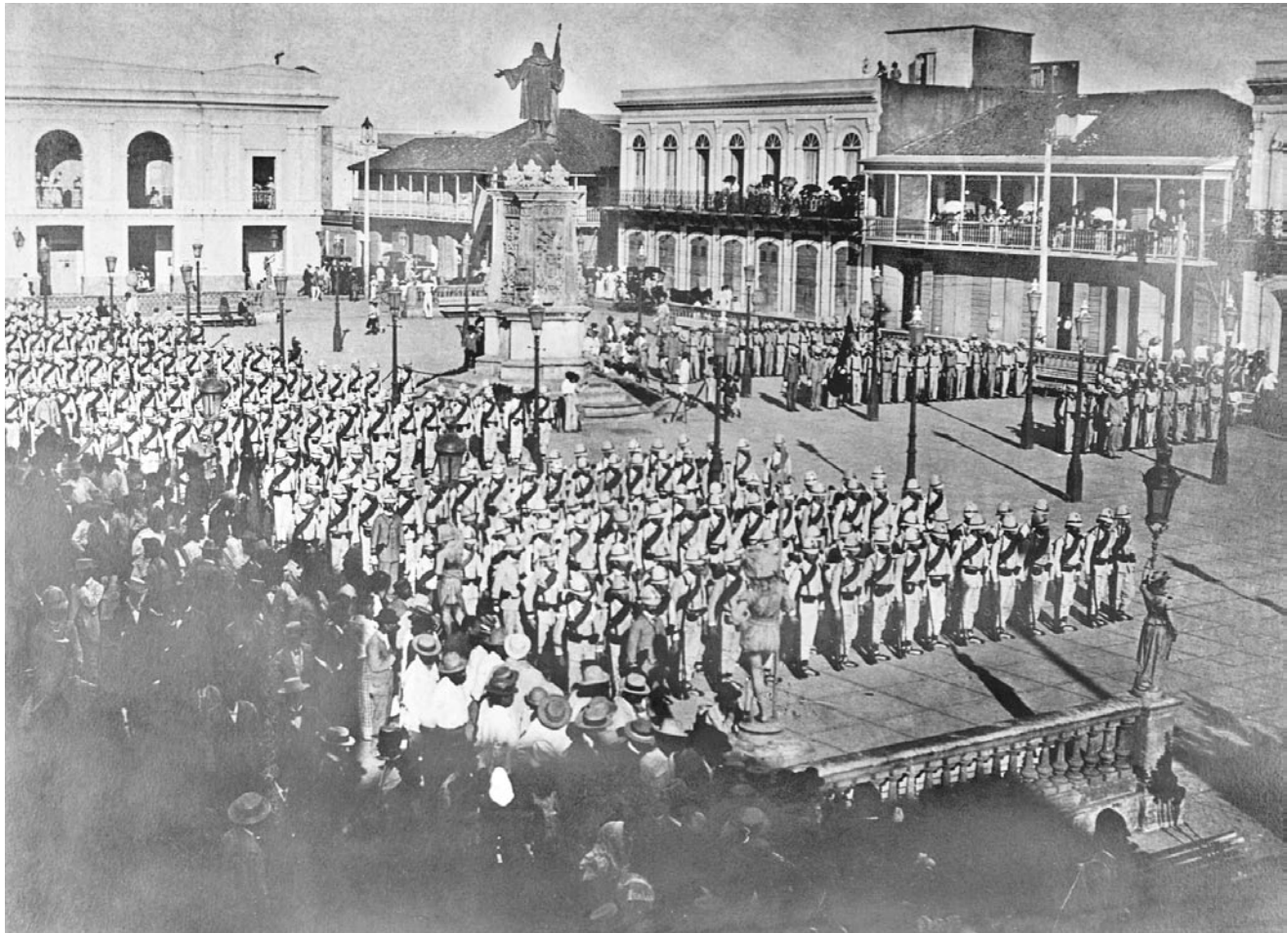
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Puerto Rico Campaign

Start Date: July 25, 1898

End Date: August 13, 1898

U.S. operations on the island of Puerto Rico that occurred late in the Spanish-American War. Initially, both commanding general of the army Major General Nelson A. Miles and his predecessor, Major



Spanish troops leave Mayagüez, Puerto Rico, to engage the American forces at Hormigueros, August 10, 1898. (Bettmann/Corbis)

OPERATIONS IN PUERTO RICO, 1898



General John Schofield, who acted as a military adviser to President William McKinley during the early weeks of the Spanish-American War, favored a campaign in Puerto Rico over an invasion of Cuba. Miles thought it more strategically sound to strike Puerto Rico first, wait until the yellow fever season in Cuba ended, and then send the navy to defeat the Spanish fleet.

In late May 1898, when Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's Spanish fleet sailed into the harbor of Santiago de Cuba, thereby surrendering its strategic initiative, Miles again pressed for a Puerto Rico Campaign, to be followed by an invasion of Cuba. However, McKinley chose to invade Cuba first as a means of supporting the navy in its effort to destroy the Spanish fleet, which remained the primary strategic objective. This move, it was reasoned, would have a more immediate and compelling effect on Spain.

Although the destruction of Cervera's fleet in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3, 1898, was a stunning victory for the United States, the campaign for Santiago had bogged down, and Miles was directed to proceed to Cuba to support Major General William Shafter's campaign there if needed. Miles sailed from Charleston, South Carolina, on July 8 with a 3,500-man force and steamed to Santiago. But on July 17, Santiago capitulated, and Miles received authorization on the following day to proceed with an invasion of Puerto Rico.

Miles's opposition to a Cuban invasion during the fever season was well founded. By the time Santiago surrendered, a large number of men in Shafter's V Corps had fallen prey to yellow fever and malaria. Miles had originally planned to include a part of V Corps in his Puerto Rico Campaign, but the men were in no shape for more campaigning. Miles had wisely kept his troops with him on ship so as not to expose them to tropical fevers. Now, with authorization finally in hand, he sailed for Puerto Rico with a force of 3,500 men, to be followed by an additional 13,000 men and supporting artillery.

Interservice bickering and rivalry, present throughout the campaign in Cuba, was not absent from the Puerto Rico Campaign. Miles, who never avoided a conflict if he could help it, argued with North Atlantic Fleet commander Rear Admiral William T. Sampson about the size of his naval escort. McKinley, the soul of patience, finally grew tired of the wrangling and directed the navy to provide Miles with whatever ships he needed. But bickering and underhandedness did not end there. In early August, Commander Charles Davis recommended to Sampson that the navy take San Juan alone without the army's participation. Miles learned of the scheme and promptly nipped it in the bud, securing assurance from Washington that the navy would do no more than deliver troops to the island.

Miles departed Guantánamo, Cuba, on July 21 with 3,415 infantry, two companies of engineers, and one signal company, all carried in the transports *Columbia*, *Macon*, and *Yale*. Captain Francis J. Higginson commanded the naval escort, consisting of the battleship *Massachusetts* (flagship), cruiser *Dixie*, and armed yacht *Gloucester*. Initially, the plan called for Miles to land at Cape Fajardo

on the northern coast of Puerto Rico. Once at sea, however, Miles changed the objectives to Ponce and Guánica on the southern coast. From intelligence reports provided to him, he knew that the Spanish were expecting him to land at Fajardo and had prepared accordingly. The city of Ponce, by contrast, was the second largest on the island, only 70 miles from San Juan, and offered a ready source of supplies.

Meanwhile, Manuel Macías y Casado, governor-general of Puerto Rico, was fully aware of the U.S. intent to invade the island even though the point of landing was unknown. Macías's orders were to offer stout resistance, as it was hoped that this would strengthen Spain's bargaining position. As Macías saw it, he had the option of either concentrating most of his military resources around the capital of San Juan or dispersing his forces so as to cover key positions. Although there were other strong points on the island, the bulk of the Spanish defenses were around San Juan.

On July 25, a naval landing party captured Guánica, a small but good deep-water harbor 15 miles west of Ponce, without resistance. On July 27, a detachment from Guánica advanced on Ponce and was joined the following day by some 3,600 troops under the command of Brevet Major General James H. Wilson, whose force had sailed from Charleston on July 20. The combined force compelled the Spanish to surrender the city. On July 26, a column under Brigadier General George Garretson moved on Yauco, a few miles north of Guánica. Following a brief skirmish with Spanish troops, Garretson and his troops captured the town and nearby railroad line. Although the population of Puerto Rico had not risen up against Spanish rule as was the case in Cuba, they did not strongly support the Spanish. Indeed, when in Ponce, Miles proclaimed that the Americans had come as liberators and found that the population responded enthusiastically. Throughout, Miles stressed maneuver to flank and isolate enemy positions rather than direct frontal assaults.

By August 5, additional troops had landed on the island under Major General John R. Brooke and Brigadier General Theodore Schwan with 4,000 and 2,900 men, respectively, so that combined with General Wilson's force, Miles now had some 17,000 troops at his disposal. He estimated Spanish troop strength at more than 8,200 regulars and some 9,100 volunteers. Unlike General Shafter's V Corps, the various elements of Miles's command left the United States fully equipped to conduct the campaign. Miles had 106 mortars, howitzers, and field and siege guns as well as 10 Gatling guns.

Miles learned that the Spanish were organizing their defenses in the low mountainous area separating the northern half of the island from the southern half. A key position in this plan was the strong point at Aibonito, which guarded a gateway through the mountains leading to San Juan, Miles's goal. To attain that objective, he decided to advance with four columns of troops, sweep across the island, and converge on San Juan.

General Schwan was to move from Ponce, northwest along the left flank, to Mayagüez and Arecibo. Garretson's course was due north to Adjuntas and then Arecibo, where he and Schwan would



U.S. volunteer troops from Wisconsin march by the customhouse in Ponce, Puerto Rico, in 1898 during the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

form one column under Brigadier General Guy Henry and move directly on San Juan. Meanwhile, a third column under Wilson was to march northeast from Ponce to Aibonito, the only Spanish strong point on the route to San Juan. Finally, Brooke was directed to march to Cayey, at which point he would be behind the Spanish defenders at Aibonito. It was believed that his presence would compel the defenders to retire, leaving the route from Aibonito open.

Schwan got under way on August 6, aiming to clear western Puerto Rico of any Spanish forces, but he discovered that few troops were there to offer any real resistance. In the course of an eight-day march, Schwan's column captured nine towns and had a sharp fight at Hormigueros, seven miles south of Mayagüez, on August 10, suffering 1 killed and 16 wounded in the process. Brooke commenced his advance, moving west from Arroyo toward Guayama, where he encountered significant resistance and sustained several casualties before finally capturing the position on August 5. On August 9, U.S. forces under Brigadier General Oswald H. Ernst of Wilson's force had a stiff fight at Coamo, some 17 miles east-northeast of Ponce. This hard-fought action ended when the 16th Pennsylvania moved around the Spanish and flanked the defenders out of position before inflicting heavy casualties on them. Some 40 Spanish were killed and wounded, and 170 were captured. American losses were only 6 men wounded. Then on August 12, Wilson's forces had a brief

skirmish at the Asomante Hills near the town of Aibonito on the main road from Ponce to San Juan. The last combat of the Puerto Rico Campaign was another skirmish, at Las Marías, on August 13, a day after the Protocol of Peace had been signed but before word of it had been received. There were no American casualties, but the Spanish suffered 5 killed, 14 wounded, and 56 taken prisoner.

The entire campaign was conducted amid an impending ceasefire. As Wilson was preparing to attack Aibonito after a request for surrender was rejected, Miles received word that the Protocol of Peace had been signed, thereby concluding the campaign on August 13. Brief though it was, the Puerto Rico Campaign moved along smartly, far more so than Shafter's effort in Cuba. There were no tropical diseases to debilitate the troops, and the various columns made surprisingly good time marching over rough terrain. By the time of the armistice, U.S. forces had captured half of the island, fighting six engagements and suffering only 3 dead and 40 wounded. The Spanish sustained at least 10 times that number of casualties.

The Puerto Rico Campaign ensured the U.S. acquisition of Puerto Rico as part of the peace negotiations of 1898 and limited Spanish bargaining power at the conference table. Had the campaign taken longer and proven costlier, it might well have worked to Spain's advantage.

JERRY KEENAN AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Asomante Hills, Engagement at; Brooke, John Rutter; Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Coamo, Battle of; Guayama, Battle of; Hormigueros, Battle of; Las Marías, Battle of; McKinley, William; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Peace, Protocol of; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Schofield, John McAllister; Schwan, Theodore; Wilson, James Harrison; Yauco, Battle of

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Pulitzer, Joseph

Birth Date: April 10, 1847

Death Date: October 29, 1911

Pioneering newspaper reporter, publisher, and sponsor of the Pulitzer Prizes but also associated with the yellow journalism that surrounded the Spanish-American War. Joseph Pulitzer was born in Makó, Hungary, on April 10, 1847, the son of a well-to-do Jewish grain merchant and a devout Roman Catholic German mother. Until the age of 17, Pulitzer was educated by private tutors and at private academies. He then sought to join the military but was rebuffed on at least three attempts because of his poor eyesight and fragile health. While traveling in Germany in late 1864, however, he met a bounty recruiter for the U.S. Army with whom he contracted to enlist as a substitute for an American draftee. Pulitzer sailed for the United States speaking only limited English, although he was fluent in Hungarian, German, and French. He went on to serve for almost a year until the end of the American Civil War in April 1865, assigned to a unit with a number of German-speaking men.

Following the war, Pulitzer worked at a number of odd jobs. Moving to St. Louis, he read voraciously, mastering English and immersing himself in legal studies. In 1868, he took a job as a reporter for a German-language newspaper and quickly distinguished himself. In 1872, he was given controlling interest in the paper, which was teetering on insolvency. From there, the enterprising journalist engaged in a number of risky but very successful business ventures that included the acquisition of other St. Louis-area newspapers. By 1878, he was the owner of the *St. Louis-Dispatch* and had already established a national reputation in journalism and publishing.

It was with his *St. Louis-Dispatch* that Pulitzer, who worked long hours, became known for his gritty mass-appeal journalism and



Joseph Pulitzer was a pioneering newspaper editor and publisher who sponsored the Pulitzer Prizes but was also closely associated with the rise of yellow journalism before the Spanish-American War. (Chaiba Media)

his championing of the average American. Soon, he had pioneered the genre of investigative reporting to uncover government corruption and abuses in private enterprise. In precarious health, in 1883 he and his wife left St. Louis for New York ostensibly for a European vacation. Ever the deal maker, he instead met with New York financier Jay Gould and negotiated the purchase of the *New York World*, a paper that had been on the skids financially. Pulitzer immediately threw himself headlong into his latest acquisition, involving himself in every aspect of the newspaper.

To increase circulation, Pulitzer resorted to sensationalist reporting, the extensive use of illustrations, and staged news events to attract more attention and readers. Indeed, his approach had all the hallmarks of yellow journalism. By the late 1880s, the *New York World* was the nation's most-read newspaper.

By 1890, however, Pulitzer had fallen victim to a vicious circulation war with Charles Anderson Dana, Pulitzer's chief rival in New York and publisher of *The Sun*. Dana had engaged in a despicable personal smear campaign against Pulitzer, whose health was now broken. Nearly blind and suffering from a nervous condition that made him terribly sensitive to any noise beyond a whisper, he spent

most of his time in seclusion either aboard his yacht or in his homes in Maine or New York (usually in soundproof rooms). Nevertheless, he kept his hand on the pulse of his newspapers and never entirely relinquished editorial or managerial control.

When William Randolph Hearst bought the *New York Journal*, sparking a circulation war with Pulitzer's *New York World*, Pulitzer upped the ante by engaging in ever more salacious and sensationalistic news stories. Increasingly, the stories focused on events in Cuba. In certain instances, his reporters were encouraged to fabricate stories, which badly hurt Pulitzer's journalistic reputation. Both Hearst's and Pulitzer's papers clamored for war after the February 15, 1898, destruction of the U.S. battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor. Following the end of the Spanish-American War, Pulitzer turned away from yellow journalism, but unfortunately the damage to his reputation had already been done.

Pulitzer returned to his roots by sponsoring a series of hard-hitting investigative news stories after the turn of the 20th century, although his health prevented him from returning to the newspaper offices he so loved. He died aboard his yacht in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina, on October 29, 1911. Pulitzer had directed in his will that Columbia University should receive a large sum of money from his estate to create a school of journalism. In 1912, the Columbia School of Journalism came into being. It remains one of the most prestigious schools of its kind in the United States. Columbia also created the Pulitzer Prize, which recognizes superlative work in journalism, history, literature, and musical compositions.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Gould, Jay; Hearst, William Randolph; Journalism; *Maine*, USS; Yellow Journalism

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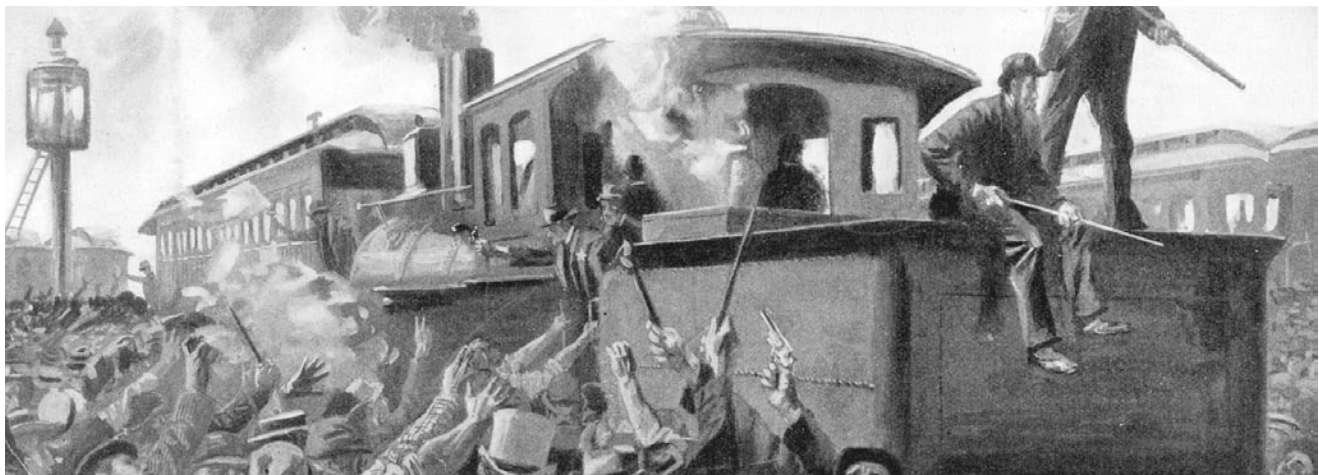
Pullman Strike

Start Date: May 11, 1894

End Date: August 2, 1894

Major strike that began with workers at the Pullman Palace Car Company on the outskirts of Chicago and quickly spread to other railway workers. The strike began on May 11, 1894; grew in size and scope into the summer; and finally ended with a defeat for the strikers on August 2, 1894. The Pullman Palace Car Company, which manufactured passenger railway cars and sleeper cars, employed several thousand workers, all of whom were obliged to live in a self-contained town owned and operated by the company. Workers lived in company-provided housing, shopped in company-owned stores, and even worshipped in company-sponsored churches.

As the U.S. economy began to falter in the early 1890s, the Pullman Company began to cut wages to stay profitable. In 1893, the nation was plunged into a serious economic depression that affected all sectors of the economy, and in the late spring of 1894, the company announced across-the-board wage cuts of up to 25 percent. Meanwhile, it stood firm on the rents and prices it charged workers in the company town. This placed an impossible burden on many workers, for they could not afford to pay rent on such reduced wages. And if they sought housing outside the company town, they would be summarily fired. To protest the company's policies, some 4,000 workers staged a wildcat strike beginning on May 11, 1894. When the workers refused to return to work, George Pullman, the owner of the company, ordered a lockout. The affected workers were not only barred from entering the plant but were also barred from their homes in the company town.



Deputies endeavor to operate a train engine during the Pullman Strike of 1894. (Library of Congress)

The workers soon grew desperate and appealed for assistance to the American Railway Union (ARU), then headed by Eugene V. Debs. He pleaded for arbitration on behalf of the strikers but was unsuccessful. On June 26, the ARU announced that none of its members would work on trains that pulled Pullman railcars. Now the strike had mushroomed into a national labor boycott that threatened to severely disrupt the nation's rail service, then the life-line of the country. Within days, the ARU boycott had brought much of the U.S. rail traffic to a virtual halt. And because Chicago was at the epicenter of the strike and was also the principal rail terminus of the country, practically all rail lines west of Chicago were shut down by the beginning of July.

The paralysis caused by the strike was making a bad economic situation worse and was now threatening to disrupt mail delivery nationwide. President Grover Cleveland finally decided to take action on the counsel of U.S. attorney general Richard Olney, who ordered court injunctions to prevent workers from engaging in sabotage or property damage and to force them back to work. This was the first time in U.S. history that court-ordered injunctions were used against strikers. When the rail workers refused to heed the injunctions and after a July 5 arson fire in Chicago was blamed on the strikers, Cleveland authorized Olney to call in federal troops to crush the strike. This would be the first time the government used federal troops to stop a labor strike. By mid-July, some 2,000 U.S. troops had managed to get most of the trains running again. But Debs was arrested for having violated the earlier court injunctions, and the ARU-inspired strike quickly collapsed when other labor organizations refused to support the strikers. On August 2, 1894, the strike ended after the workers returned to work.

In the end, the Pullman Strike, which saw its share of violence, resulted in 13 strikers killed, 57 others injured, and about \$350,000 in property damage. It was a stinging rebuke for organized labor and marked the first significant federal intervention in a labor strike, first through the issuance of court injunctions and then the dispatch of federal troops. Moreover, the uprising was emblematic of the turmoil-ridden 1890s and labor unrest, which had begun two years earlier with the Homestead Steel Strike. On the other hand, the events of 1894 laid bare the paternalistic and unfair treatment of the Pullman workers, called into question the usefulness of company-run towns, and ironically showed the utility and necessity of labor unions in taming the excesses of big business. As the United States mobilized for war in the spring and early summer of 1898, government officials held their breath that no similar rail strikes occurred, which would have been disastrous for the war effort. Thankfully for the United States, none occurred during the Spanish-American War.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Debs, Eugene Victor; Homestead Steel Strike; Labor Union Movement; Olney, Richard; Railroads

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Punta Gorda, Cuba

A peninsula north of the narrow channel connecting the open sea to the harbor at Santiago de Cuba. Punta Gorda lies south of the city of Santiago de Cuba on the island's southeastern coast and in 1898 formed part of the defensive system created by the Spanish to control access to the harbor. At its greatest width, the channel was only about 400 yards.

Punta Gorda was, in fact, only a minor part of the defensive network. The main defenses were located on Morro Heights, a headland six miles south of the city on the eastern side of the narrow channel leading to Santiago Harbor. The Estrella Battery, also located north of the channel, complemented the battery at Punta Gorda. Punta Gorda boasted little in the way of serious armaments, although it did have four breech-loading cannon. The only other guns there were two antiquated howitzers. The Upper Socapa Battery on Morro Heights had the largest Spanish guns: several 6.3-inch pieces.

It was the perceived threat posed by the batteries at Punta Gorda, Estrella, and Morro Heights that had given pause to Rear Admiral William T. Sampson's plans to move with his North Atlantic Fleet against the Spanish squadron, bottled up in the harbor since May 19, 1898. On June 6, 16, and 21, American warships bombarded Morro Heights but to little effect. The defensive positions at Punta Gorda and Estrella would not come under fire until early July. With a tight blockade of Santiago de Cuba now in place, Sampson arrived at Santiago de Cuba on July 1. The American blockade concentrated the principal ships of the North Atlantic Fleet: five battleships (the *Oregon*, *Indiana*, *Massachusetts*, *Iowa*, and *Texas*), two armored cruisers (the *Brooklyn*, Commodore Winfield Scott Schley's flagship, and the *New York*, Sampson's flagship), and a number of smaller cruisers and auxiliaries.

Meanwhile, on June 30, Major General William Shafter, commanding officer of V Corps, had requested that the navy begin bombarding Spanish defensive positions in and around Santiago de Cuba. This was to prepare the area for a full U.S. invasion of the city and, it was hoped, force Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete to surrender or face U.S. naval assets sitting outside the harbor at Santiago de Cuba. On July 2, Spanish batteries protecting the harbor came under heavy fire from U.S. ships. That same day, the U.S. battleships *Oregon* and *Indiana* concentrated a heavy bombardment on Punta Gorda, which virtually neutralized the Spanish defensive position there. The next day, Cervera's ships steamed out of the harbor at Santiago de Cuba. Badly outgunned



Fortifications at Punta Gorda, Cuba, 1898. Shown here are two 155-millimeter howitzers. (Library of Congress)

and outmaneuvered, Cervera was promptly defeated in a decisive four-hour battle. All six of his ships were either sunk by American fire or scuttled by their Spanish crews. In addition, the Spanish suffered 323 killed and 151 wounded. Another 1,720 became prisoners, including Cervera himself. With the Spanish fleet destroyed and the batteries at Morro Heights, Estrella, and Punta Gorda neutralized, U.S. land forces were able to concentrate on besieging and occupying Santiago de Cuba, which capitulated on July 17, 1898.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Morro Castle; Morro Heights; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Schley, Winfield Scott; Shafter, William Rufus

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Q

Quesada y Aróstegui, Gonzalo de

Birth Date: December 15, 1868

Death Date: January 9, 1915

Cuban author and diplomat instrumental in helping his close friend, Cuban revolutionary José Martí, organize the Cuban independence movement during the 1890s. Gonzalo de Quesada y Aróstegui was born in Havana, Cuba, on December 15, 1868. When he was nine years old, he moved with his family to New York City, joining the growing Cuban exile community in the United States. In 1888, he earned a BS degree from the City College of New York. He officially began his quest for Cuban independence at a commemoration ceremony honoring the Grito de Yara on October 10, 1889, in New York City. During the event, he gave a passionate speech supporting Cuban independence and praising Carlos Manuel de Céspedes and the revolutionaries who had fought in the Ten Years' War (1868–1878). It was also on this occasion that Quesada met Martí. From this point, the two Cuban nationalists formed a lifelong friendship.

Soon thereafter, the Argentine government hired Quesada to be the Argentine consul in Philadelphia. He subsequently earned a law degree from New York University in 1891. That same year, he resigned his diplomatic post to dedicate himself fully to revolutionary activity.

On January 5, 1892, following more than two years of coordination with Cuban nationalists both from inside and outside Cuba, Martí, with Quesada's assistance, officially inaugurated the Cuban Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Cubano). The party transformed a revolutionary movement into a revolutionary party and paved the way for the Cuban War of Independence, which

began in 1895. From the inception of the party, Quesada served as its secretary. He was also on the board of editors of *Patria*, the official newspaper of the Cuban Revolutionary Party.

Quesada's most important task for the Cuban Revolutionary Party was to lobby on behalf of the Cuban nationalists in Washington, D.C. Although he referred to himself as the *chargé d'affaires* during his stay on Washington, he did not hold an official diplomatic post. He did, however, cultivate numerous important contacts within the U.S. government. Unlike Martí, Quesada eagerly sought U.S. intervention in Cuba.

When Martí departed for Cuba in 1895, Quesada remained in the United States to continue lobbying for support. In addition to this activity, Quesada was to facilitate the shipment of weapons and supplies needed by the revolutionaries to fight the Spanish colonial authorities. Martí also left Quesada in charge of his personal library, his correspondence, and all documents relating to the formation of the Cuban Revolutionary Party. Quesada ultimately edited and published 35 volumes of Martí's papers. A prolific writer, Quesada also published several books and journal articles about Cuba's struggle for independence.

Following the Spanish-American War and the liberation of Cuba from Spanish rule, Quesada returned to the island and took part in the Cuban Constitutional Convention, which drafted the 1901 Cuban Constitution. Following Cuban independence in 1902, Cuban president Tomás Estrada Palma appointed Quesada ambassador to the United States. On March 2, 1904, Quesada signed the Hay-Quesada Treaty, which was to give Cuba title to the Isle of Pines. It was only after American investigators discovered that the harbors of the Isle of Pines were too shallow for a naval base, however, that the U.S. Congress finally ratified the Hay-Quesada Treaty in 1925. In 1910, Que-

sada left his post in the United States to serve as Cuban ambassador to Germany. He died in Berlin on January 9, 1915.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Céspedes y del Castillo, Carlos Manuel de; Cuban Revolutionary Party; Cuban War of Independence; Estrada Palma, Tomás; Martí y Pérez, José Julián; Ten Years' War

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Cuban author and diplomat Gonzalo de Quesada helped José Martí organize the Cuban revolutionary movement. (Library of Congress)

R

Racism

Racism against nonwhites profoundly influenced the course of the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War. Before these conflicts began in 1898, Spain argued that its colonies in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines were incapable of governing themselves. This idea had taken shape by the end of the 19th century as Spain and other Western powers entered an intense phase of nationalistic fervor, colonial competition, militarism, and economic expansion. For Western leaders, establishing colonies was important in terms of measuring a country's status as a world power. But empire-building was also proof positive that Europeans were best able to rule over so-called inferior mixed-race groups. Indeed, xenophobia, scientific racism, and social Darwinism greatly informed these beliefs.

Prior to 1898, race figured prominently in debates within the United States over whether to challenge Spanish power in the Caribbean and the Pacific. Before the American Civil War began in 1861, some political leaders (especially from Southern states) had actively sought annexation of Cuba and Puerto Rico by means of coercion and diplomacy in their quest to expand slavery. Many believed that because slavery had already been established in these areas, the inclusion of these islands as part of an American empire would be a natural fit. However, the efforts to annex Cuba and Puerto Rico were unsuccessful chiefly because of political resistance among Northern politicians.

Following the violent end to slavery in the United States in 1865, new motives emerged to acquire Spain's Caribbean colonies. In 1868, a Cuban independence movement emerged that inspired some Americans to speak openly against Spanish imperialism. Americans' views of the Spanish character were no doubt inspired by the so-called Black Legend, a long-standing representation of Spaniards as back-

wards, brutal, underhanded, swarthy, and fanatically Catholic. This view extended somewhat to those who lived in Spanish colonies as well. In fact, prominent national newspapers often published visual caricatures of the Spanish colonists as damsels in distress in desperate need of salvation by virile, manly American leaders. These representations are interesting not only for their racist and paternalistic ideas but also for the discourse of gender used in them. Almost unfailingly, American representations of inferior subjugated peoples in the world saw them as female or feminine in nature, with the implication that femininity was inherently weak and was in need of a strong, virile masculinity to protect it.

The destruction of the U.S. battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor in February 1898 provided the immediate catalyst for the Spanish-American War and also confirmed all of the worst stereotypes about Spaniards. The American press reported widely on the cruelty of Spanish military leaders, particularly that of General Valeriano "the Butcher" Weyler y Nicolau, who conducted a brutal campaign of repression against Cuban civilians. America's quick victory in the conflict only served to validate the idea that the United States should naturally replace Spain as the dominant power in the Caribbean and the Pacific. During the war, American political and military leaders debated whether or not to annex Spain's former colonies outright. They agreed that conditional independence would be granted to Cuba but that the United States would dominate its domestic and foreign affairs. Puerto Rico and the Philippines were annexed outright.

These decisions were based in large measure on the prevailing notion that Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Filipinos were not adequately prepared to control their own affairs. Accordingly, these newly acquired territories and nations would have to change their societies by encouraging European immigration, building Anglo-Saxon

systems of education and law, and establishing close ties with the United States. But American newspapers after 1898 increasingly depicted Cubans as apelike humans incapable of self-rule or democracy.

Indeed, military leaders and administrators in Washington openly questioned whether Cubans, in particular, were prepared to lead their country. This view served to favor prolonging military occupation and discredit emerging Cuban national institutions. In 1899, the passage of the Platt Amendment, which essentially established U.S. dominance over Cuba's foreign policy and the right to intervene in its domestic affairs, exemplified the distrust of the U.S. government toward Cubans. American leaders in Washington also insisted that closely managing elections was the best policy to control popular aspirations. Thus, in 1901, Secretary of War Elihu Root implemented a plan that limited those eligible for suffrage. All voters had to be Cuban males over 20 years of age, literate, own at least \$250 in property, or have served in the insurrection military forces. This policy had the practical effect of excluding the vast majority of Cuban men (and all women) from participating in the political process.

Although slavery had been abolished in Cuba in 1888, the vestiges of slavery left sharp racial divisions within Cuban society. A few Cuban leaders, such as José Martí, had promoted racial equality and the idea of Cuba as a racial democracy during the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898), but this view was not shared by the majority of Cuban elites. After the Spanish-American War, the U.S. occupation government colluded with Cuban elites to deny Afro-Cubans a stake in the political future of their country. In 1899, the U.S. military dissolved the revolutionary army in which Afro-Cubans were overrepresented and denied promotions to Afro-Cubans within the Rural Guard of the new national army. In 1902, the United States also imposed a new immigration law in Cuba that restricted nonwhite immigration in favor of laborers from Northern Europe.

Cuban elites took their cues from American administrators and formed their own parties without black participation. As a result, Afro-Cubans experimented with their own political organizations. The Partido Independiente de Color (Independence Party of Color), created in 1908, advocated equal access to educational institutions, a key component of upward social mobility. However, the new government passed a law prohibiting the existence of political parties based on race. In 1912, Afro-Cubans violently rejected this policy, and a virtual race war began. With U.S. Marines serving as reinforcements, the Cuban government put down the revolt, killing as many as 6,000 Afro-Cubans in the process.

In the Philippines, armed opposition groups, led by Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, emerged almost as soon as the United States invaded the archipelago. Racism toward Filipinos escalated as the Philippine-American War dragged on into the early 20th century. The U.S. Army conducted intense anti-insurgent operations in the Tagalog Province of southern Luzon, where resistance against occupation was more hostile. In 1901, atrocities against Filipino insurgents and civilians escalated after American troops were massacred at Balangiga on Samar. President Theodore Roosevelt

tacitly approved harsher tactics against the insurgency by promoting commanders, such as Brigadier General Adna Chaffee, who had extensive experience fighting Native Americans in the western United States.

News of specific incidences of atrocities ultimately doomed public support for the Philippine-American War, but the insurgency also died down as a result of Aguinaldo's capture in 1901. Still, racism permeated the ranks of the American forces in the Philippines, with soldiers describing Filipinos as "niggers" and "gooks." At the same time, however, the Philippines became a laboratory for U.S.-style educational, judicial, and bureaucratic institutions.

The Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War posed a series of dilemmas for African Americans. On the one hand, African Americans did not want to break ranks with President William McKinley and the Republican Party and oppose the wars. In fact, the African American press generally supported the Cuban invasion. African American soldiers also willingly fought in both wars. Indeed, there was a general belief that service in the armed forces would elevate the status of African Americans, but black units were officered almost entirely by whites, and African American soldiers were often subjected to humiliating treatment by white soldiers and officers. Many African Americans joined with antiwar groups, such as the Anti-Imperialist League, because of what they perceived as U.S. imperialism run amok.

JESSE HINGSON

See also

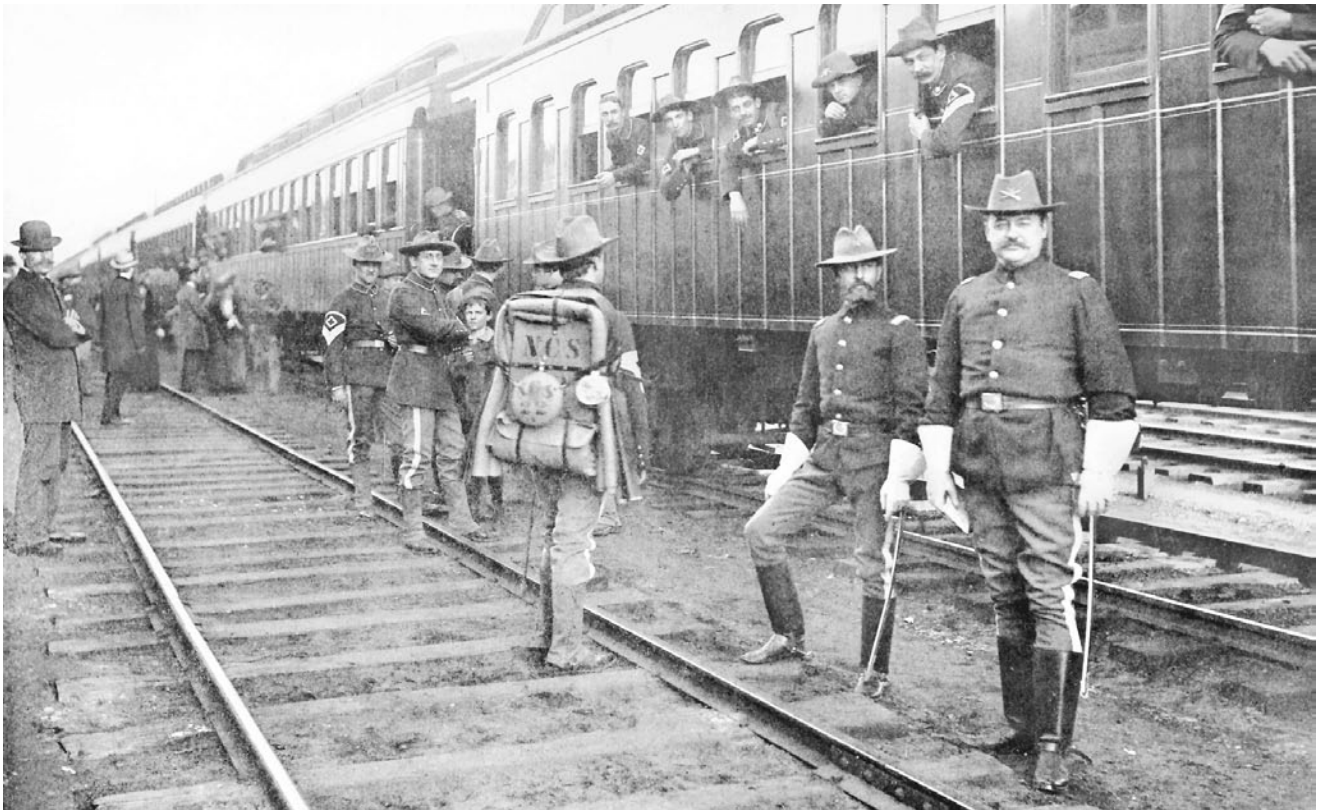
African Americans; Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Anti-Imperialist League; Cuba, Spanish Colonial Policies toward; Imperialism; Martí y Pérez, José Julián; Philippine-American War, U.S. Reaction to; Philippine Islands, Spanish Colonial Policies toward; Root, Elihu; Social Darwinism; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano; White Man's Burden; Xenophobia

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Railroads

At the time of the Spanish-American War, railroads were the very lifeblood of the American economy. Before the advent of aviation,



The 22nd New York Regiment departing Long Island Station for Florida in 1898. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

railroads were the most efficient means of transportation over great land distances. During the war, the railroads also played a vital role in the mobilization for and execution of the war effort. Indeed, because the conflict was the first one waged by the United States on foreign shores, railroads were essential to the war effort and, along with maritime shipping, were the primary mode by which to move massive amounts of matériel and troops over great distances. In general, U.S. railroads did an admirable job of moving men and supplies during the war, and although there were numerous problems early on, it quickly became clear that the vast U.S. network of rail lines, the bountiful supply of locomotives and railcars, and the

efficiency with which they were dispatched were a major advantage to the U.S. war effort.

In the United States, the first commercial railroads made their appearance in the 1820s. These were, however, rudimentary and localized affairs and bore little resemblance to the railroad industry of the 1890s. In 1830, there were just 23 miles of railroad tracks in the entire country. However, as these small local railways proved that trains offered unique advantages in moving goods and people, rail lines were soon built in exponential fashion. In 1840, track mileage in the United States was up to 2,818 miles. In 1850, there were 9,021 miles of track. By 1860, the United States boasted 30,626

Railroads in the United States, 1895–1905

Year	Total Miles of Operating Track	Miles of New Track Built	Number of Operating Railroads	Total Locomotives in Service	Passengers
1895	233,276	1,420	1,104	35,699	507,421,000
1896	239,140	1,692	1,111	35,950	511,773,000
1897	242,013	2,109	1,158	35,986	489,445,000
1898	245,334	3,255	1,192	36,234	501,057,000
1899	250,143	4,569	1,206	36,703	523,177,000
1900	258,784	4,894	1,224	37,663	576,831,000
1901	265,352	5,368	1,213	39,584	607,278,000
1902	274,196	6,025	1,219	41,225	649,879,000
1903	283,822	5,652	1,281	43,871	694,892,000
1904	297,073	3,832	1,314	46,743	715,420,000
1905	306,797	4,388	1,380	48,357	738,835,000



Arrival of the 157th Indiana Volunteer Regiment at Tampa, Florida, 1898. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War, 1898*)

miles of rail lines, about 70 percent of which was north of the Mason-Dixon Line and was concentrated most heavily in a belt from Ohio east through Pennsylvania and north to New Jersey, New York, and New England. As the railroads exploded in size and scope, they brought with them new forms of business management and finance that would soon spread to other industries.

It is hard to overemphasize the impact of the railroads on the economy. Over the course of just a few decades, the American economy went from one that was highly localized and fragmented to one that was truly national in both size and scope. Indeed, the nation's rail lines would help catapult the United States into the forefront of world economic power. Railroads greatly increased economic efficiency, allowed for much greater economic output because raw materials and finished products could be brought in and shipped out of factories in quantities unthinkable prior to railways, and could move people in a fast and timely fashion.

The railroad industry itself also spurred industries upon which it relied. These included iron, steel, mining, coal, and glass, among others. The ever-expanding rail industry also required thousands of workers, spread across hundreds of miles, to manage and operate trains, depots, stations, and the like. Railroads even affected the concept of time. Before the railroad companies themselves divided the

nation into four standard time zones in 1883, the United States had been divided by a dizzying array of different time zones. It was not uncommon, in fact, to travel just a few miles and pass through several time zones. The railroads standardized time and in so doing greatly increased efficiency while at the same time reducing shipping problems substantially. By 1890, railroads had also adopted a standard gauge, and this allowed railcars to be transferred from one railway to another without having to transfer the cargo.

On the eve of the Spanish-American War, the United States boasted some 190,000 miles of rail track, more by far than any other nation in the world. The major railroad companies were generally paragons of efficiency and good management, and the only major concerns were periodic railway strikes, which often threatened the entire national network. Fortunately, no such catastrophic strikes occurred during the war. The only concern faced by war planners was the relative paucity of rail lines in the South, which was to serve as a key mobilization and embarkation region owing to its proximity to Cuba and Puerto Rico. In 1898, Tampa, Florida, for example, was served by just one single-track rail line, which for a time caused monumental problems in moving men and supplies into the area.

Realizing that control over railroads during a modern war might often prove to be the decisive factor in victory or defeat,

American war planners moved quickly to coordinate activities with the various railroad companies. And the railroads were, in general, more than eager to cooperate. They were driven partly by patriotism but also by profits, which they realized in a handsome fashion during the war. In April and May 1898, the War Department contracted with most of the major railway companies to transport certain amounts of men and matériel between predetermined points in the country. Beyond that, the government exercised little control over the railroads, believing that the companies themselves would do the best job of coordinating shipments. Knowing that the war was a potential profit bonanza, rail companies worked closely with quartermasters in depots, stations, camps, and embarkation points. Indeed, many railways constructed additional rail sidings and platforms at such places and many times out of their own pockets.

One infantry regiment needed six trains to transport its soldiers, supplies, and animals. Multiplied over the many regiments that had to be moved, this type of transport added up to staggering numbers of railcars, locomotives, and railway employees. During the Spanish-American War, soldiers were moved in coach cars or sleeping cars, which the War Department insisted upon. This was in stark contrast to soldiers riding in hot, crowded boxcars during the American Civil War. In the South particularly, some railways were short of railcars and locomotives, but the problem never became acute. Occasional problems occurred between soldiers and railway workers in stations and depots concerning the handling of baggage and personal effects, and some cavalrymen groused that their horses were being mistreated. But all in all, such complaints were few and far between.

Leaders of the railroad industry worked closely—and usually in harmony—with quartermasters and war planners. Early on, for example, the unloading of boxcars had been slowed because nobody had labeled the contents therein; this dilemma was solved by railroad employees working closely with the U.S. Army and the War Department, which began to mandate that all boxcars be appropriately identified and labeled. The nation's railroad network worked quite well during the war, and there were few ill effects felt in the civilian economy. From late April to September 1898, the railroads transported some 450,000 men and hundreds of tons of supplies and equipment with no serious mishaps. And they did so at rates well below what they would have charged civilians.

If there was one dark spot in rail efficiency during the war, it undoubtedly occurred in Tampa. Poorly labeled boxcars with no bills of lading meant that railcars piled up in alarming fashion in May 1898. Indeed, by the middle of that month, more than 1,000 boxcars choked the rail yard at Tampa. Because the boxcars were not labeled or were mislabeled, railway workers could only manage to unload two or three per day. To make matters worse, the two railroad companies that operated the line into Tampa worked at cross-purposes in an attempt to garner a monopoly on government contracts. And the company (Plant Railroad and Steamship Company) that actually owned the single-track line to Tampa at first re-

fused to allow railcars from rival firms to use it. The last conundrum was solved when the War Department threatened to seize the line and run it independently.

By June, however, many of the problems with the Tampa rail lines had been solved by the quartermaster general's office in Washington. Indeed, it made sure that cars were labeled properly, that depot managers knew in advance what shipments were due in and when, and that too many cars were not sent in at once. By mid-June, freight cars were being unloaded at the rate of 70 per day, a far cry from the 2 or 3 just a month before. By July 1, the freight pileup in Tampa had been eliminated.

Despite the temporary and relatively minor problems with the railroads during the war, the nation's rail network performed with great efficiency. To be sure, both the war planners in Washington and the railroads learned from their problems and mistakes and made the system even more effective. Less than 20 years later as the United States entered World War I in 1917, America's rail network would once again prove to be a significant part of mobilization and war planning.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Camps, U.S. Army; Plant Railroad and Steamship Company; Steel; Tampa, Florida

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Rations

Standardized fixed portions of food issued to soldiers in temporary camps and in the field designed to be carried and eaten easily and to be relatively impervious to rapid spoilage. During the Spanish-American War, rations were handled fairly competently by the Army Subsistence Department, commanded by Brigadier General Charles Patrick Egan, the army's commissary general. Providing for rations during the war was no easy task. Because this conflict involved U.S. forces on foreign shores and, in the case of the Philippines, thousands of miles from the United States, getting food into the field and storing it properly was an entirely new venture for army planners. Further complicating matters, the hot, tropical climates that prevailed in the Caribbean and the Philippines made the transportation and storage of rations a distinct challenge. While



U.S. Army soldiers organizing rations for distribution, 1898. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War, 1898*)

commercial refrigeration was available aboard cargo ships and railcars, it was far more scarce and problematic in the field. Finally, American soldiers during the Spanish-American War were issued rations that were remarkably similar to those of the American Civil War, which rendered them rather unsuitable for tropical conditions during the hottest months of the year (June–August).

From a standpoint of quantity, rations for the Spanish-American War were more than adequate. There were, however, distribution bottlenecks in Cuba. Eagan moved quickly to establish a tiered system of rations as the war ramped up. First, he created a supply depot in or near every major camp in the United States where regulars or volunteers went to mobilize or muster in. To ensure timely arrival and reduce possible spoilage, the army utilized supply and purchasing depots in New York City, Baltimore, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, New Orleans, and San Francisco. Food purchased or stored in these cities was distributed to the various camps as well as to the embarkation posts of Tampa and San Francisco. Camps generally received food supplies to meet immediate needs and to maintain a 60-day supply of surplus inventory. The second tier of provisioning occurred in the field and did not operate as smoothly as the first tier.

Interestingly, Eagan's effort to procure rations was so successful that it created an overabundance of food that led to much spoilage. Tampa, for example, received between 6 million and 7 million rations, far more than would have been needed even for a much larger and longer war effort. There was always plenty of food in the mustering-in and mobilization camps, however.

The army did not have the time to adjust rations to the new realities of war in 1898; thus, the basic American Civil War rations were issued with some very minor adjustments. Spanish-American War soldiers received the following daily field ration: 20 ounces of beef (canned for Cuba, fresh for the Philippines and Puerto Rico), 2.5 ounces of sugar, 18 ounces of flour (or bread), vinegar, 10 ounces of potatoes, 64 ounces of salt, .45 ounce of baking soda, .4 ounce of pepper, 2.2 ounces of dried beans, and 1.6 ounces of green coffee. Soap and candles were also part of the daily ration. Rations were often supplemented, based on local availability, with bacon, rice, hominy, and vegetables.

These rations were often unappealing if not unappetizing, and nutritional value was at best questionable. Soldiers in Cuba complained bitterly about the canned beef, which was supposed to be heated before consumption. Lacking time to properly heat the meat,

many ate it directly from the can, which sickened a number and led to the Embalmed Beef Scandal after the war ended. Many soldiers also groused about the raw, unground coffee, which necessitated a grinding mechanism that few possessed.

Eagan established Cuba's main food supply depot at Siboney. Those men who served in the Philippines or Puerto Rico were more fortunate in that their rations did not include the dreaded canned beef. Because of the greater distances involved, U.S. transport ships bound for these areas were equipped with large refrigerated lockers that carried fresh meat. Once the initial supplies had been depleted in the Philippines, army commissary officials procured meat, vegetables, and other items chiefly from Australia.

The Army Subsistence Department played no role in the distribution of food below the regimental level, nor was it involved in meal preparation. Approximately every 10 days, regiments would receive a fresh supply of rations. From there, rations were doled out to companies, each of which had an individual or small group of men who were responsible for preparing and serving the meals. At the company level, requisitioning errors, poor food handling, and substandard food preparation became fairly common problems. Meals were prepared for soldiers at the company level only when they were encamped; during expeditions, soldiers were on their own and prepared their own meals from the standard ration. Many times, rations ran low toward the end of the 10-day requisition period. Further adding to the supply problem was the fact that many soldiers discarded their 3-day ration pack to lighten their loads in the stifling heat and humidity.

In spite of the army's best efforts and the general abundance of rations during the war, the amount of food that spoiled in the tropical heat was massive. Spoilage of rations in the field and the consumption of unheated canned beef by soldiers in Cuba led to reports of significant outbreaks of illness, although in some cases it was hard to determine if the illnesses were indeed food-borne. Overall, the mortality rate of soldiers during the war was approximately 14 deaths due to illness for every one death due to combat.

The Embalmed Beef Scandal, which led to the postwar Dodge Commission, was the most serious flap involving food and rations during the Spanish-American War. During his testimony, commanding general of the army Major General Nelson A. Miles set off the controversy when he claimed—with little evidence to support it—that the beef shipped to Cuba had sickened thousands of soldiers. Even worse, he asserted that the Subsistence Department had knowingly purchased substandard meat and had experimented with it by lacing it with chemical preservatives. Although it became clear that Miles's accusations were politically motivated, Eagan lashed out at Miles, which earned him a stern rebuke from the army. The affair embarrassed both Secretary of War Russell A. Alger (who was ultimately forced to resign in July 1899) and President William McKinley. Army rations and procurement procedures were altered in 1901, and the president was given direct authority to change them by executive order.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; Eagan, Charles Patrick; Embalmed Beef Scandal; McKinley, William; Miles, Nelson Appleton

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Raw Materials

Raw materials are the backbone of a modern economy and are essential to waging war in the industrialized age. Raw materials run the gamut from agricultural commodities such as sugar and hemp to extractive products such as oil, coal, and metals. In the last third of the 19th century, the U.S. economy grew exponentially, fueled largely by massive immigration that provided cheap labor for American factories. Immigration and a swelling population also provided larger domestic markets to which manufacturers could sell their finished goods. As the turn of the 20th century approached, the United States was poised to become the world's largest industrial economy, a feat that it achieved by World War I. As such, the United States also became the world's largest consumer of raw materials. Added to this demand for raw materials was the dizzying expansion of railroads, steamship lines, and naval capacity, all of which consumed massive amounts of coal and lubricating oil.

When the Spanish-American War began in April 1898, U.S. factories were running at near peak capacity. Having weathered the devastating economic depression of 1893–1897, many industries were clearly attempting to make up for lost time. There was thus little reserve capacity in terms of raw material stockpiles. Fortunately, the small scale and short duration of the Spanish-American War meant that there were never any serious shortages of raw materials. Unlike World War I and World War II, the Spanish-American War was not mechanized. There were no airplanes, tanks, or trucks, the construction and operation of which consumed huge amounts of raw materials. The biggest hurdle facing war planners in 1898 was the acquisition of coal to power U.S. naval vessels and trains. These ships transported troops and supplies into and out of the combat zones, while the railroads moved soldiers and supplies to and from embarkation points. The timing of the war, which took place from spring to summer, meant that less coal was being utilized for heating and electricity generation. This ensured that there would be adequate supplies for military operations. Unlike future wars, the federal government did not find it necessary to institute rationing or prioritize industrial production during the Spanish-American War.



A Cuban sugar train. Following the Spanish-American War, Cuba received a tariff reduction on sugar and tobacco exports to the United States. The U.S. consumption of Cuban sugar nearly doubled between 1902 and World War I. (Library of Congress)

Although access to raw materials did not become a military issue during the Spanish-American War, it was nevertheless a key motivating factor in U.S. overseas expansion. Although the United States was one of the best-placed states in the world in terms of stocks of key raw materials, many industrialists and expansionists saw increased access to raw materials and markets for manufactured goods as an absolute must for continued industrial and economic expansion. They realized that the continental United States had a finite supply of raw materials, which necessitated the securing of more materials from abroad. Areas from which raw materials could be extracted would also serve as new markets for finished goods produced in the United States. Given the regularity of economic downturns and uneven growth since the 1870s, U.S. expansionists saw the imperative for opening new markets as key to America's continued economic and industrial ascendancy. Furthermore, the biggest economic competitors of the United States, including Great Britain, Germany, and France, had already assembled extracontinental empires in Asia and Africa. To keep up, American industrialists reasoned, the United States would have to follow suit.

Of course, the American acquisition of the Philippines, Guam, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico meant the acquisition of bases for the projection of naval power in far-flung parts of the world. Prior to the shift to oil-fired ships, the existence of reliable coaling stations was critical to the functioning of navies overseas. Coaling stations

would, of course, also serve as forward-based naval stations, which would allow the United States to protect its overseas territories and project power more effectively in the Caribbean and in the Far East.

The United States imposed an economic system on the Philippines (and Cuba) that relied principally on the extraction of raw materials and agricultural products in return for American-made finished products. Although the United States did not exercise *de jure* control over Cuba after the war, it certainly exercised *de facto* economic control there. Over the long term, this system was terribly damaging to the economies of these dependent areas. It made them entirely reliant upon the United States and prevented the establishment of native industries, which kept much of the population mired in poverty. This economic system became the focal point for U.S. colonial policies that endured well into the 20th century.

In the Philippines, key raw materials to be found and exploited in 1898 were mainly sugar and sugar-based products, coconut, hemp, and semiprecious metals needed for industrial production. A few years later, rubber would be a key raw material produced by the archipelago. In Cuba, sugar was the number one export to the United States, along with some extractive metals.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Coaling Stations; Colonial Policies, U.S.; Cuba; Expansionism; Imperialism; Philippine Islands

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Rea, George Bronson**Birth Date: August 28, 1869****Death Date: November 21, 1936**

Publicist, lobbyist, journalist, and diplomat. George Bronson Rea was born in Brooklyn, New York, on August 28, 1869. He entered the world of journalism in New York City just as the yellow press was at its most prominent. As a reporter for the *New York Herald*, he began reporting on the Cuban War of Independence beginning in 1895. During 1895–1896, he visited Cuba and, unlike many American reporters of the era, personally traveled into the interior of Cuba with rebel forces and was thus able to provide firsthand reports that other journalists could not. In this regard, he was unique.

In 1897, Rea met with General Máximo Gómez and then accompanied his troops on a number of expeditions. During this time, Rea became disillusioned by what he saw as calculated deception on the part of the Cuban rebels, whom he accused of exaggerating their successes and exaggerating or fabricating alleged Spanish atrocities. He was also put off by their brazen public relations campaign in the United States, which inaccurately portrayed rebel actions. This reporting was quite the opposite of most other journalists, who tended to sympathize with their cause and glorify their exploits.

When Rea returned to New York later in 1897, he was determined to counter the generally very favorable reportage of the rebels in the American press, believing that the American public should be aware of their missteps as well as those of the Spanish. In a book titled *Facts and Fakes about Cuba* (1897), he was highly critical of Gómez and revealed many atrocities committed by the rebels themselves. Rea also excoriated much of the American press for its sensationalist and inaccurate reporting on the Cuban situation. He then turned his attention to developments in the Far East beginning in 1899.

After the war, Rea founded the influential journal *Far Eastern Review* in Manila in 1904. In it he wrote a number of articles dealing with the Far East and U.S. policy there. He served as an adviser to Chinese nationalist leader Sun Yat-sen from 1911 to 1913 and as the head of the Chinese National Railway Corporation from 1913 to 1914. During World War I, Rea served in the U.S. Army and was the assistant military attaché to Madrid from 1917 to 1919. He also served as an adviser to China's delegation to the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. In the late 1920s, Rea lobbied in China on behalf of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Most controversially, he served as an adviser to the Japanese-established puppet government in Manchuria (renamed Manchukuo) from 1932 to 1936, writing fa-

vorably of the regime and its actions. Among his many books is the controversial *The Case for Manchukuo* (1935). Rea died in Baltimore, Maryland, on November 21, 1936.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cuban War of Independence; Gómez y Báez, Máximo; Journalism; Newspapers; Yellow Journalism

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Reconcentrado System

System instituted by Cuban governor-general Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau in February 1896 whereby 500,000 Cubans were rounded up and placed in *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) centers in an attempt to curtail the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898).

By 1896, the Cuban insurgents, operating in small guerrilla units, were waging war against the island's sugar industry, crippling the Cuban economy. As the level of violence grew unchecked throughout the island, especially in the west, insurrectionists burned sugarcane fields and mills and destroyed railroads, telegraph lines, and other property. The insurgents hoped to destroy the economy by turning the island into an economic wasteland, thereby forcing the Spanish to concede that it was unprofitable and not worthy of further investment.

To check the spike in violence and put down the rebellion once and for all, the Spanish government inserted more troops into Cuba, but elevated force levels produced limited results. The Spanish attempted to hunt down and confront the insurgents in traditional stand-up battles, but the insurgents failed to cooperate and began conducting irregular warfare. The Spanish Army was unable to adapt to these guerrilla techniques, and conservative Spanish premier Antonio Cánovas del Castillo dispatched Weyler to Cuba in January 1896 to bring an end to the conflict.

Weyler, a professional officer who had risen through the ranks of the Spanish military because of performance rather than politics, worried little about public relations. He had served as an attaché to Washington during the American Civil War and became an advocate of the scorched earth tactics employed by Major General William Tecumseh Sherman. Thus, Weyler set out to break the Cuban independence movement and eliminate popular support for the insurgency through a policy of reconcentration. As devised, the program called for removing civilians from their homes and farms and isolating them in highly fortified towns, thereby breaking the resolve of the detainees as well as the rebels, who relied on the civilians for moral as well as material support.



Distribution of food to *reconcentrados*, rural Cubans relocated in camps. Spanish governor-general Valeriano Weyler hoped to separate the civilian population from the insurgency, but the failure to provide adequate food and medical care to those who were relocated further alienated them from the Spanish government and caused outrage in the United States. (John Clark Ridpath, *Ridpath's History of the World*, 1901)

The reconcentration program had a number of objectives. First, herding the villagers into fortified reconcentration centers would eliminate sources of food and other material support for the insurgents. Second, the program would deprive the insurgents of an efficient intelligence network, which had provided them with valuable information regarding Spanish troop movements. Third, relocating the peasants to the camps would protect them from exposure to insurgent propaganda and seriously impede the insurgents' recruitment efforts. Finally, there was also a psychological component to Weyler's system. The insurgents were likely to have friends or relatives among the *reconcentrados*, so the fear that a relative could be targeted for special abuse by the Spanish might intimidate the insurgents and force them to end the violence.

Upon his arrival in February 1896, Weyler issued the first of a series of reconcentration orders. With these official decrees, some 500,000 people were removed from their homes and farms and herded into four fortified camps. As the villagers abandoned their homes, the Spanish troops swooped in to burn villages, raze crops, and kill livestock to eliminate the rebels' food supply. The economic tactics employed by both the Spanish and the Cubans seriously hurt Cuba's economy, as foreign trade plummeted during the conflict.

In accordance with the program, thousands of *reconcentrados* were held in these fortified areas. Set apart, the camps were in most cases surrounded by a high fence, and housing accommo-

dations were extremely limited. More often than not, the detainees were jammed into abandoned warehouses, tents, or dilapidated buildings without the benefit of toilet facilities, running water, or food preparation areas. Food and medicine were in very limited supply. Soon, the detainees were suffering from malnutrition, and the deplorable living conditions became a major cause of communicable disease. Unable to live off the land, some internees resorted to begging or foraging through the garbage. Not surprisingly, discontent among the *reconcentrados* was rampant. Many thousands died in the reconcentration centers, and before long news of the misery had begun to spread abroad, much to the chagrin of Madrid.

Indeed, reports of death and destruction made headlines in American newspapers, evoking sympathy among the American public, which increasingly sided with the insurrectionists. By the summer of 1896, the plight of the Cuban detainees had become the favorite fodder for yellow journalism. The U.S. government protested several times over the human rights abuses in Cuba, but the Madrid government dismissed American pleas and refused to change its policies. In October 1897, a more conciliatory government, headed by Premier Práxedes Mateo Sagasta, recalled Weyler and agreed to terminate the reconcentration system. Nevertheless, the insurgents continued to wage war against their occupiers. In the meantime, the American public provided relief supplies to the

reconcentrados, while the American press continued to provide lurid accounts of Cuban suffering for popular consumption.

By 1898, many in the U.S. Congress were under intense pressure from their constituents to address the Cubans' suffering. In the early winter of 1898, Republican senator Redfield Proctor went to Cuba to investigate conditions in the camps and to determine if the news accounts were accurate. On March 17, 1898, he arose before the Senate and shared the results of his two-week-long visit. He recounted the dreadful plight of the *reconcentrados*, the devastated Cuban economy, and the Spanish-Cuban conflict in general. He condemned Spanish misrule and contended that the Cubans were capable of self-government. His authoritative voice resonated with conservative business interests and the religious press, galvanizing these groups in a call for intervention on the basis of human rights abuses. Proctor's report on the *reconcentrados*, combined with the explosion of the *Maine* (February 15, 1898), the publication of the Dupuy de Lôme–Canalejas Letter, and other contentious issues, finally pushed the William McKinley administration into war in April 1898.

The reconcentration system was clearly a dismal failure for Madrid. Rather than ending the conflict, the system only widened it. The reconcentration policy made a bad economic situation far worse and engendered the intense disapproval of the international community, especially the United States, which was already biased against Spanish rule in Cuba. In the longer term, the Spanish policy of reconcentration informed the British concentration camps of the South African Boer War and the U.S. Strategic Hamlet program during the Vietnam War.

JEFFERY B. COOK

See also

Cuban War of Independence; Proctor, Redfield; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano; Yellow Journalism

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Red Cross

See American National Red Cross

Reed, Thomas Brackett

Birth Date: October 18, 1839

Death Date: December 7, 1902

Republican politician, U.S. congressman (1877–1899), and Speaker of the House of Representatives (1889–1891, 1895–1899). Born on



Congressman Thomas Brackett Reed was Speaker of the House of Representatives during 1889–1891 and 1895–1899 and an opponent of war with Spain. (Library of Congress)

October 18, 1839, in Portland, Maine, Thomas Brackett Reed attended local public secondary schools and graduated with a BA degree from Bowdoin College in 1860. He read for the law and was admitted to the Maine State Bar in 1865.

Reed began the practice of law in Portland and served in the Maine House of Representatives during 1868–1869. In 1870, he held a seat in the Maine State Senate. He left his seat to become Maine's attorney general from 1870 to 1872. In 1876, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives; he would be elected 11 subsequent times.

After enjoying more than a decade of influential service in Congress, Reed decided to pursue the post of Speaker of the House, perhaps the most powerful position in Washington next to the presidency. In 1889, he engaged in a hard-fought battle against U.S. representative William McKinley for the coveted speakership. Reed's chances of victory were given a boost when Theodore Roosevelt, then a young civil service commissioner, threw his support behind Reed. He served as Speaker until 1891 and became a close personal friend and political ally of Roosevelt.

Reed was renowned for his bluntness and biting wit. When asked if he might become a presidential candidate, he retorted, "They could do worse, and probably will." And when a reporter asked if he planned to attend the funeral of a political adversary, he

shot back, “No, but I certainly approve of it.” Reed moved quickly to consolidate his power as Speaker and headed the Rules Committee himself, virtually guaranteeing that he would control the functions and legislative agenda of the House.

During his second tenure as Speaker, which began in 1895, Reed aggregated unparalleled power and concocted parliamentary rules designed to favor the Republicans and marginalize the Democrats, who were then in the minority. His heavy-handedness became so legendary that he was sometimes called “Czar Reed,” while his parliamentary sleights of hand were known as “Reed’s Rules.” He stymied the Democrats’ attempts to by-pass House rules by refusing to answer to a roll call, which often meant that a quorum was not possible. With no quorum, no votes could take place. Instead, Reed began taking a head count at the beginning of a session. If Democrats did not answer a roll call before a vote, he would simply add the names of the absentee legislators to the call, which would result in the necessary quorum. Reed, working closely with Representative Joseph “Uncle Joe” Cannon, who would succeed him as Speaker, managed to revamp and streamline House rules but often to the detriment of the minority.

In 1896, Reed campaigned for the Republican presidential nomination but lost to McKinley. During the 1890s, Reed had an interesting coterie of friends, including expansionists such as Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, John Hay, and Theodore Roosevelt and anti-imperialists such as Mark Twain. Reed was quite influential in the run-up to the Spanish-American War and helped McKinley try to avoid the conflict, which Reed did not support. He remained somewhat on the sidelines during the war and its immediate aftermath because of his position.

Reed stepped down as Speaker and gave up his seat in the House in 1899, returning to the practice of law in New York City. He died of a heart attack on December 7, 1902, in Washington, D.C.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cannon, Joseph Gurney; Expansionism; Hay, John Milton; Lodge, Henry Cabot; McKinley, William; Roosevelt, Theodore; Twain, Mark

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Reed, Walter

Birth Date: September 13, 1851

Death Date: November 23, 1902

U.S. Army doctor who led a team of physicians that proved that yellow fever is transmitted by mosquitoes rather than through direct contact with victims or their personal effects. Walter Reed was born



U.S. Army doctor Walter Reed occupies an honored place in scientific history for his work in ending the scourge of yellow fever. (Library of Congress)

on September 13, 1851, in Belroi, Virginia. His father, a Methodist minister, encouraged him to enroll at the University of Virginia, where he earned an MD degree in 1869. At the time, he was the youngest person to earn such a degree at the university. He earned a second medical degree from Bellevue Hospital Medical College in 1870. On June 26, 1875, he was appointed as an assistant surgeon in the U.S. Army Medical Corps with the rank of first lieutenant. His first assignment was Fort Lowell, Arizona. In 1880, after serving at various posts in the West, he was promoted to captain and transferred to Ft. McHenry, Maryland. During the early 1880s, he attended lectures at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. He also studied bacteriology and pathology under the guidance of William Henry Welch, the foremost bacteriologist in the United States. In 1893, after being promoted to major, Reed was appointed professor of bacteriology at the U.S. Army Medical School. He also taught at George Washington University.

Alarmed by the number of U.S. deaths caused by yellow fever during the Spanish-American War, in May 1900 the U.S. Army appointed Reed to head the Yellow Fever Board in Cuba. Reed and his team, which included James Carroll in charge of bacteriology, Jesse Lazear in charge of experimental mosquitoes, and Aristides Agra-

monte in charge of pathology, arrived in Havana on June 25, 1900. Volunteers were infected with yellow fever, which allowed Reed to prove the hypothesis that mosquitoes caused the disease. He made his conclusions by October of that year. His tests were based on a theory first postulated by Cuban physician Carlos Juan Finlay in 1881 that identified mosquitoes as the carriers of yellow fever. Until Reed had verified Finlay's hypothesis, it had been commonly held that yellow fever was contracted by contact with clothing and bedding soiled by the excrement and body fluids of yellow fever victims. Reed also conducted experiments to determine if survivors were immune to the disease from subsequent mosquito bites. These generated a great deal of controversy when nurse Clara Maass died of yellow fever on August 24, 1901.

As a result of Reed's efforts, Colonel William Crawford Gorgas, the U.S. Army's chief sanitary officer in Cuba, was able to virtually eliminate yellow fever from Cuba by destroying the mosquitoes' breeding grounds. In 1901, Reed returned to Washington, D.C., to resume his duties at the U.S. Army Medical School and George Washington University. Following an appendectomy, he died of peritonitis on November 23, 1902.

Reed's pioneering research stymied the mortality rates caused by yellow fever and facilitated the construction of the Panama Canal from 1904 to 1914. Although there is still no cure for the disease, a vaccine to protect against yellow fever was eventually developed in 1937. Opened in 1909, the Walter Reed General Hospital (Walter Reed Army Medical Center) in Washington, D.C., is named in his honor.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Cuba, U.S. Occupation of; Gorgas, William Crawford; Maass, Clara Louise; Medicine, Military; Yellow Fever

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Reed Commission

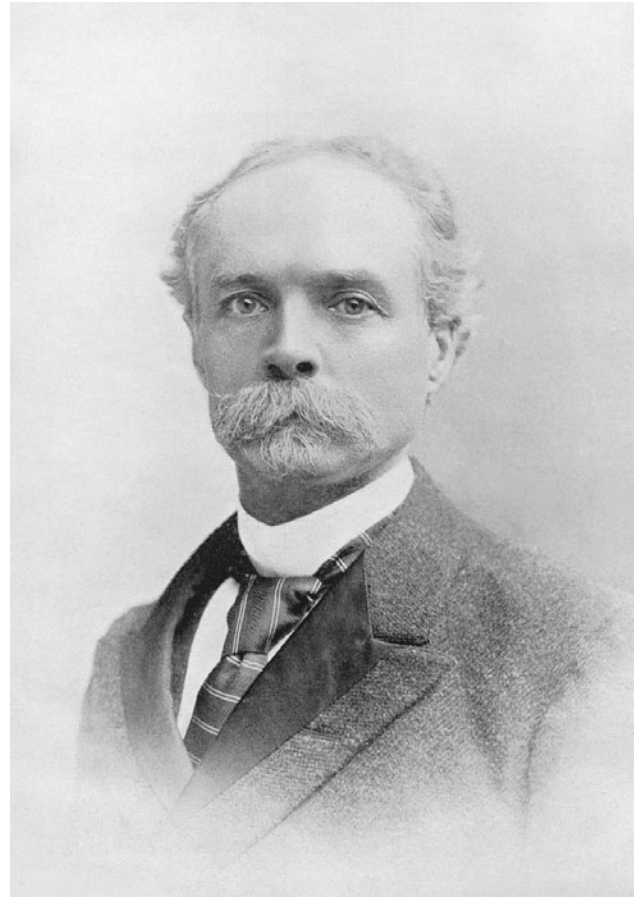
See Yellow Fever Board

Reid, Whitelaw

Birth Date: October 27, 1837

Death Date: December 15, 1912

Businessman, journalist, diplomat, and one of the most influential newspaper publishers of his time. Under Whitelaw Reid's control, the New York *Tribune* grew to have the largest circulation of any newspaper in the United States. Born on October 27, 1837, near



Influential American journalist Whitelaw Reid served as one of the U.S. peace commissioners to negotiate an end to the Spanish-American War and was later U.S. ambassador to Great Britain. (Chaiba Media)

Xenia, Ohio, Reid attended Miami University of Ohio, graduating in 1856 and distinguishing himself especially in foreign languages and writing. While still in school, he had a number of articles published in newspapers as far away as Kansas.

From 1856 to 1858, Reid served as principal of a grade school in South Charleston, Ohio. Finding that work unsatisfactory, he returned to Xenia and purchased *The News*, one of two local newspapers. Politics provided most of the paper's content, and Reid soon became an ardent supporter of the Republican Party. He supported Abraham Lincoln as the best candidate for the party in the 1860 presidential election. At the 1860 Republican National Convention, Reid persuaded the Ohio delegation to rally to Lincoln, although they were already pledged to Salmon P. Chase.

Ill health and a lack of profits forced Reid to sell *The News* and to begin working for the *Cincinnati Gazette*. His skill at covering political events was quickly recognized, and he was soon made city editor. The outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861 provided him with greater opportunities. Traveling with the Union Army as a war correspondent, he quickly proved to be a discriminating observer of military affairs. He criticized the slowness of commanders and the unpreparedness of the soldiers for combat. His

journalistic descriptions of the fighting at the Battle of Shiloh (April 6–7, 1862) and the Battle of Gettysburg (July 1–3, 1863) were hailed as masterpieces of comprehensiveness and clarity.

Reid was eventually banned from accompanying the army because of what was regarded as negative reporting. Prevented from taking the field, he was active in Washington, D.C., and became acquainted with Republican leaders. In 1864, he opposed Lincoln's reelection, believing him unequal to the task. Reid's connections secured him positions as librarian of the House of Representatives from 1863 to 1866 and clerk of the Military Committee. He was one of three newspapermen who visited Richmond immediately after its 1865 fall. His descriptions of that event and Lincoln's funeral crowned his wartime reporting.

Immediately after the war, Reid undertook an extended journey through the South with Supreme Court chief justice Chase. Reid returned to the North and to writing, composing the two-volume *Ohio in the War* (1868), which covered both civil and military activities. That work remains valuable today. In the autumn of 1868, he joined the New York *Tribune* and worked as an assistant to Horace Greeley, who became a close friend. Reid was largely responsible for the *Tribune's* outstanding coverage of the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871) along with encouraging such writers as Mark Twain and Bret Harte to submit works to the paper.

By 1872, both Reid and Greeley no longer supported President Ulysses S. Grant, and Reid encouraged his boss to run for president on the Liberal Republican ticket. Reid worked to ensure Greeley's nomination and election, but Greeley lost in a landslide. The defeat crushed Greeley, who died soon after the election. In a series of Machiavellian moves, Reid formed an alliance with businessman Jay Gould and obtained control over the *Tribune* from Greeley's heirs. Although Reid never had the flair of Greeley, he expanded the paper's circulation and instituted a number of innovations. He used the linotype machine, which was perfected at the newspaper, to set text, and he initiated the first Sunday edition in 1879. He hired only the best reporters and supported the development of wire services for distant stories. He certainly set the pace and standard of newspaper reporting for the remainder of the century and was the forerunner to publishers such as Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst.

Reid publicly declared the *Tribune* to be a Republican paper and refused to support a Democrat for president. He did help elect reformer and Democrat Samuel J. Tilden to the governorship of New York in 1874 but supported Republican Rutherford B. Hayes in 1876 for president. When charges of bribery and fraud were leveled in the disputed election of 1876, Reid published articles declaring that Hayes had won fairly. Reid was delighted when fellow Ohioan James Garfield was elected president in 1880. Garfield relied heavily on Reid's advice regarding political appointments, and his assassination after only a few months in office devastated Reid.

Failing health and other interests led Reid to leave most of the daily operations of the paper in the hands of others. He accepted an appointment as U.S. minister to France from President Ben-

jamin Harrison in 1889 and served until 1892, during which time he helped to negotiate a treaty that improved commercial ties between the two nations. When Harrison ran for reelection in 1892, Vice President Levi P. Morton was passed over. Instead, Reid was selected as a compromise candidate. The campaign was listless, however, and Harrison and Reid went down to defeat.

Reid then returned to his newspaper work. President William McKinley turned down Reid's request that he be appointed minister to Great Britain but did appoint Reid to be one of five peace commissioners to negotiate an end to the Spanish-American War in 1898, which resulted in the Treaty of Paris in December 1898. Following McKinley's 1901 assassination, Reid was finally named minister to Great Britain by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1905. Reid remained in that post until his death in London on December 15, 1912.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Hearst, William Randolph; Journalism; Paris, Treaty of; Peace Commission; Pulitzer, Joseph; Yellow Journalism

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"Remember the *Maine*"

A jingoist expression used by American journalists and members of the general public for the pretext for going to war with Spain in April 1898. After a mysterious explosion sank the U.S. second-class battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, hawkish Americans who were already inclined to go to war with Spain over the situation in Cuba began to use the slogan "Remember the *Maine*, to hell with Spain" as a patriotic rallying cry to increase pressure on President William McKinley to declare war on Spain.

President McKinley had ordered the *Maine* to Cuba to protect American interests and pressure Spanish authorities. The massive explosion that sank the *Maine* resulted in the deaths of 266 sailors. Although the U.S. Naval Court of Inquiry waited until March 28, 1898, to assert that an external mine had caused the explosion, American newspapers, lacking any concrete evidence, immediately reported that the explosion was the result of Spanish treachery.

Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* and William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal*, already in fierce competition for readers, exploited the sinking of the *Maine* to boost newspaper sales. The *New York Journal* carried the sensationalistic headline: "The War Ship *Maine* Was Split in Two by an Enemy's Secret Infernal Machine." Below the headline, a drawing of the *Maine* floating in the harbor on top of mines with wires leading to a Spanish fort further enraged American readers. Given its desire to avoid war with the

United States, the Spanish government had no logical reason to sink the *Maine*. Nevertheless, within days of the explosion, Americans across the country, fueled by the persuasiveness of yellow journalism, demanded that McKinley force the Spanish government to relinquish control of Cuba.

The popular phrase, modeled after the equally popular “Remember the Alamo,” which had encouraged the people of Texas to support the revolution against Mexico in 1836, served as a powerful catalyst for the Spanish-American War. “Remember the *Maine*” helped shape American public opinion and gave McKinley the support he needed for a declaration of war against Spain in April 1898. Indeed, the rallying cry helped convince many Americans that the war against Spain was a justifiable defense of American national honor.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Artists and Illustrators; Hearst, William Randolph; Journalism; *Maine*, USS; *Maine*, USS, Inquiries into the Loss of; McKinley, William; Pulitzer, Joseph; Yellow Journalism

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Remey, George Collier

Birth Date: August 10, 1841

Death Date: February 8, 1928

U.S. naval officer. Born in Burlington, Iowa, on August 10, 1841, George Collier Remey was accepted into the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, in 1855 and graduated in 1859, the youngest midshipman in his class. Prior to the American Civil War (1861–1865), he served aboard the screw sloop *Hartford*, which saw service in the waters off China and then Japan. During the 1862 Peninsula Campaign, he served in the screw gunboat *Marblehead*, which plied the coastal waters of Virginia. In the spring of 1863, he served as the executive officer of the screw sloop *Canandaigua* and commanded the *Marblehead* during the Union assault on Fort Wagner. On September 7–8, 1863, he participated in the abortive attack on Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor. Taken prisoner by the Confederates, he was imprisoned in Columbia, South Carolina, for 13 months until he was released during a prisoner exchange. Upon his release, he served as executive officer of the side-wheeler *De Soto*, based at Baltimore, Maryland, until the end of the war in April 1865.

Following the war, Remey served in a variety of assignments, including duty off the coast of Valparaíso, Chile, during the U.S. shelling of that city in 1866 and in the Mediterranean in 1882. Promoted to captain in 1885, he commanded the cruiser *Charleston* in the U.S. Pacific Squadron during 1889–1892. He then commanded

the Portsmouth Navy Yard and, when the Spanish-American War broke out in April 1898, was assigned to command the naval base at Key West, Florida, the U.S. Navy's most important Atlantic base during the war. He was responsible not only for the resupply and repair of naval assets in the blockade of Cuba but also for the conveying of Major General William R. Shafter's V Corps to Cuba. With the end of the war in August 1898, Remey was transferred back to the Portsmouth Navy Yard. He was promoted to rear admiral in November 1898.

In April 1900, Remey took command of the U.S. Asiatic Squadron. He was responsible for providing support for U.S. ground troops fighting the Filipino insurgents during the Philippine-American War (1899–1902). He also played a key role during the Boxer Rebellion (1899–1901), coordinating all U.S. naval operations off the coast of China from his flagship, the cruiser *Brooklyn*, during July–October 1900. Following a tour to Australia, he returned to the United States, where he served for a year as chairman of the Lighthouse Board. He retired from the navy on August 10, 1903, and lived for a time in Newport, Rhode Island, before moving to Washington, D.C. Remey died in Burlington, Iowa, on February 8, 1928.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Boxer Rebellion; V Corps; Key West, Florida; United States Navy

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Remington, Frederic Sackrider

Birth Date: October 4, 1861

Death Date: December 26, 1909

Painter, illustrator, and sculptor whose images of the Old West shaped American perceptions of the vanishing frontier. Frederic Sackrider Remington was born in Canton, New York, on October 4, 1861. His parents were Seth Pierrepont Remington, a newspaper editor and publisher, and Clara Sackrider. Remington's father served as a lieutenant colonel in the American Civil War for four years, which later influenced his son's art themes of war and conflict on horseback. The younger Remington attended Highland Military Academy in Worcester, Massachusetts, for two years. In 1878, he enrolled at Yale University, studying at the new school of art and architecture. His new passion was football, and he was a starting forward on the varsity team, captained by the founder of American football, Walter Camp. His first published illustration was a cartoon of an injured football player in the *Yale Courant*. Despite his mother's disapproval, he left Yale after only two years when his father died in 1880.



Frederic Remington, a painter, an illustrator, and a sculptor who is best known for his images of the Old West. During the Spanish-American War, Remington was a correspondent and illustrator for the *New York Journal*. (Library of Congress)

Remington worked as a clerk in the office of the governor of New York and other state offices in 1880 but was dissatisfied with the work. In 1881, he was further disappointed when his marriage proposal to Eva Adele Caten was rejected by her father due to Remington's unpromising economic situation. Dejected, Remington decided to experience the American West. His travels to Montana and Wyoming resulted in his first illustration of the frontier, a Wyoming cowboy published by *Harper's Weekly* in February 1882. He returned to the West and bought land in Kansas in 1883 after receiving a modest inheritance from his father the year before. His attempt at sheep farming was not successful, however, and he sold the ranch, returning to friends and family in New York a year later.

Caten's father finally consented to her marriage in 1884, and Remington and his new wife moved to Kansas City, Missouri. He used the remainder of his inheritance to invest in a saloon. The venture was successful, but Remington eventually lost his share due to unscrupulous partners. Eva returned to New York within the year, as Remington could not find steady work. They never had children. He spent the next year traveling through the American Southwest,

working as a cowboy and scout and sketching Native Americans. He returned to New York in 1885, and he and Eva moved to Brooklyn, where Remington began to sell his illustrations of the West to major magazines. His big break came in 1886 when his illustration *The Apache War: Indian Scouts on Geronimo's Trail* became the cover of *Harper's Weekly*.

Remington wanted to develop his talent as an artist and enrolled in classes at the Art Student League, where he worked with watercolors. His exhibition in the National Academy of Design and American Water-Color Society brought him the attention of Theodore Roosevelt, who asked him to illustrate an article he was writing about ranching and hunting in the West. From this initial contact, the two men started a lifelong friendship. Remington spent each summer in the West and in Canada under publisher sponsorship, sketching and photographing scenes for later illustrations as well as collecting Native American and frontier artifacts. In 1888 and 1890, he documented the wars against the Apache and Plains Indians. The demand for magazine illustrations was constant, as new magazine publications had grown from about 700 in 1865 to 3,000 in 1885. Remington published more than 2,700 illustrations in 41 journals. He also illustrated more than 140 books, including Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *The Song of Hiawatha*, Francis Parkman's *The Oregon Trail*, and Elizabeth B. Custer's *Tenting in the Plains*.

In the late 1880s, Remington began to develop an oil painting career, filling more than 700 canvases with scenes of horses, Indians, and cowboys. He exhibited *A Dash for Timber* at the annual National Academy of Design show. His *Last Lull in the Fight* won a silver medal at the Paris Universal Exposition in 1889. *Harper's Weekly* and William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* sent Remington to Cuba to cover the Spanish-American War. His painting *Charge of the Rough Riders at San Juan Hill* helped to foster an image of Roosevelt as soldier hero, which was to become a crucial element in Roosevelt's election as president of the United States.

Remington's first sculpture in 1895 was *The Bronco Buster*, which the Rough Riders later gave to Roosevelt when they returned from Cuba. Remington produced 25 bronze sculptures, all but one emphasizing a western theme.

During his lifetime, Remington was a highly prolific and successful artist. His illustrations have been praised for the authenticity of Native American costumes, soldiers' uniforms, and accurate horse anatomy in all poses. His later paintings were more romantic and captured the disappearing spirit of the Western frontier. Remington said that he knew "the wild riders and the vacant land were about to vanish forever. . . . Without knowing exactly how to do it, I began to record some facts around me and the more I looked the more the panorama unfolded."

Remington was only 48 years old when he died at his home in New Rochelle, New York, on December 26, 1909, due to complications from an appendix surgery.

JOSE VALENTE

See also

Hearst, William Randolph; Yellow Journalism

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Republican Party

One of the two predominant U.S. political parties in the United States during the Spanish-American War. Founded in 1854, the Republican Party was a by-product of the building sectionalism over the issue of slavery in the United States. The particular catalyst for the party's creation was the divisive Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which opened the door to slavery in the Kansas and Nebraska territories. Those who founded the Republican Party were adamantly opposed to not only the expansion of slavery into new territories but also any policies that would strengthen the position of slaveholders, whom they feared had too much power. Most Republicans at this point were not true abolitionists; rather, they were against the expansion of slavery beyond where it had already taken root. A good number of adherents to the new party were from the Whig political tradition, and a sizable number of Democrats from the northern states left that party to join the Republicans. There was also an important contingent of Free-Soilers in the party.

Republicans extolled honesty in government and opposed entrenched interests, be they economic, political, or both. They advocated a return to the civic virtue of the founding fathers, which, according to them, was more concerned with the good of the nation than narrow self-interest. Quite progressively minded, the Republican Party advocated better and more accessible higher education, the expansion of the railroads and industry, and a more stable centralized banking system. Unlike the Democrats, Republicans in this era were not against using the power of the government to bring about these changes.

The fateful election of 1860, which led to Abraham Lincoln becoming president, set in motion an era of Republican dominance in the Northeast and Midwest and, of course, sparked the American Civil War. By war's end in 1865, the Republican Party had become known as the party of Lincoln and the party of abolition. Between 1860 and 1890, the Republican Party dominated national politics, especially in the executive branch. In the aftermath of the war, Republicans used their clout to push through myriad congressional acts designed to promote rapid industrialization, create a national banking system, raise taxes via excise and tariff duties, form land grants for colleges and universities, and dole out subsidies to both railroad and agricultural interests in the West. The party also attached itself to protectionism, which meant high tariffs on imported (and especially industrial) goods. Not surprisingly, the Republicans' activist policies resulted in mounting federal budgets.

During Reconstruction (1865–1876), Republicans initially sought to establish a political base in the South among newly freed

African American slaves. Toward that end, they pushed through the 14th Amendment, which sought to ensure civil rights to African Americans against state governments, and the 15th Amendment, which guaranteed that the right to vote could not be denied on the basis of race. As southern states were readmitted into the union, however, the Democratic Party regained its dominance in the South and won control of the House of Representatives in the congressional elections of 1874. In the so-called Compromise of 1877, designed to secure the election of Republican candidate Rutherford B. Hayes after the disputed presidential election of 1876, Republicans agreed to withdraw remaining federal troops from the South, effectively ending Reconstruction and abandoning African Americans.

As the American economy grew by leaps and bounds in the 1870s and 1880s, particularly in the Northeast and Midwest, the Republicans' agenda solidified the party's grip on the most populous areas of the nation. By 1890, the Republican Party appealed to big businessmen, small business owners, bankers, midwestern farmers, and the like. It had essentially become the party of business. Also in that decade, the Republicans had become ardent adherents of the gold standard and vehemently opposed the bimetal or free silver schemes of the Democrats and Populists.

Despite the strength of the Republican Party in the decades just prior to the Spanish-American War, Congress remained remarkably and almost evenly split between Democrats and Republicans. During this time, the Democrats benefited from mass immigration, as they tended to appeal to newly arrived immigrants. Indeed, the Democrats shrewdly played off of the Republicans' attraction to business interests by proclaiming that they were for the average worker. The year 1894 was a turning point for the Republicans, as they swept the off-year elections, giving them an impressive mandate in Congress. Economic depression beginning in 1893 further tainted the Democrats, and in 1896 the Republican Party took control of Congress as well as the executive branch with the election of William McKinley. This ushered in an era of remarkable Republican dominance at the national level, which would last practically uninterrupted until 1932.

McKinley was swept into office by promising economic prosperity, industrial growth, protective tariffs, the continuation of the gold standard, and a pluralist agenda that he claimed would benefit all sectors of the American public. He also had a less well-known expansionist agenda that would fully manifest itself in the Spanish-American War. There were, of course, inklings of the Republicans' imperialist proclivities before 1898. In 1894, Democratic president Grover Cleveland had refused to consider the annexation of Hawaii and actually attempted to restore Queen Liliuokalani to the Hawaiian throne. In 1897, however, after McKinley had taken office, he actively pursued the annexation of the islands, which became a reality in 1898.

Generally speaking, the Republican Party supported the annexation of Hawaii, Guam, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico. Republicans saw this as part of a larger plan to make the United States a

world power and to expand markets for American-made goods. While there were certainly a fair number of Republican anti-imperialists, the principal roadblock to overseas expansion remained the Democratic Party, which saw expansionism as another way to increase the size and scope of the federal government. The Progressive era (ca. 1900–1920) was often dominated by the progressive agenda of the Republican Party and received its greatest boost under President Theodore Roosevelt, McKinley's successor.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Anti-Imperialist League; Bryan, William Jennings; Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Democratic Party; Economic Depression; Expansionism; Hawaiian Islands; Imperialism; McKinley, William; Populist Party; Roosevelt, Theodore; Silver Standard

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Rifles

A shoulder-fired weapon that remains the infantryman's basic weapon for self-defense, position defense, or general security duties. An examination of the prominent rifles used in the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War provides an excellent look at one of the most significant periods in military small-arms development: the transition from black powder to smokeless powder cartridges. Smokeless powder, developed in France in 1884, was a technological breakthrough. More powerful than the old coarse black powder, it also left less fouling residue. Smokeless powder had important tactical benefits as well. Black powder emitted thick smoke after each discharge, limiting concealment by marking the shooter's location. At the same time, the smoke served to limit the shooter's vision by obscuring the target. The discharge from smokeless powder, though not completely invisible, allowed riflemen to fire from concealed positions with considerably greater security and accuracy.

In 1898, most of the small arms in the United States' arsenal still used black powder. Although military officials had sought a reliable repeating rifle design since the 1870s, the standard U.S. Army issue weapon until the early 1890s was the single-shot Springfield Trapdoor rifle. The Springfield closely resembled the muzzle-loading rifled muskets of the American Civil War (1861–1865) because they were in fact initially converted from the massive surplus of these weapons left from that conflict. With a portion of the breech of the barrel cut away and with a loading gate (the trapdoor) attached to the weapon, soldiers could load a cartridge quickly and easily rather than ram the powder and a bullet down the muzzle.

With this conversion, the U.S. military successfully turned the outdated muzzle loaders into a faster firing and acceptable weapon. The Springfield was, however, long and heavy. It measured more than 4 feet in length and weighed more than eight pounds. The gun's caliber, or bullet diameter, was reduced from the original .58 (of an inch) to .45. Army officials were happy enough with this design to order newly manufactured trapdoor rifles in the 1870s and 1880s. The last Springfield model, modified in 1889, was praised by many American officers as dependable and accurate.

By the 1890s, however, some military officials warned that the U.S. Army needed an improved standard-issue weapon. In 1892, the army adopted its first smokeless powder rifle, the Krag-Jørgensen (usually known as a Krag). A Danish design, the Krag was a bolt-action weapon that could hold five .30-caliber rounds, which were individually loaded through a gate on the right side of the receiver. The Krag was a few inches shorter than the Springfield but still weighed more than 8 pounds. Shortened versions, known as carbines, were also developed, but these were generally issued to cavalrymen.

Although the Krag was an improvement over most previous American infantry rifles, many officers initially failed to appreciate the new rifle's advantages over the Springfield. Army doctrine emphasized accuracy over individual volume of fire, and some officers continued to believe that single-shot breechloaders did not place soldiers at a disadvantage. In fact, soldiers were initially expected to use the Krag as a single-shot weapon, reloading a cartridge after each shot and keeping the four remaining rounds in reserve. Furthermore, the Springfield fired a larger and heavier bullet, which some argued would be more effective in combat. On the other hand, smokeless cartridges were lighter in weight, meaning that a soldier could carry more Krag cartridges than the heavier and bulkier Springfield rounds.

Despite differing opinions about the weapons, supply issues primarily determined what American soldiers carried into battle. By 1898, the army had only enough Krags for the regular army soldiers but not the thousands of volunteers who enlisted for the conflict. Ammunition problems also plagued the army, and a shortage of smokeless cartridges limited the Krag's use even further. Thus, nearly all volunteer soldiers carried Springfield Trapdoor rifles into combat.

On the other side in the conflict, many Spanish soldiers in Cuba were armed with one of the best military weapons available: the 1893 Spanish Mauser bolt-action rifle. Based on the innovative designs of Germans Peter Paul and Wilhelm Mauser, the Spanish rifle held five 7-millimeter (approximately .28-caliber) smokeless powder cartridges intermittently stacked inside the receiver. The rifle had a smooth, sleek appearance. The length and weight of the Spanish Mauser was comparable to the Krag. A significant difference between the two rifles, though, was the reloading process. Spanish soldiers could load their rifles quickly by pressing five cartridges previously stacked in a thin metal clip down through the open bolt, rather than inserting each round one at a time as with the Krag.



U.S. Army recruits on the rifle range at Camp Townsend, New York, 1898. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

Thus, Spanish soldiers could maintain a higher rate of fire than their American counterparts. American officers and soldiers did not appreciate the value of the clip-loading system until they actually faced persistent fire from Spanish troops in the field.

Spanish forces also fielded a single-shot black powder breechloader, the Remington Rolling Block. To load the rifle, the hammer was placed at half-cock and the breechblock rolled back to allow a cartridge to be placed in the gun. The breech piece was closed, and the rifle was ready to fire. Rolling Block rifles were sturdy and dependable but comparatively slow to load. The rifle was popular with big-game hunters in the American West. The Spanish Army also approved the design and bought, then later manufactured, tens of thousands of the rifles for use in Cuba. As with the Springfield Trapdoor, the Spanish Rolling Block rifle fired a much heavier bullet than the Krag or the Mauser.

Cuban revolutionary soldiers did not have access to standard weapons and had to rely on rifles that could be found, brought in by gun smugglers, or captured from Spanish soldiers. Thus, a variety of military and civilian long arms found their way onto the battlefield, including Spencer lever-action rifles (a successful military firearm dating back to the American Civil War), Springfield Trapdoor rifles, and even shotguns. In the Philippines, nationalist soldiers and Moro fighters also used whatever weapons could be taken or procured.

Combat experience in Cuba and the Philippines proved the effectiveness and necessity of smokeless powder rifles that could operate smoothly and reliably and, perhaps most importantly, reload quickly. As a result of lessons learned in the conflict, the U.S. Army

discarded the Springfield and designed a new rifle based on the Mauser—the 1903 Springfield—to replace the Krag. An excellent weapon, the Springfield saw service into World War II.

IAN M. SPURGEON

See also

“Civilize ’em with a Krag”; Machine Guns

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Rivera, Luis Muñoz

Birth Date: July 17, 1859

Death Date: November 15, 1916

Puerto Rican politician, journalist, and poet who very briefly headed the Puerto Rican Autonomous Government in 1898 prior to the U.S. invasion in July 1898. Luis Muñoz Rivera was born on July

17, 1859, in Barranquitas, Puerto Rico, to a prominent family. His father had twice been the mayor of Barranquitas, while his grandfather, a captain in the Spanish Army, had been a politician in Puerto Rico. Rivera attended both public and private schools and also worked in his father's commercial ventures. He became interested in politics and sought to ameliorate the plight of Puerto Ricans under Spanish colonial rule. He also exhibited a flare for and keen interest in journalism, believing that he could best advance his agenda by influencing the press. Accordingly, he founded the newspaper *La Democracia* in Ponce in 1890.

In 1887, Rivera helped found the Autonomist Party, which sought political autonomy from the Spanish. He essentially headed the movement. The Autonomist Party under Rivera did not, however, agitate for complete independence; rather, Rivera sought to reach accommodation and accord with Madrid so that the Spanish would reward the island nation by granting it more power over its own affairs. Toward that end, he journeyed to Spain in 1893 to observe the Spanish political system and to learn about its workings. He also managed to meet with key Spanish officials and politicians, which would serve him well in the future. In 1894, he helped draft the Plan de Ponce (Ponce Plan), a blueprint that laid out plans for Puerto Rican political autonomy.

In 1895, Rivera returned to Spain with a group of Puerto Rican politicians to gain Spanish acceptance of the Ponce Plan. Meeting with high-level officials, including prime minister and Liberal politician Práxedes Mateo Sagasta, the Puerto Rican contingent impressed the Madrid government, and two years later, in November 1897, Sagasta authorized the Autonomist Party's charter. Before the year was out, Rivera had been named head and secretary of state of the new autonomous Puerto Rican government. He went on to serve in this capacity until the U.S. invasion of the island in July 1898 during the Spanish-American War.

Disappointed that an American takeover would end political autonomy for Puerto Rico, Rivera went on to champion Puerto Rican rights with the American-imposed government. In 1899, he established *El Territorio*, a newspaper designed to express the concerns of Puerto Rican landowners and farmers who were barred from sending their produce to the United States. Later that same year, he traveled to the United States to lobby Congress for a reciprocal trade arrangement between the United States and Puerto Rico, an effort that was unsuccessful. Determined to continue his fight, he stayed in the United States until 1904. In the meantime, in 1901, he founded in New York City the bilingual newspaper *Puerto Rican Herald*, meant to appeal to the U.S. Puerto Rican community. In its first issue, he excoriated President William McKinley for the passage of the Foraker Amendment, which had created an American-style government in Puerto Rico that allowed for very little local government.

Returning to Puerto Rico in 1905, Rivera went on to found the Unionist Party and in 1906 was elected to the House of Delegates on that party's ticket. In 1910, he became the resident commissioner of Puerto Rico, the chief liaison with the U.S. House of Representa-

tives, a post he held until 1916. He used his position to continue his lobby for Puerto Rican autonomy. His hard work and constant pressure on Washington finally paid off, and in May 1916 the House passed the Jones Act, which extended to Puerto Ricans full U.S. citizenship and authorized the formation of a bicameral Puerto Rican legislature to be elected by universal male suffrage, thereby giving the island nation a significant degree of political autonomy. Unfortunately, Rivera did not live to see the final passage of the bill, which was signed into law by President Woodrow Wilson on March 2, 1917. Rivera died of cancer on November 15, 1916, in Loquillo, Puerto Rico.

In addition to his political and journalistic accomplishments, Rivera also published much poetry, which is held in high esteem even today among Puerto Ricans. In 1891, he published a collection of poems titled *Retamas* (Broom Plants), and in 1902, he published *Tropicales* (Tropicals). His son, Luis Muñoz Marín, also became a well-known Puerto Rican politician and served as the first democratically elected governor of the island territory from 1949 to 1965.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

McKinley, William; Ponce, Puerto Rico; Puerto Rico; Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo

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Rizal, José

Birth Date: June 19, 1861

Death Date: December 30, 1896

Filipino nationalist, artist, physician, multilingual writer, and founder of the Liga Filipina (Filipino League). José Rizal (full name José Mercado y Alonso Realonda Rizal Protacio) was born into a middle-class family on June 19, 1861, in Calamba, Laguna, the Philippines. He received a BA degree from the Ateneo de Manila University in 1877, then studied medicine at the University of Santo Tomas in Manila before leaving for Spain in 1882. He earned his medical degree at the Central University of Madrid two years later, then continued his education in France and Germany, specializing in ophthalmology.

While in Spain, Rizal tried to organize Filipino students to work for reforms back home. In 1887, he published the novel *Noli Me Tangere* (Do Not Touch Me), which criticized Spanish rule in the Philippines and championed Filipino nationalism. The book, which became a classic work, was later banned by the Spanish government. That same year, Rizal returned to the Philippines but was strongly advised by the authorities to leave in 1888.



Writer, physician, and champion of Filipino nationalism José Rizal in 1892 founded La Liga Filipina (Philippine League) to work for peaceful reform in the Philippines. (Library of Congress)

Rizal sailed back to Europe, stopping in Hong Kong, Macau, and Japan before traveling through the United States by train. In Great Britain, he discovered, copied, commented upon, and republished the 17th-century manuscript *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (Events of the Philippine Islands), written by the Spanish colonial administrator Antonio de Morga. This work showed that an advanced civilization had existed in the Philippines well before the Spanish arrival there. Rizal also wrote for *La Solidaridad* (Solidarity), a Barcelona-based periodical championing administrative changes in the Philippines.

In 1891, Rizal published his second novel, *El Filibusterismo* (The Great Pirate), a sequel to *Noli Me Tangere* that again advocated reforms and hinted at a revolution, but not independence, if the Spanish did not grant changes in the Philippines. Later that year he traveled to Hong Kong, where his parents had moved following their exile by the Spanish authorities.

In 1892, Rizal decided to return to the Philippines and founded the Liga Filipina to work for peaceful reforms. He did not advocate violent means to effect change. The Liga Filipina's constitution had two explicit goals. First, it touted an indivisible, strong, and uniform community, which would be essential for national unity, the promotion of a common defense, and the curtailment of internal disorders and injustices. Second, it encouraged educational, agricultural, and commercial pursuits and called for reforms in each.

Despite the less-than-revolutionary agenda of the Liga Filipina, the Spanish colonial government banned it and exiled Rizal to Dapitan on Mindanao. Over the next four years, he helped build there a school, a hospital, and a sanitary water system. He also taught agriculture while continuing to write and draw.

Meanwhile, also in 1892, several cofounding members of the Liga Filipina established the Katipunan, a secret society modeled on the former organization, to work for independence from Spain through armed rebellion. Because Rizal was widely respected, the Katipunan used him as a rallying point and named him honorary president without his knowledge. Nevertheless, he refused to embrace the Katipunan or its ideology. In 1896, members of the Katipunan met with Rizal to discuss his stance on the impending revolution; he warned against it and urged only peaceful means for change.

To distance himself from the Katipunan, Rizal petitioned the government to allow him to serve as a volunteer army surgeon in Cuba, helping victims of yellow fever during the Cuban War of Independence. His request was granted, and he left the Philippines shortly after the rebellion broke out but not before publicly denouncing it.

En route to Cuba, Spanish authorities arrested Rizal on board ship, wrongly linking him to the Filipino revolutionary movement and the Katipunan. He was imprisoned in Barcelona before being transported back to the Philippines to stand trial. He reached Manila on November 3, 1896, and was imprisoned at Fort Santiago. A military tribunal tried him on charges of rebellion, sedition, and conspiracy for organizing illegal societies; found him guilty; and sentenced him to death. On December 30, 1896, he was executed by firing squad in the Luneta in Manila (now Rizal Park). His body was then buried in an unmarked grave. Although he quickly became a martyr and a hero and his death has been designated as a Filipino national holiday, he remains a controversial figure in Filipino history. The hasty Spanish action in executing Rizal only inflamed passions in the Philippines and encouraged the insurrectionists.

GREGORY C. FERENCE

See also

Filipino Revolutionary Movement; Katipunan; Liga Filipina

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Robber Barons

A term used to describe industrialists, bankers, and financiers during the last third of the 19th century who often profited by unscrupulous business practices. Men such as John Jacob Astor,

Andrew Carnegie, Jay Gould, Henry Clay Frick, John D. Rockefeller, and Cornelius Vanderbilt were some of the first and most well known of the robber barons. The term “robber baron” is obviously pejorative and tended to be used to describe all wealthy industrialists and financiers whether they engaged in questionable business methods or not. The term itself was borrowed from medieval German history, a time in which lords (or barons) would exact outlandish tolls on ships passing their property along the Rhine River.

Some robber barons engaged in great philanthropic and public works projects after making their fortunes, which tended to soften the public perception of them. Some, of course, simply hoarded their wealth and gave little back to society. Carnegie, for example, believed fervently that it was an absolute responsibility of the wealthy to give back to the society that had enabled them to accumulate great wealth, something that he spelled out in his book *The Gospel of Wealth* (1889). There was a caveat, however, to his thesis, for he believed that those who hold great wealth should direct it to endeavors of their own choosing rather than allowing it to be frittered away on what he believed to be unworthy projects.

In many ways, the robber barons provided the foundation for the industrial powerhouse, which America would become during the Gilded Age. They revolutionized industry by paying attention to details and keeping careful track of where their money went and how it was invested. Utilizing economies of scale, the robber barons revolutionized management techniques and created a small army of professionalized managers who would become the envy of the world. They pioneered vertical integration, allowing firms to control the entire manufacturing process from the extraction of raw materials to sales and distribution. They also did not hesitate to expand their empires through horizontal combination (mergers and buyouts), even if it meant using devious means.

Many, such as Rockefeller and Carnegie, began their rise to fame by arranging special railroad rates in order to move materials more cheaply. Then with cheaper transportation costs in hand, profits rose, and they were able to expand further. When their empires grew large enough, they were able to take over others in their industry. To do this, they would either buy them outright or drive them out of business by lowering the price of their products so that smaller companies could not compete. Carnegie came to control much of the iron industry and Rockefeller much of the oil industry. The term “robber baron” also came to embrace financiers, of course, such as John Pierpont Morgan, who loaned money to industrialists so that they could expand their operations.

American industrial output soared in the last three decades of the 19th century, and in very large measure this was the result of the robber barons. By 1900, the United States had become the world's largest manufacturer of goods and was the largest economy in the world. This was no small feat, for in so doing it had to overtake traditional economic dynamos such as Great Britain and Germany. It also began the rise to economic superpower in the dismal post-American Civil War years, when the nation's economy had been

hobbled by four years of terrible war and destruction. The United States was also poised to overtake Great Britain as the world's largest financial center, which was achieved fully by the end of World War I in 1918.

Many Americans at the time hated the robber barons, and history tends not to treat them well. Many of them forced competitors out of business; built huge mansions for themselves in poor company towns; erected extravagant summer cottages in Newport, Rhode Island, and Long Island, New York, that boasted many thousands of square feet; broke labor unions (sometimes by savage means); and were worth hundreds of millions of dollars. But they also helped to stabilize their industries and kept the U.S. economy on a relentlessly upward growth pattern, employing hundreds of thousands of Americans and newly arriving immigrants.

As industrialists were able to sell their products much more cheaply than before, most consumers were happy to pay less thanks to the productive efficiency of the robber barons. In this way, too, they were the driving forces of American industrialization. They also created new types of bonds and securities and steadied the stock market when it was in danger of crashing during economic crises. And many robber barons felt the need to give back to their communities.

There has been disagreement over the years with the term “robber baron,” which is not a one-size-fits-all description. Some Americans—even scholars—have chosen to take a different vantage point on the accomplishments of big business during this era. Indeed, some have lionized them as captains of industry and industrial statesmen. These men, some have argued, brought order to the American economy and enabled the United States to become a great world power. Some historians have asserted that the definition of a true robber baron is one who used political clout to build his empire by influence peddling to earn unneeded subsidies from the government, push for protective industrial tariffs, or lobby for legislation that encouraged price fixing and cartelization.

Although Cornelius Vanderbilt gave only \$1 million to charitable enterprises during his lifetime, Carnegie gave more than \$350 million and Rockefeller more than \$500 million. And yet with all that the robber barons gave back, many of their contemporaries found it hard to like them. Some seemed to hate everyone, and Vanderbilt's well-known phrase “The public be damned!” and J. P. Morgan's claim “I owe the public nothing” did not help their reputations. In the end, history often remembers them as men who paid for what legislation they wanted, buying judges when they were opposed, and who fixed prices. Many believed that when the robber barons gave back to their communities, it was based not on their love for the public or generosity but rather on trying to clear their names.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Astor, John Jacob, IV; Carnegie, Andrew; Frick, Henry Clay; Gould, Jay; Morgan, John Pierpont, Sr.; Rockefeller, John Davison

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Rockefeller, John Davison**Birth Date:** July 8, 1839**Death Date:** May 23, 1937

Leading U.S. industrialist and perhaps the quintessential robber baron. As the moving force behind the Standard Oil Company, John Davison Rockefeller helped create the American petroleum industry and pioneered large-scale systematic philanthropy. Born on July 8, 1839, in Richford, New York, he grew up under the influence of his strict Baptist mother, Eliza Davison Rockefeller, and his shrewd businessman father, William Avery Rockefeller. In 1850, the younger Rockefeller moved with his family to Oswego, New York, and three years later to Cleveland, Ohio. After graduating from Cleveland High School, he had hopes of going to college, but his father insisted that he embark on a career in business, so the serious, reserved young man took courses for three months at a commercial school.

Securing employment as a clerk, Rockefeller joined a commission merchant firm, where he received important training and made contacts with Cleveland businessmen. In 1859, he formed a partnership with Maurice B. Clark, and with \$4,000 in capital the two entrepreneurs traded in grain, hay, and meats. During the American Civil War, Clark and Rockefeller made a considerable sum provisioning the Union Army; in fact, the early 1860s brought Rockefeller the capital he needed to expand into other businesses. He did not serve in the war, opting instead to pay \$300 to hire a substitute, which the government allowed.

While the war raged, Rockefeller surveyed the developing oil frenzy in northwestern Pennsylvania. The first oil well had been drilled in 1859 in Titusville, Pennsylvania, and new opportunities appeared with the rapid growth of petroleum refining and with the building of a railroad between Cleveland and the oil fields. As the oil arrived in Cleveland, refineries sprang up to process it, and Rockefeller decided that this would be the endeavor to earn him fame and fortune. In 1863, he and several partners constructed the Excelsior Refinery near the Cuyahoga River.

Putting his future prospects in oil, Rockefeller quit the merchant business and in February 1865 bought out all his partners except Samuel Andrews, a move he later referred to as having “determined my career.” Before the end of the year, the firm of Rockefeller & Andrews was operating the largest of Cleveland’s 30 refineries. Rockefeller then brought his brother, William Rockefeller, into the business and built a second refinery.



Industrialist, robber baron, and philanthropist John Davison Rockefeller was America’s richest man and the driving force behind Standard Oil. (Library of Congress)

A postwar drop in the oil market in 1867 wiped out several refineries, but John D. Rockefeller’s own remained strong, a credit to his efficiency and commitment. That year, he took in as a partner another talented businessman, Henry Flagler, who entered the partnership with capital, an ability to negotiate lower shipping rates with the railroads, and an austere, puritanical attitude that complemented Rockefeller’s own. The firm became known as Rockefeller, Andrews & Flagler. Despite chaotic conditions in an oil industry that was subject to sharp price fluctuations and unrestrained cutthroat competition, Rockefeller and his associates prospered.

To provide a more flexible organization, in 1870 the partners founded the Standard Oil Company of Ohio. Throughout the 1870s, the Standard Oil Company continued to expand. It did so by keeping production costs down, obtaining favorable rates from the railroads in the form of rebates, engaging in occasional price slashing, and buying out competitors (horizontal combination). By the mid-1870s, the company had either absorbed or forced out of business the majority of its rivals. Under Rockefeller’s skilled leadership, the company also pioneered in vertical integration within the oil industry, acquiring or building its own pipelines, controlling local distributors, and using its own tank cars. By 1880, Standard Oil had managed to secure a virtual monopoly over oil refining and transportation and had become one of the largest corporations in the United States.

Although Rockefeller's ruthless business practices brought him tremendous wealth, his reputation with the public suffered. With the public resoundingly convinced that everything Rockefeller did was motivated by greed, all of his ventures became tainted by public mistrust. In addition to becoming one of the wealthiest men in America, he entered the export market as well, shipping oil and kerosene to Asia, Africa, and South America. Throughout his career and amid widespread public disapproval, Rockefeller insisted that his drive was to bring order to the chaotic oil industry, known for its boom and bust cycles. He intended to provide the nation with a reliable energy source, and although he made money, accrued power, and crushed competitors, he allegedly saw these as secondary to his greater service.

In 1882, a Rockefeller attorney devised a new organization for the company called a trust, which placed Standard Oil stock and that of its subsidiaries in the hands of nine trustees. Because the trustees rather than the company held the stock, this allowed Standard Oil to circumvent laws that curtailed its right to own property outside Ohio. Within a short time, the term "trust" came to mean any big business combination, a recognition of the drive toward mammoth corporations accelerated by Rockefeller.

Newspapers, politicians, and the public increasingly attacked trusts, especially Standard Oil. Many suspected that Rockefeller and his associates had used illegal tactics and immoral business practices. Although Rockefeller paid fair market value for many companies that he acquired, he drove others into submission through cutthroat attacks, such as selling oil at a loss and then, after the competitor collapsed, driving up prices. He was also directly involved in bribing politicians. One observer commented that Standard Oil had done everything with the Pennsylvania legislature except refine it.

Antitrust legislation by Congress and a decision by the Ohio Supreme Court forced Rockefeller to disband his trust in 1892. He maintained centralized control, however, by simply transferring properties to subsidiary companies in several different states. In 1899, he placed Standard Oil in a New Jersey holding company, with himself as president and Flagler as vice president, in an effort to circumvent the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

Even as the public criticized and often condemned Rockefeller as a ruthless robber baron, he quietly gave much of his money away to charities and educational institutions, often under the guidance of the Baptist Church. He gave money to Spelman College in Georgia to educate African American women and founded the now-prestigious University of Chicago (ultimately giving it \$80 million). He spent a good deal of his time establishing philanthropic institutions, most prominently the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, founded in 1901, and the Rockefeller Foundation, chartered in 1913. The latter helped eliminate yellow fever, provided money to hospitals overseas, and extended relief assistance following World War I.

Rockefeller's wealth peaked at about \$900 million, an astronomical sum at the turn of the century; indeed, it was almost more

than the entire federal budget. His vast fortune qualifies him as the wealthiest man in American history. He ultimately gave away more than \$500 million.

Rockefeller had little to do with the corporation by the time Standard Oil endured the widely read attacks from muckraker Ida Tarbell in the *History of the Standard Oil Company* in 1904, and the U.S. Supreme Court ordered the breakup of Standard Oil in 1911 as a company in restraint of trade. Rockefeller died on May 23, 1937. He was an enigmatic business leader who denied a desire for great wealth but obtained it nevertheless, who praised competition but crushed it, and who shunned the public that scorned him but contributed lavishly to help it.

DINO E. BUENVIAJE

See also

Carnegie, Andrew; Railroads; Robber Barons

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Rodgers, Raymond Perry

Birth Date: December 20, 1849

Death Date: December 25, 1925

U.S. Navy officer. Raymond Perry Rodgers was born on December 20, 1849, in Washington, D.C., and was the son of Rear Admiral Christopher Raymond Perry Rodgers, the brother of Rear Admiral George Rodgers, and the grand-nephew of Commodores Oliver Hazard Perry and Matthew C. Perry. Raymond Rodgers graduated from the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, in 1868. He held a variety of land- and sea-based posts and was promoted to lieutenant in 1872, lieutenant commander in 1893, and commander in 1899.

Rodgers's expertise came in the area of intelligence, and he was appointed head of the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) in April 1885 as chief intelligence officer, a post he held until 1889. He was the second head of the agency, as the ONI had been established only in 1882. Appreciating the significance and importance of his agency, he developed close ties with other branches of the military establishment as well as other government entities, mainly the State Department in its dealings with Panama, Samoa, and Hawaii. His greatest contributions to naval intelligence came in the use of cryptography and technical research and employment of naval attachés to gather useful information. He was especially concerned about European colonial interests in South America within the purview of the 1823 Monroe Doctrine.

The importance of Rodgers's work became apparent when the ONI was transferred from the Bureau of Navigation to the office of the secretary of the navy. Rodgers's tenure also marked a period in which the ONI attracted young and capable talent, people who were eager to learn and make lasting contributions to naval intelligence. As a result of the ONI's contributions, increased demands were made upon it to gather more intelligence.

During the Spanish-American War, Rodgers served as executive officer of the battleship *Iowa* under Captain Robley D. Evans during the blockade of Cuba. As a result of Rodgers's participation in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3, 1898, during which Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's Spanish Squadron was destroyed as it attempted to break the blockade, Rodgers was cited for "imminent and conspicuous conduct" and advanced five number grades in rank.

After the war, Rodgers continued to advance in rank and responsibility. In April 1906, Rodgers, now a captain, was reassigned, again heading the ONI. On July 4, 1908, he was promoted to rear admiral. In May 1909, he left the ONI and retired from the navy shortly thereafter. On November 15, 1909, he was appointed to serve on a board with four other admirals charged with evaluating the expansion of naval yards. Rodgers died on December 25, 1925.

ARTHUR STEINBERG

See also

Cuba, U.S. Naval Blockade of; Evans, Robley Dunglison; Military Intelligence; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of

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Roosevelt, Theodore

Birth Date: October 27, 1858

Death Date: January 16, 1919

U.S. politician, author, historian, assistant secretary of the U.S. Navy (1897–1898), governor of New York (1899–1901), vice president (1901), and president of the United States (1901–1909). Born on October 27, 1858, in New York City to a prominent and wealthy family, Theodore Roosevelt grew up in a life of privilege, and as a youth he and his family traveled around the world. Although born with poor eyesight, asthma, and nervous digestion, he undertook an exercise regime that transformed him into a physically powerful person. His upbringing in the New York aristocracy taught him a sense of noblesse oblige. Educated by private tutors, he graduated with honors from Harvard University in 1880. He married his first wife, Alice Lee, in 1880 and embarked on a grand tour of Europe.



As assistant secretary of the U.S. Navy (1897–1898), Theodore Roosevelt helped prepare the navy for the Spanish-American War but resigned to serve in the 1st U.S. Volunteer Cavalry Regiment (Rough Riders). Roosevelt (shown here as a colonel) won national fame when he led his men on a charge up Kettle Hill in the fighting to secure Santiago de Cuba. This helped catapult him into the presidency (1901–1909). (Library of Congress)

His wife's death and the death of his mother in 1884, on the same day and in the same house, affected Roosevelt deeply.

Between 1884 and 1886, Roosevelt made a venture in cattle ranching in the Badlands (Dakota Territory), an enterprise he personally supervised. It failed after a disastrous blizzard killed off much of his herd. In 1886, he married Edith Carow, an old acquaintance. He was an especially prolific author who was fascinated with history. Between 1880 and 1900, he wrote many books on history and nature, including the acclaimed *The Naval War of 1812* (1892), the magisterial four-volume frontier history *The Winning of the West* (1889–1896), and *The Strenuous Life* (1900), Roosevelt's vision for leading an active and fulfilling life. As much an intellectual as a politician, he would later become president of the American Historical Association.

Estimated Casualties in the Battles at San Juan Heights (San Juan Hill and Kettle Hill) and El Caney

	<i>Killed in Action</i>	<i>Wounded</i>
Spain	215	376
United States	205	1,177

When Roosevelt was a law student at Harvard, he developed a belief in protecting the common good. He came to determine that he should work for the common good and that politics provided the best means by which to accomplish this. In 1881, he was elected as a Republican to the New York State Assembly. Exposed to the machine politics of the day, he soon developed his commitment to reform. He first gained publicity by attacking New York judge Theodore Westbrook for taking part in an illegal scheme to acquire an elevated train company. Roosevelt was hailed as a breath of fresh air for his candor and willingness to stand up to political machines such as New York City's Tammany Hall.

Roosevelt returned to politics in 1886 after his ranching adventure by running for the office of mayor of New York City but was unsuccessful. Between 1889 and 1895, he served as the civil service commissioner in Washington, D.C., a post that allowed him to pursue his reformist agenda. Indeed, he was allowed to retain the post even after Democrat Grover Cleveland won election in 1892. In 1895, Roosevelt became police commissioner for New York City. In 1896, realizing that he could not defeat Tammany Hall by himself, he tied his hopes to the Republican Party from which he hoped to gain a position after victory in the 1896 elections. Through his connections with Republican senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Roosevelt secured an appointment as assistant secretary of the navy in 1897.

During the 1890s, Roosevelt had been part of an influential circle of people in Washington who believed that the United States should play a larger role in international affairs. He was especially influenced by U.S. naval strategist Alfred Thayer Mahan, who argued that a large navy and adequate coaling stations to provision it were essential for the United States to achieve world power. As assistant secretary of the navy, Roosevelt had a grand vision of the United States, which included the acquisition of Hawaii and islands in the Caribbean, an isthmian canal across Central America, and a large U.S. naval fleet.

The deteriorating situation in Cuba and rising tensions between Spain and America presented a unique opportunity for Roosevelt to apply his world vision. The continuing conflict between Cuban revolutionaries and the Spanish colonial government in Cuba clearly threatened U.S. economic interests on the island. Roosevelt was especially eager to involve the United States in a war against Spain. Indeed, he told President William McKinley that in the event of war, he would immediately resign his post in the Navy Department and enlist in the army. Following the suspicious sinking of the *Maine* in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, that claimed 266 American

lives, and even as investigations were under way to determine the cause of the explosion, Roosevelt positioned warships in the Atlantic and the Pacific for action. He ordered Commodore George Dewey, commander of the U.S. Asiatic Squadron, to steam to Hong Kong and be prepared to take action against the Spanish fleet in the Philippines. At this time, Roosevelt had de facto control of the navy, as Secretary John D. Long was not active in its administration.

After the United States declared war on Spain on April 25, 1898, Roosevelt, determined to be a part of the war, promptly resigned his post. He faced skepticism from his friends and colleagues who tried to persuade him that the country required his services as assistant navy secretary more than on the battlefield. Roosevelt was also then 40 years old, not in the best of physical shape, and would be subject to malaria, yellow fever, and typhoid. With the assistance of Colonel Leonard Wood, however, Roosevelt helped recruit the 1st U.S. Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, which came to be known as the Rough Riders, a diverse group of western cowboys, New York policemen, lawyers, and Ivy League college graduates. The Rough Riders were trained in San Antonio before being transferred to Florida in preparation for being sent to Cuba in June 1898, where they would see action by month's end. Initially, Roosevelt held the rank of lieutenant colonel under Wood, but when Wood was advanced to brigadier general of volunteers, Roosevelt replaced him, now with the rank of colonel.

During the Battle of San Juan Hill on July 1, 1898, Roosevelt participated in taking Kettle Hill, a smaller hill adjacent to San Juan Hill. Roosevelt and his men faced Spanish resistance as they ascended the hill, and the torrid heat was affecting the men. Reaching a small trough in the climb, which allowed U.S. troops to regroup, the Rough Riders were now interspersed with men from other units, including U.S. Army regulars. Roosevelt ordered all of the men to charge the hill; many of the regulars refused because they had not received orders from the brigade commanders. Roosevelt simply by-passed them as his regiment pushed on. Near the top, he was forced to dismount. The Rough Riders made it to the top and in so doing became the grist for much propaganda and lore.

Roosevelt gained national prominence during his service with the Rough Riders, particularly at the Battle of Kettle Hill. Frederic Remington painted a famous depiction of this battle, which is erroneously titled *Charge of the Rough Riders at San Juan Hill*. Being a national hero enhanced Roosevelt's political prospects when he returned from Cuba, and he easily won the office of governor of New York in 1898. In that election, he ran again on a Progressive platform against the excesses of big business, particularly the railroads.

In the 1900 election, Roosevelt became the vice presidential candidate of the Republican Party with presidential candidate William McKinley. Party bosses in New York saw this as a way to marginalize Roosevelt politically. The McKinley-Roosevelt ticket won an easy victory. On September 6, 1901, however, McKinley was shot at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, by anarchist Leon Czolgosz and died on September 14. Roosevelt was now president of the United States, the youngest man ever to hold the office.

Secure in his destiny, Roosevelt was not overwhelmed by the presidency, and he went on to transform the image of the presidency. His energy, young family, social prominence, and reputation as a war hero endeared him to the public. His domestic policy was marked by his relentless Progressivism, which aimed at regulating business, breaking up trusts, and giving the American voter a square deal. In 1902, he successfully mediated the disruptive anthracite coal strike. He was also instrumental in the dismemberment of the Northern Securities Company, which John Pierpont Morgan had formed to manage his railroad empire. Roosevelt also conserved 51 million acres of western land as national forests while president. Elected in his own right in 1904 by a landslide, he pushed through a series of landmark progressive reforms: the Hepburn Act (1906) strengthened the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate railroad rates, the Meat Inspection Act (1906) regulated the meatpacking industry, and the Pure Food and Drug Act (1906) established the Food and Drug Administration.

As president, Roosevelt applied his own vision for U.S. foreign policy. Victory over Spain announced the arrival of the United States as an international power. Indeed, the United States had acquired Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands. One manifestation of the new, more aggressive U.S. foreign policy, known as the Big Stick, came in 1902 when Roosevelt prevented Germany's encroachment in Venezuela by offering arbitration between both countries over Venezuela's international debts. A similar crisis in the Dominican Republic in 1903 led Roosevelt to announce the 1904 Roosevelt Corollary to the 1823 Monroe Doctrine, which not only stated that the Western Hemisphere was off limits to European exploitation but also asserted that the United States had the right to intervene in the hemisphere when it saw fit to do so.

By far the most controversial event in Roosevelt's Big Stick diplomacy came as a result of his desire to build the Panama Canal. The Spanish-American War had demonstrated the necessity of a canal connecting the Atlantic and the Pacific across Central America. Nicaragua had originally been considered a possible site for construction, but a volcano eruption led to reconsideration of the Panama route. Roosevelt then participated in the intrigues behind the acquisition of the rights to build a canal through Panama. When the Colombian Senate rejected the Hay-Herrán Treaty to purchase land for a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, Roosevelt encouraged a revolt and then prevented the Colombians from suppressing it, allowing the United States to enter into the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty to build the canal with the new country of Panama in 1903.

Roosevelt also fostered a rapprochement with Britain, sought by London because of Germany's decision to build a powerful battle fleet. The resolution of lingering disputes with Britain allowed for full U.S. hegemony in the Western Hemisphere and provided a community of interest that would lead to the United States entering World War I on the side of Britain. In 1905, Roosevelt mediated the end of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), which garnered him the 1905 Nobel Peace Prize. This was followed by his efforts to help mediate the First Moroccan Crisis between France

and Germany at the 1906 Algeiras Conference. Before he left the presidency, he sent off the Great White Fleet in 1908 on a cruise around the world as a showcase of U.S. naval power.

Although Roosevelt had easily won a second term in 1904, he had promised not to run for a third term. Before leaving office in 1909, he had groomed William Howard Taft as his successor. Roosevelt hoped that Taft would continue his Progressive legacy. But such was not the case. Taft, who became president in 1909, filled his cabinet with businessmen and establishment scions who had little use for Progressive reforms. Roosevelt broke with Taft and challenged him for the 1912 Republican nomination. When that effort failed, Roosevelt ran as an independent under the Progressive Party (also known as the Bull Moose Party). Roosevelt split the Republican vote, which handed the presidency to Democrat Woodrow Wilson.

Roosevelt continued as a prominent figure in American politics. He also embarked on a series of hunting adventures that earned him much publicity. They included an African safari and an expedition into the Amazon jungle, about which he wrote *Through the Brazilian Wilderness* in 1913. He was openly critical of Wilson's foreign policy, which he claimed was weak, and vociferously worked for U.S. intervention in World War I (1914–1918). In 1918, Roosevelt's son Quentin was killed in action in Europe. Devastated by the loss and hobbled by poor health, Roosevelt died on January 16, 1919, at Oyster Bay, New York.

DINO E. BUENVIAJE

See also

Imperialism; Kettle Hill, Battle of; Long, John Davis; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; *Maine*, USS; McKinley, William; Remington, Frederic Sack-rider; San Juan Heights, Battle of; United States Navy; Wood, Leonard

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Roosevelt Corollary

Controversial addendum to the Monroe Doctrine by President Theodore Roosevelt in his 1904 address to Congress. Although the

Monroe Doctrine of 1823 had forbade further European colonization in the Western Hemisphere and European interference in the newly independent republics in Latin America, the United States had not been in a position to enforce it at the time. Indeed, the British had called for a joint declaration, but Secretary of State John Quincy Adams had convinced President James Monroe to proceed independently because the United States could count on Great Britain to enforce it. Nevertheless, the United States did invoke the Monroe Doctrine throughout the 19th century, the most notable instance coming after Napoleon III installed Austrian archduke Maximilian in Mexico during the American Civil War. U.S. pressure after the war combined with the need for French troops in Europe prompted Napoleon III to withdraw French forces from Mexico.

As the United States began construction of a modern navy in the 1880s, it gained the means not only to enforce the Monroe Doctrine but also to exert its influence in Latin America. During the 1880s, Secretary of State James G. Blaine pursued a policy of Pan-Americanism that sought to strengthen American economic interests in Latin America and establish the right of the United States to arbitrate international disputes involving Latin American nations. Although Blaine's efforts to secure treaties to this effect were rejected by Latin American countries, who viewed U.S. intentions with suspicion, Venezuela sought U.S. arbitration in 1895 when it became involved in a dispute with Great Britain over its boundary with British Guiana. When the British resisted, Secretary of State Richard B. Olney invoked the Monroe Doctrine, declaring that "Today, the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition." The British ultimately accepted American arbitration primarily because Britain did not want to risk a conflict with the United States at a time when it faced a potential war with the Boers in South Africa.

With the First Venezuela Crisis (1895–1897) establishing a clear precedent and the United States establishing itself as a world power after the Spanish-American War, the stage was set for the United States to enforce the Monroe Doctrine with or without the request of Latin American nations. When General Cipriano Castro seized power in Venezuela in 1899 and suspended payment of Venezuela's international debts, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy ultimately imposed a pacific blockade of Venezuela. Although the United States did not intervene in the crisis, which was ultimately resolved by the international court at The Hague, the potential for similar crises in the Western Hemisphere prompted Roosevelt to take preemptive action.

In his December 6, 1904, address to Congress, Roosevelt issued his corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, declaring that it "may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power." When the Dominican Republic faced a default on its debts in 1905, Roosevelt invoked the Roosevelt Corollary, declaring that the United States would not permit a European nation to

forcibly collect debts in the Western Hemisphere and that the United States would assume the responsibility of ensuring that states fulfilled their debt obligations. Roosevelt dispatched troops to Santo Domingo, placed a receiver-general in charge of Dominican revenues, and arranged for 55 percent of receipts to be applied to debts. Within two years, the Dominican Republic's debts had been paid.

Although Roosevelt's intentions were altruistic, the application of the Roosevelt Corollary generated ill will with Latin American nations, especially when combined with the Platt Amendment's authorization of the right of American intervention and the U.S. role in orchestrating a revolution in Panama to secure the Panama Canal Zone. Ironically, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy marked an abandonment of the Roosevelt Corollary.

JUSTIN D. MURPHY

See also

Blaine, James Gillespie; Hay–Bunau-Varilla Treaty; Hay-Herrán Treaty; Monroe Doctrine; Olney, Richard; Panama Canal; Platt Amendment; Roosevelt Corollary; Venezuela Crisis, First; Venezuela Crisis, Second

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Root, Elihu

Birth Date: February 15, 1845

Death Date: February 7, 1937

U.S. secretary of war (1899–1904), secretary of state (1905–1909), winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, and U.S. senator (1909–1915). Elihu Root was born in Clinton, New York, on February 15, 1845. After graduating from Hamilton College in Clinton in 1864, he obtained his law degree from New York University Law School in 1867 and became a successful corporate attorney. He became directly involved in politics for the first time when he served as U.S. district attorney for the southern district of New York from 1883 to 1885. In 1894, he managed the state constitutional convention of New York and the following year became that body's president.

When Theodore Roosevelt began his political career by unsuccessfully campaigning for mayor of New York City, Root served as his confidant and adviser. His close relationship to Roosevelt was a major factor in President William McKinley's decision to choose Root as the secretary of war in 1899. At first, Root was reluctant to accept the appointment. He told the emissary of the news, "Thank the President for me, but say that it is quite absurd. I know nothing



Elihu Root was a highly effective secretary of war (1899–1904) who carried out much-needed reforms following the Spanish-American War. He later served as secretary of state (1905–1909) and won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1912. (Library of Congress)

about war.” It was not until it was explained to him that it would be his responsibility to establish and direct the governments of the newly acquired colonies of the Philippines and Puerto Rico that Root changed his mind. This was a task for which he believed he was well trained.

Root’s immediate problem was to secure adequate manpower for U.S. forces to crush the Filipino insurgency. Although he stressed guarantees of individual liberties in Puerto Rico and the Philippines, he placed the protection of U.S. interests first and accepted responsibility for the army’s brutal crushing of the Philippine independence effort.

Root turned out to be one of the most important U.S. secretaries of war. He pushed for a larger U.S. military establishment as necessary to meet the expanded U.S. overseas commitments following the war with Spain and to garrison the new U.S. coast fortifications. He advocated the creation of a staff organization to study military issues and carry out war planning and a similar agency to evaluate weapons and make recommendations regarding them. He wanted a better system of officer promotion and training that would include large bodies of troops. He also saw the need for an extensive reserve system of trained men to augment the regular military es-

tablishment. In addition, he was behind the Platt Amendment, which established a virtual protectorate over Cuba.

In February 1901, Congress fixed the regular army at 30 regiments of infantry, 15 regiments of cavalry, 3 battalions of engineers, and a corps of artillery that included both field batteries and fortress companies. Total manpower would vary between 60,000 and 100,000 men at the discretion of the president. Also in 1901, Root saw his recommendation for creation of the Army War College realized when it was established by executive order.

Roosevelt became president in September 1901 on the death of McKinley. While chiefly interested in the navy, Roosevelt nonetheless supported Root in his reforms. Finally in 1903, after some opposition and compromise, Congress passed bills that established the General Staff and included a compromise with the National Guard (the Militia Act of 1903, also known as the Dick Act).

The new legislation abolished the office of commanding general and replaced it with the position of chief of staff as the highest-ranking army officer and senior military adviser to the president and his secretary of war. He would also have control over the staff bureaus. Previously, the commanding general had been the most senior officer in the army and remained in the office for the rest of his military career. The new chief of staff was appointed for a limited term only. The legislation also did away with permanent appointments to the new General Staff Corps.

The Militia Act of 1903 repealed the Militia Act of 1792. It recognized the wholly volunteer National Guard as the organized militia and the first-line military reserve. The National Guard was to be organized, trained, and equipped as the regular army. Under provisions of the act, the federal government undertook to provide weapons and equipment as well as furnish regular army officers as instructors. The act also imposed minimum standards of drill and an annual encampment.

Root also oversaw the introduction of new weapons, especially the superb Model 1903 .30-caliber Springfield, which was for a generation one of the best rifles in the world. It remained the basic infantry weapon for the army until World War II. The artillery also received new modern field guns to replace the black powder guns on fixed carriages with which it had gone to Cuba.

Root had carried out major reforms in the U.S. military. In 1904, exhausted by his labors, he resigned. But two years later, after the death of John Hay, President Roosevelt appointed Root secretary of state.

As secretary of state from 1905 to 1909, Root worked to improve relations with Latin America and Japan. During a tour of Latin America in 1906, he succeeded in easing tensions that had risen over U.S. actions in Panama. In 1908, he managed to convince Japan to confirm the U.S. Open Door Policy in China with the Root-Takahira Agreement.

In 1909, Root accepted appointment to the U.S. Senate. He had never run for office because he feared the political capital his opponent might make of the fact that Root had been William Marcy Tweed’s defense attorney in Tweed’s 1873 trial for corruption of

urban politics. Tweed, leader of the Tammany Hall political machine, was eventually convicted of establishing political corruption in New York on an unprecedented scale.

The next year, in addition to fulfilling his Senate duties, Root served as chief U.S. consul of the International Court of Justice at The Hague in the North Atlantic fisheries arbitration case. The Permanent Court of Arbitration settled the dispute between the United States and Great Britain over Canadian and U.S. territorial fishing rights in the North Atlantic. In recognition of his work as secretary of state and at The Hague in favor of the use of diplomacy and arbitration to settle international disputes, Root was awarded the 1912 Nobel Peace Prize.

As chairman of the Republican National Convention in 1912, Root ended his long personal friendship with Roosevelt. Root believed himself obligated as a matter of principle to support William Howard Taft's reelection. Roosevelt never fully forgave Root for this.

A strong proponent of the defeat of Germany in World War I, Root was critical of President Woodrow Wilson's policy of neutrality but did not criticize him until after retiring from the Senate in 1915. After the war, Root, with reservations designed to assure critics of American sovereignty, advocated U.S. membership in the League of Nations. In 1920, he helped to create the league's Permanent Court of International Justice. As president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace from 1910 to 1925, he worked for the free international exchange of scientific knowledge.

In 1921, Root accepted his last diplomatic appointment. President Warren Harding selected him to be one of the four U.S. delegates to the International Conference on the Limitation of Armaments in Washington, D.C. (commonly known as the Washington Naval Conference). Root died in Clinton, New York, on February 7, 1937.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; McKinley, William; Militia Act of 1903; Platt Amendment; Roosevelt, Theodore

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Rough Riders

Popular name for the U.S. 1st Volunteer Cavalry Regiment during the Spanish-American War. The Rough Riders were perhaps the most unusual aggregation of soldiers in the history of the U.S. military. Certainly, it was the most famous and colorful army unit of the Spanish-American War.

As part of the nation's military mobilization for the recently declared war with Spain, a congressional authorization granted President William McKinley the power to enlist special regiments composed of individuals who possessed unique (or at least special) skills. This mandate led to the formation of the 1st U.S. Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, which came to be known as the Rough Riders.

Initially, command of the regiment was offered to Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt. He declined, saying that he would agree to serve as second-in-command to his friend Leonard Wood, army doctor and personal physician to McKinley. Wood had distinguished himself in fighting against the Apaches in the American West and had won the Medal of Honor. The gesture by Roosevelt most likely was not made out of modesty but because he recognized that he had no experience in commanding troops and that his own position as well as that of the regiment would be far better served if he accepted the rank of lieutenant colonel and second-in-command.

Once formation of the regiment was announced on April 25, 1898, applications poured in. The press wasted no time focusing on Roosevelt as a story source. Although Wood was the regimental commander and was an officer with considerable experience on the western frontier, he was scarcely mentioned in their reports. But the undue attention accorded Roosevelt seemed not to overly disturb Wood, who left Washington, D.C., for San Antonio, Texas, in early May to prepare for the regiment's training. Roosevelt followed two weeks later.

Recruits from Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and Indian Territory as well as the East arrived in San Antonio, where the regiment was mustered during May 1–21. The regimental headquarters was the Menger Hotel, the oldest hotel in Texas (and still operating today), which is adjacent to the Alamo. Ultimately, the regiment included 994 enlisted men and 47 officers. More than half of the men came from Texas, New Mexico, and Indian Territory. Ninety were from New York, and almost as many were foreign-born. The regiment included 160 cowboys, young men from the eastern social elite, college students, New York City policemen, Indians and Indian fighters, lawyers, and Texas Rangers, among others.

Accompanying the men were arms, equipment, and horses. The actual training ground for the regiment was at Riverside Park on the San Antonio River, south of the city. The regiment soon developed a reputation both for its dash and lack of discipline. On May 27, the regiment received orders to move to Tampa, Florida, where Major General William R. Shafter's V Corps was assembling for the forthcoming U.S. invasion of Cuba.

The appellation "Rough Riders" was coined early on and was derived from "Roosevelt's Rough Riders." Among names suggested at the time were "Teddy's Terrors," "Teddy's Terriers," and "Teddy's Texas Tarantulas." Insofar as the press was concerned, at least, the unit clearly was Roosevelt's regiment.

Finally, on May 30, 1898, the Rough Riders boarded a train for the journey to Tampa, where they arrived on June 4. The next week was spent preparing for the upcoming Cuba Campaign before or-



Colonel Theodore Roosevelt shown with members of the 1st U.S. Volunteer Cavalry Regiment (Rough Riders) at the summit of San Juan Hill. (Library of Congress)

ders finally came down to board ship. Lack of space on the transport permitted Wood and Roosevelt to take only 8 of their 12 cavalry troops. Moreover, there was no room for the unit's horses except for the personal mounts of the senior officers.

On June 14, 1898, the Rough Riders sailed from Tampa on the *Yucatan*. They disembarked at Daiquirí on June 22. The Rough Riders were assigned to Brigadier General Samuel Young's brigade of Major General Joseph Wheeler's Dismounted Cavalry Division. Consisting of 26 officers and 557 enlisted men, the regiment fought in the Battle of Las Guásimas (June 24, 1898) and sustained casualties of 8 killed and 31 wounded.

When Young fell ill, Colonel Wood replaced him in command of the cavalry brigade, and this led in turn to Roosevelt's appointment to command the Rough Riders. He led the unit during the Battle of San Juan Hill (July 1, 1898) with which the Rough Riders will forever be linked. Contrary to popular belief, the Rough Riders did not actually charge up San Juan Hill but rather charged up nearby Kettle Hill. After securing Kettle Hill, Roosevelt led the regiment across the intervening ground to assist Brigadier General Jacob F. Kent's

infantry in its assault of San Juan Hill, both of which were part of San Juan Heights. In the battle, the unit sustained casualties of 15 killed and 72 wounded.

The Rough Riders departed Santiago, Cuba, on August 8 in the transport *Miami*, landing at Camp Wikoff on Montauk Point at Long Island, New York, on August 14. The remaining Rough Riders who had been left behind in Tampa rejoined the unit at New York, where the unit was disbanded on September 15, 1898, with 1,090 enlisted men and 47 officers. During the war, the Rough Riders had sustained casualties of 26 killed and 104 wounded. Another 20 died from disease, while 12 deserted. The casualty rate of 27 percent for those who saw actual service in Cuba was the highest of any American unit in the war.

JERRY KEENAN AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Kent, Jacob Ford; Kettle Hill, Battle of; Las Guásimas, Battle of; McKinley, William; Roosevelt, Theodore; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Wheeler, Joseph; Wood, Leonard; Young, Samuel Baldwin Marks

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Round-Robin Letter

Start Date: July 31, 1898

End Date: August 4, 1898

A controversial sequence of events that transpired between July 31 and August 4, 1898, centered around the fate of the U.S. Army's V Corps, then fighting in Cuba at the height of the malaria and yellow fever season. Immediately following the fall of Santiago de Cuba on July 17, fever cases in V Corps had increased steadily. By July 28, 4,270 men were reported sick, 3,406 of them diagnosed with malaria or yellow fever. As the corps seemingly faced potential annihilation from disease, V Corps commander Major General William R. Shafter convened a special meeting of division and brigade commanders at the Governor's Palace in Santiago. In the ensuing discussions, the assembled officers agreed unanimously that War Department plans to retain V Corps in Cuba until the signing of a peace treaty with Spain would be disastrous for the command, and they recommended immediate evacuation to the United States.

Those present assigned Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, former assistant secretary of the navy and temporary commander of the 2nd Brigade of the Cavalry Division, with conveying this information to the press. He was selected because as a volunteer officer and former high-ranking government official, he was more likely to escape punishment for insubordination than the regular officers present. Initially leaning toward holding a press conference, he was convinced by his friend and commander Brigadier General Leonard Wood to instead compose a letter to Major General Shafter outlining the situation and recommendations.

Simultaneously, Wood dictated an abridged version of Roosevelt's letter for circulation among and signature by all present. In this shorter circular, known as the Round-Robin Letter, Wood and Roosevelt bluntly assessed the situation: "This army must be re-

moved at once, or perish. As the army can be safely moved now, the persons responsible for preventing such a move will be responsible for the unnecessary loss of many thousands of lives."

Both letters were presented to Shafter upon completion. Shafter later refused to acknowledge either of the two letters to Secretary of War Russell A. Alger. Roosevelt reported a different story, however. He asserted that Shafter was aware of the entire process but refused to take any ownership of the letters when presented to him. Instead, he ordered that they be immediately handed off to an Associated Press (AP) reporter present at the meeting.

Regardless of the immediate chain of events, the outcome was soon felt throughout the William McKinley administration. McKinley was outraged by the leak, and Secretary Alger considered a round of courts-martial for all signatories of the letter. The letter itself came at an awkward time, appearing at the start of peace negotiations with Spain. Fears that the Spanish would capitalize on the revelations in the Round-Robin Letter were unrealized, however.

More significant was the public response to the first news that the situation in Cuba was more dire than hitherto reported. A public outcry for the immediate repatriation of V Corps erupted, with many pundits both lionizing Roosevelt for speaking truth to power and condemning Alger for ignoring the plight of American soldiers. Such attacks on Alger were unfounded, however. On July 28, he cabled Shafter of the imminent evacuation of V Corps and its replacement with four regiments of Immunes (troops from southern states who were incorrectly deemed immune to tropical diseases).

That same day, Alger selected eastern Long Island, New York, as the site for a repatriation center and quarantine camp (to be called Camp Wikoff) for V Corps. On August 3, the day before the letter appeared in the press, construction contracts were issued, and the first trainloads of building supplies began to appear at the site. Likewise, a flotilla of hospital ships and hurriedly contracted freighters and steamers were en route for Santiago to begin the evacuation. On August 7, the first units of V Corps began to embark on vessels for the journey north to Long Island.

Yet the damage to Alger's reputation—and the boost to that of Roosevelt—was already done. Dogged by controversy and criticism over the so-called abandonment of V Corps, Alger resigned on September 27, 1899. In his subsequent memoir, he claimed that the Round-Robin Letter had absolutely no effect on the repatriation of V Corps. Alternatively, the Round-Robin Letter did as much for Roosevelt's reputation as his leadership at San Juan Hill. Not only was Roosevelt seen as a bold hero in battle, but he was also portrayed as a strong paternal figure, motivated only by concern for the welfare of the common soldier.

BOB A. WINTERMUTE

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; Camp Wikoff; V Corps; Malaria; McKinley, William; Medicine, Military; Roosevelt, Theodore; Shafter, William Rufus; Typhoid Fever; Wood, Leonard; Yellow Fever

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Rowan, Andrew Summers

Birth Date: April 23, 1857

Death Date: January 10, 1943

U.S. Army officer who enjoyed an entirely undistinguished military career except for a secret mission to Cuba during the Spanish-American War. Born in Gap Mills, Virginia (later West Virginia), on April 23, 1857, Andrew Summers Rowan followed his father, a colonel in the Confederate Army, into the military. Rowan graduated from the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1881.

Commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry on June 11, 1881, Rowan was assigned to the 15th Infantry Regiment. He held a succession of routine assignments in the American West, serving in frontier posts in Texas, Colorado, and the Dakotas. Pro-

moted to first lieutenant on November 20, 1890, he performed some survey work and also served briefly as military attaché to Chile.

In 1892, Rowan was assigned to the Military Information Division (MID), the forerunner of Army Intelligence. Early in 1898 with war with Spain looming, the head of the MID, Lieutenant Colonel Arthur L. Wagner, dispatched Rowan on a secret mission to Cuba to assess the strengths of Cuban insurgents and Spanish forces on the island. Rowan's knowledge of Spanish, the fact that he had studied the island, and his hobby of mountain climbing all helped earn him the assignment.

Taking a ship to Jamaica, Rowan made contact with Cuban revolutionaries, who arranged for him to enter Cuba secretly by fishing boat on April 24, 1898. Trekking through jungle, he met with General Calixto García y Iñiguez of the Cuban Revolutionary Army. On completion of his 11-day mission, Rowan returned to the United States. For his mission, Rowan, promoted to captain on April 26, was subsequently awarded the Distinguished Service Cross.

Rowan's experience in Cuba was later immortalized in Elbert Hubbard's factually inaccurate account, "A Message to García," published in the March 1899 issue of his monthly magazine, *The Philistine*. The article actually had little to do with Rowan's mission (there was, for example, no message in a "sealed oilskin pouch" from President William McKinley to García) and was largely an

ROWAN'S ROUTE ACROSS CUBA, 1898





Lieutenant (later major) Andrew Summers Rowan served as liaison between the United States and Cuban rebels during the Spanish-American War. His experience was the inspiration for Elbert Hubbard's factually inaccurate tale "A Message to Garcia." (Library of Congress)

unvarnished appeal to workers to obey authority and to place duty above all else. Promoted to lieutenant colonel of volunteers on May 3, 1898, Rowan was mustered out of volunteer service on March 15, 1899. Following the Spanish-American War, he served in the Philippines and spent a year teaching military science in Kansas. Rowan retired from the army as a major in May 1899 and died on January 10, 1943.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

García y Iñiguez, Calixto; "Message to Garcia, A"; Military Intelligence

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Rubens, Horatio Seymour

Birth Date: June 6, 1869

Death Date: April 8, 1941

New York City attorney and chief counsel for the Cuban Junta. Born on June 6, 1869, Horatio Seymour Rubens became close friends with José Martí y Pérez, founder of the Cuban Revolutionary Party, and performed free legal work for the organization. Beginning in 1895, Rubens's law office at 66 Broadway in New York City became the headquarters of the so-called Peanut Club, which sponsored press conferences for newspaper reporters, including correspondents from leading New York City newspapers. The conferences, over which Rubens himself usually presided, were so-named because Cuban Junta officials always had copious amounts of peanuts on hand for reporters to eat.

It was Rubens who passed on to the press the notorious private letter critical of President William McKinley written by Spanish minister to the United States Enrique Dupuy de Lôme to Spanish editor and politician José Canalejas. The letter was published in William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* on February 9, 1898. In April 1898, learning that the McKinley administration did not intend to recognize the Cuban Republic, Rubens spoke out publicly in strong language, charging that for the United States to invade Cuba without recognition of the insurgent leadership would in effect be a declaration of war against the Cuban revolution. His statement greatly embarrassed the Cuban insurgent leadership.

Following the war, Rubens served as a legal counsel to the U.S. military government in Cuba. In 1932, he published a book, *Liberty: The Story of Cuba*. Rubens died in Garrison, New York, on April 8, 1941.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cuban Junta; Cuban Revolutionary Party; Dupuy de Lôme-Canalejas Letter; Hearst, William Randolph; Martí y Pérez, José Julián; McKinley, William; Peanut Club

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Rubín Homent, Antero

Birth Date: February 15, 1851

Death Date: 1923

Spanish general and political leader. Born on February 15, 1851, Antero Rubín Homent followed his father, a career Spanish Army

officer, into the military. Rubín joined the army at age 15 in May 1866 and the next year volunteered for service in Cuba. Returning to Spain as a lieutenant, he began his military studies at Vigo and Santiago de Compostella.

In 1869, Captain Rubín returned to Cuba, where he participated in putting down the Cuban insurgency of the Ten Years' War (1868–1878). He also saw service in Spain during the Third Carlist War (1872–1876). Again in Cuba, he was seriously wounded at the outbreak of the Cuban revolt of 1895.

Promoted to brigadier general on February 4, 1898, Rubín took command of the Regimiento de María Cristina. During the Spanish-American War, he commanded the 1,500 Spanish troops in the Battle of Las Guásimas on June 24, 1898. He then obeyed orders to withdraw to Santiago in order to avoid being cut off. On July 1, he directed Spanish forces in the Battle of San Juan Hill during which his horse was shot from underneath him.

Rubín emerged from the war with his military reputation intact and was repatriated to Spain in August 1898. Promoted to major general in 1908 and to lieutenant general in 1916, he was appointed captain-general of Galicia in 1917. Rubín retired from the army in 1923 and died that same year.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Las Guásimas, Battle of; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign

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Rusling, James Fowler

Birth Date: April 14, 1834

Death Date: April 1, 1918

Lawyer, U.S. Army general during the American Civil War, and author. Born in Warren County, New Jersey, on April 14, 1834, James Fowler Rusling graduated from Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1854, and then taught at the Dickinson Williamsport Seminary until 1857. He was admitted to the bar in Pennsylvania that same year and then in 1859 was admitted to the bar in New Jersey, where he set up a private practice in Trenton.

In August 1861 during the Civil War, Rusling was commissioned a first lieutenant of the 5th New Jersey Volunteer Infantry Regiment. That October he was a captain and quartermaster of the 2nd Division of III Corps. Promoted to lieutenant colonel in May 1863, he became quartermaster of III Corps. At the end of the war, he was the inspector of the Quartermaster Department of the army, and in February 1866, he was breveted brigadier general of volunteers.

Rusling left the army and returned to his law practice in September 1867. He wrote several books, among them *The Great West and the Pacific Coast* (1877) and *Men and Things I Saw in Civil War Days* (1899). He was a tax commissioner in New Jersey during 1896 and a trustee of Dickinson College from 1861 to 1883 and again from 1904 until his death.

A devout Methodist who also wrote church hymns, Rusling was a member of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. As a member of that church's General Missionary Committee, he was part of a delegation that met with President William McKinley on November 21, 1898. A major issue at the time was the U.S. government's decision to acquire all of the Philippine Islands from Spain. In "Interview with President William McKinley" in the January 22, 1899, issue of *The Christian Advocate*, Rusling published an account of that meeting, reporting the president as having told the group the following:

The truth is I didn't want the Philippines and when they came to us as a gift from the gods, I did not know what to do about them. . . . I sought counsel from all sides—Democrats as well as Republicans—but got little help. I thought first we should take only Manila; then Luzon; then other islands, perhaps, also. I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight; and I am not ashamed to tell you, gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed Almighty God for light and guidance more than one night.

And one night late it came to me this way—I don't know how it was, but it came: (1) that we could not give them back to Spain—that would be cowardly and dishonorable; (2) that we could not turn them over to France or Germany—our commercial rivals in the Orient—that would be bad business and discreditable; (3) that we could not leave them to themselves—they were unfit for self-government—and they would soon have anarchy and misrule over there worse than Spain's was; and (4) that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellow-men for whom Christ also died. And then I went to bed, and went to sleep and slept soundly.

This account was widely circulated, but there was never any corroboration of it. A further question of the account also arises in that Rusling used much the same language in his 1899 book on the American Civil War in which he describes Lincoln receiving divine inspiration before giving the Gettysburg Address.

Rusling died in Trenton on April 1, 1918.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

McKinley, William; Philippine Islands, U.S. Acquisition of

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Russo-Japanese War

Start Date: February 10, 1904

End Date: September 5, 1905

In the 1890s, Russia temporarily set aside its ambitions in the Balkans to seek influence over or outright control of Manchuria and Korea. These would provide warm-water ports to supplement Vladivostok, which was closed by ice part of each year. Control of Manchuria would also allow Russia to establish a more direct rail line to Vladivostok.

Following the 1894–1895 Sino-Japanese War, Russia posed as the defender of Chinese territorial integrity to advance its own position in China, including a lease on the Liaodong (Liaotung) Peninsula, which had been surrendered to Japan in the Treaty of Shimonoseki only to have European powers force Japan to return it to China. The Russians then proceeded to build a naval base at Port Arthur on the Liaodong Peninsula, infuriating the Japanese who became further angered when Russia sent troops into Manchuria during the 1900 Boxer Rebellion and maintained them there afterward.

Tsar Nicholas II and most of his advisers were determined to take Manchuria and even Korea, which the Japanese considered part of their sphere of influence. In 1902, Japan secured an alliance with Great Britain. Directed against Russia, the alliance provided for both powers to maintain a benevolent neutrality in the event of war with another power and, more important, provided for naval cooperation should either face a war with two powers. At the same time, Japan's efforts to secure a compromise agreement with Russia met with delaying tactics from St. Petersburg. Believing correctly that the Russian government was simply stalling, Tokyo then broke off diplomatic relations. Apparently, Nicholas II and most of his advisers wanted war but on Russian terms. They were certain that Japan would never instigate a war. However, the Japanese decided not to wait for Russia's convenience and prepared a preemptive strike against the Russian naval base at Port Arthur to secure control of the seas, an essential precondition for the transportation of troops to Manchuria and Korea.

To the casual observer, the war appeared to be a mismatch. Although Russia was vastly superior in resources and manpower (its army numbered on paper some 4.5 million men), it was seriously handicapped at the outset of the war because it was unable to bring its full strength to bear. The conflict was far distant from the heart of Russia, and troops and supplies had to be shipped 5,500 miles over the single-track Trans-Siberian railway. A gap in the line at Lake Baikal complicated logistical problems.

The Russian Navy was divided into three main squadrons, again widely separated—the Baltic, the Black Sea, and the Pacific—and



Two Russian warships shown here wrecked in the harbor in December 1904 during the Japanese siege of Port Arthur. (Library of Congress)

it was difficult to concentrate them. Russian troops lacked enthusiasm for the war, the purpose of which they either did not understand or did not approve. Indeed, the war never received the wholehearted support of the Russian people. Inefficiency and corruption, which had so often undermined Russian armies in the past, again appeared in this conflict. Finally, it was Russia's misfortune to have a supreme command lacking both initiative and strategic ability.

Japan, on the other hand, had a highly disciplined, efficient, and enthusiastic army and navy. Japan's military was well trained and ably led and was loyally supported by the populace at home. Many of the more powerful ships of the Japanese Navy were new. Furthermore, Japan was in close proximity to the seat of hostilities and, assuming control of the sea, could place its forces in the field with a minimum of difficulty.

On February 6, 1904, Vice Admiral Togo Heihachiro's Combined Fleet departed for Port Arthur. At the same time, Vice Admiral Uryu Sotokichi sailed with a squadron for Korea to ensure the safe landing of transports bearing troops of the army's 12th Division. Two days later, on February 8, Uryu's squadron arrived at Chemulpo (present-day Inchon) and the next day engaged two of three Russian ships there, damaging them. The Russian crews then scuttled all three vessels.

In the Pacific, aside from the warships at Chemulpo, the Russians had at Vladivostok 4 first-class cruisers and 17 torpedo boats. But their most powerful ships—7 battleships and 4 cruisers—were at Port Arthur. Because the Japanese had cut the cable between Port Arthur and Korea early on February 7, the Russians did not know of the Chemulpo attack.

During the night of February 8–9, 1904, Togo launched a surprise torpedo attack against the Russian squadron, then just outside the harbor at Port Arthur. In the attack, two Russian battleships and a cruiser were badly damaged. The next day, Togo brought up his heavy ships to shell the shore batteries, the town, and Russian ships from long range. Although four Russian ships were damaged, most Japanese vessels were also hit, and Togo reluctantly ordered the Combined Fleet to withdraw. There were no pangs of conscience in Tokyo over these surprise attacks, and not until February 10 did Japan formally declare war.

The Japanese were frustrated at their inability to destroy the Russian naval forces at Port Arthur in the initial attack, and they were now obliged to keep up the pressure and adopt attrition tactics. A new Russian commander, Vice Admiral Stepan Ossipovitch Makarov, took command at Port Arthur and initiated a series of sorties to harass the Japanese cruisers while avoiding contact with Togo's battleships. Both sides also laid minefields, but Makarov was killed and his battleship lost when it ran over a known Japanese minefield in April. The Japanese also lost two battleships to mines off Port Arthur. But eventually, Japanese troops cut off Port Arthur from the land side and drove the tsar's forces back to the north.

Following the first Japanese land assault on Port Arthur, Nicholas II ordered Admiral Vilgelm Vitgeft, Makarov's successor, to break free and steam to Vladivostok. Vitgeft was determined to take the whole squadron and on August 10, 1904, sortied with 18 ships. That afternoon, Togo closed on the Russians with 34 ships and 29 torpedo boats. In the Battle of the Yellow Sea, Togo's omnipresent good luck held. Although themselves struck hard, the Japanese ships scored two hits late in the day that killed Vitgeft and put the flagship out of control and the Russian battle line into complete confusion. The Russian squadron then scattered. No Russian ship had been destroyed or taken in the battle, however. Five battleships, 1 cruiser, and 3 destroyers regained in Port Arthur. Most others were interned in Chinese ports and Saigon.

News of the Battle of the Yellow Sea reached Vladivostok on August 11, but not until August 13 did three cruisers under Rear Admiral Nikolai von Essen go to the assistance of the Port Arthur Squadron. On August 14, they ran into Admiral Kammimura Hikonojo's four armored cruisers. In the resulting Battle of Ulsan, the Japanese sank one of the Russian cruisers. The others were able to regain Vladivostok, but Japan now had complete control of the sea.

In the autumn of 1904, Japanese troops under Field Marshal Iwao Oyama defeated the main Russian army under General Alexei Kuropatkin in the August 25–September 3 Battle of Liaoyang and again during October 5–17 at Shao-Ho. On January 2, 1905, Port Arthur surrendered. The remaining ships there had been destroyed the previous month by Japanese siege howitzers. During January 26–27, another land battle occurred at Sandepu (also known as the Battle of Heikoutai), 36 miles southwest of Mukden. Kuropatkin, reinforced with 300,000 men, attacked and came close to defeating

Oyama's 220,000 Japanese. A Russian victory could have changed the entire war, but Kuropatkin failed to press the attack, and the battle ended in stalemate. Then, in the great February 21–March 10, 1905, Battle of Mukden, the Russians lost 100,000 men, while the Japanese lost 70,000.

Following this defeat, Russia's fate appeared to hang on one last-ditch naval effort by the 30 ships of Rear Admiral Zinovi Petrovich Rozhdestvenski's Baltic Fleet, renamed the 2nd Pacific Squadron. It had left its Baltic bases in October 1904 for the Far East. The trip was an incredible odyssey that included the Russians opening fire on the British Hull fishing fleet in the North Sea, fearing that they were Japanese torpedo boats. This Dogger Bank Incident almost brought war with Britain. With little time for training and insufficient gunnery practice, the 2nd Pacific Squadron was destroyed by Togo's well-trained and overhauled Combined Fleet in the May 27–28, 1905, Battle of Tsushima.

In the battle, the Japanese sank, captured, or disabled 8 Russian battleships. Of 12 Russian ships in the battle line, 8 were sunk, including 3 of the new Russian battleships, and the other 4 had been captured. Four cruisers were sunk, and 1 was scuttled; 3 limped into Manila and were interned; and another made it to Vladivostok. Four destroyers were sunk, 1 was captured, and 1 was interned at Shanghai; 2 reached Vladivostok. Three special service ships were sunk, 1 was interned at Shanghai, and 1 escaped to Madagascar.

Togo lost only three torpedo boats. Although other ships suffered damage, all were serviceable. In personnel losses the Russians had 4,830 men killed or drowned and just under 7,000 taken prisoner. Japanese personnel losses were 110 killed and 590 wounded.

In just one day, Russia ceased to be a major Pacific power. Fifty years would pass before it regained status at sea. The battle confirmed Japan as the premier military power of the Far East. It also led the Japanese to believe that wars could be turned on one big battle.

The fighting around Port Arthur and at Tsushima had been decided by main battery guns as well as medium-range quick-firing guns rather than torpedoes, as many navalists had predicted. Ironically, Tsushima was the only major decisive fleet action in the history of the steel battleship. In the future, however, underwater or aerial weapons would come to exercise dominance.

Tsushima led to Russian capitulation on land. Both Kaiser Wilhelm II and U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt had urged peace upon the belligerents. Although Russia, with its vast resources and manpower, might possibly have sent new armies to continue the war, popular discontent and political unrest at home resulted in the Russian Revolution of 1905, alarming the tsar's ministers and making them willing to consider peace proposals. On the other hand, Japan's military efforts had nearly bankrupted the country, so its leaders were also ready to halt military operations.

On Roosevelt's invitation, a peace conference opened in the unlikely venue of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Sergius Witte, who had opposed the war, ably represented Russia at the conference and succeeded in saving his country from the worst consequences

of the defeat. The September 5, 1905, Treaty of Portsmouth transferred Russia's cessions in southern Manchuria to Japan, converting that area into a Japanese sphere of influence. Russia also recognized Japan's preponderant interest in Korea and its right to control and protect the Korean government. In addition, Russia surrendered to Japan the southern half of Sakhalin Island, which Japan had occupied during the war. The treaty, favorable as it was to Japan, was not popular there. Japanese leaders had not obtained the indemnity they wanted, and the Japanese people were unaware of how close the country was to bankruptcy.

The Russo-Japanese War showcased the high stakes involved in great power rivalry in East Asia. The 1890s had witnessed a significant imperial push in the Far East, perhaps best exemplified by the Sino-Japanese War, the Spanish-American War, and the Philippine-American War. Coming on the heels of turn-of-the-century expansionism and the Boxer Rebellion, the Russo-Japanese War capped off a feverish scramble for hegemony in the Far East

that was driven by a search for markets as well as by imperial aspirations and military and geostrategic concerns.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Boxer Rebellion; Expansionism; Imperialism; Japan; Sino-Japanese War

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S

Safford, William Edwin

Birth Date: December 14, 1859

Death Date: January 10, 1926

U.S. Navy officer, botanist, and ethnologist who studied the plants and people of Guam while serving as the U.S. deputy to the naval governor of Guam between 1899 and 1900. A pioneer in the field of ethnobotany (the study of how populations and cultures make use of indigenous plants), William Edwin Safford was born in Chillicothe, Ohio, on December 14, 1859, the son of a judge. While Safford was in primary school, some of his classmates, the children of German immigrants, taught him German. He entered the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, in 1876 and studied marine biology. Upon graduation in 1880, he was assigned to the side-wheeler frigate *Powhatan*.

From 1883 to 1885, Safford studied botany at Yale University. After completing his studies, he enrolled in graduate courses in marine zoology at Harvard University. He then continued his research in botany and ethnology while serving with the U.S. Navy in the South Pacific. From 1889 to 1891, he was a language instructor at the Naval Academy. Taking a leave of absence from the navy, he served as commissioner to Bolivia and Peru for the Chicago Colombian Exhibition during 1891–1893.

Returning to active duty in 1893, Safford was promoted to lieutenant in March 1897. Following service in the Spanish-American War, in 1899 he was appointed deputy to the U.S. governor of Guam, Richard P. Leary, who delegated most of his responsibilities to Safford. While in Guam, Safford researched the plant life on the small tropical island, especially those plants that had an economic value, and published his findings in the book *The Useful Plants of the Island of Guam* (1905). This work remains the seminal study of

plant life on Guam and a pioneering work in the field of ethnobiology and ethnobotany. In addition to studying the plant life of Guam, Safford also studied the island's people. He recorded their history, culture, and folkways and published *The Chamorro Language of the Island of Guam*, a monograph of Chamorro, the native language of the people of Guam, also in 1905. Safford's work remains the most significant study of the Chamorro language.

After Leary's term as governor ended in 1900, Safford left his post in Guam and retired from the navy in 1902. He became a member of the Botanical Society in 1902 and served as president of the association in 1922. He took a post with the U.S. Department of Agriculture as an economic botanist in 1902. While working for the Department of Agriculture, he published *Cactaceae of Northeastern and Central Mexico* (1909), *Edible Plants and Textiles of Ancient America* (1916), *Notes on the Genus Dahlia* (1919), *Natural History of Paradise Key and the Nearby Everglades of Florida* (1919), *Synopsis of the Genus Datura* (1921), *Daturas of the Old World and New* (1922), and *Ant Acacias and Acacia Ants of Mexico* (1923).

While in Washington, D.C., Safford spent much of his time in the National Herbarium. In 1920, he was awarded a doctorate in marine zoology from George Washington University. Although he suffered a debilitating stroke on March 17, 1924, he continued to dictate his research to assistants until his death on January 10, 1926, in Washington, D.C. For his outstanding contributions in the field of botany, the genus of 2 plants, *Saffordia Maxon* (1913) and *Saffordiella Merrill* (1914), were named for him. In addition, 16 species, including *Vicia Saffordii Phil* (1895) and *Dianella Saffordii Fosberg and Sachet* (1987), have been named in his honor.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also
Guam

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Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo

Birth Date: July 21, 1825

Death Date: January 5, 1903

Spanish politician and prime minister (1881–1883, 1885–1890, 1892–1895, 1897–1899, 1901–1902). Práxedes Mateo Sagasta was born into a middle-class family in Torrecilla de Cameros, Spain, on July 21, 1825. His parents instilled the values of Spanish liberalism in their son at an early age. In 1842, Sagasta went to Madrid to study engineering and there joined the Progressive Party.

In part because he was a skilled orator, Sagasta quickly rose to prominence in the Progressive Party. In 1854, he was elected to represent Zamora in the Cortes (parliament). Although he lost the election of 1857, he returned to the Cortes in 1858 and served there until 1863. After he left the Cortes, he wrote numerous essays criticizing the increasingly authoritarian Spanish government headed by Queen Isabella II. In 1866, after participating in a failed coup against the government, Sagasta went into exile in France. There he edited a journal and plotted against the Spanish regime.

In 1868, Sagasta returned to Spain to take part in a revolution that overthrew Queen Isabella II. Sagasta conspired with the military, led by General Juan Prim, to overthrow the unpopular regime. Unlike many Liberals, however, Sagasta supported Prim's contention that a constitutional monarchy was the best safeguard to ensure order, stability, and liberalism. Sagasta served in the provisional government that replaced the monarchy, supporting Prim's 1870 search for a European nobleman to assume the throne of Spain. Elected king in November 1870, Amadeus of Savoy arrived in Madrid at the end of December. Prim, however, was shot on December 28 and died two days later.

Sagasta served in Amadeus's ill-fated government until the latter was overthrown in 1873. Amadeus, lacking the support of his strongest backer, Prim, was unable to form a stable government. Amadeus's rule was further weakened by turmoil in Cuba resulting from the Ten Years' War (1868–1878). After Amadeus's abdication, Sagasta served as a cabinet minister in the government of the First Spanish Republic.

The restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in 1875 restored political and economic stability to Spain. Favorably disposed toward the new monarch, King Alfonso XII, Sagasta decided to work within the system to institutionalize liberalism in Spain. In 1880, Sagasta united the Liberals in the Fusionist Liberal Party.



Práxedes Mateo Sagasta was a progressive Spanish politician who found himself in the difficult position of premier of Spain during the Spanish-American War, which he sought to avoid. (Martin Hume, *Modern Spain*, 1899)

For the next two decades, the Liberals and the Conservatives, who were led by Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, alternated in power. In 1885, following the death of Alfonso XII, Cánovas, eager to preserve order and stability, resigned and encouraged the regent, María Cristina, to appoint Sagasta prime minister. It was in 1890 during Sagasta's second term as prime minister that universal male suffrage was reintroduced in Spain. Although universal male suffrage had first been unveiled in the 1812 Cádiz Constitution, the volatile nature of the Napoleonic era and the 1814 restoration of the Bourbon monarchy ended Spain's first experiment with liberalism.

In 1890, Cánovas returned to power. He immediately reversed Sagasta's Liberal economic policies and implemented a protectionist tariff in 1892. This resulted in a serious decline in foreign trade and caused a fiscal crisis that weakened Spain's ability to modernize its navy. A temporary split in the Conservative Party allowed Sagasta to return to office in 1893. Cánovas, however, resumed office in March 1895 immediately after the outbreak of the Cuban War of Independence. Cánovas dispatched General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau to Cuba to restore order and stability. The American press, however, exaggerated Weyler's draconian *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) policy, which created greater resent-

ment against the Spanish in Cuba and increased tensions with the United States.

Following Cánovas's assassination on August 8, 1897, María Cristina brought in Sagasta as prime minister yet again to bring about a solution to the Cuban war. Sagasta appointed Segismundo Moret y Prendergast colonial minister and replaced Weyler with the more conciliatory Ramón Blanco y Erenas, who favored a negotiated settlement. Sagasta also curtailed troop shipments to Cuba. In an effort to quell the Cuban War of Independence and diminish the possibility of American intervention, Moret granted local autonomy for the Cubans and on January 1, 1898, extended home rule to Cuba. Most of the revolutionaries, however, rejected this. Moret also attempted to reach some understanding regarding Cuban trade with the United States and to open the island to expanded U.S. imports.

In return for these concessions, Sagasta and Moret expected the United States to clamp down on American assistance to the Cuban revolutionaries and to shut down the Cuba Junta in New York City. Following a series of crises, most notably Spanish ambassador Enrique Dupuy de Lôme's 1898 letter that criticized President William McKinley and the explosion and sinking of the *Maine*, Sagasta found himself in the unenviable position of leading the Spanish government during the Spanish-American War, which erupted in April 1898.

With the war, Sagasta reshuffled his cabinet. He dropped Moret, who favored peace, and brought in a number of talented individuals who, it was hoped, would improve Spain's military performance. Sagasta favored a quick war, no matter the outcome, and approved sending Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's Cádiz Squadron from the Cape Verde Islands to the Caribbean in order to assist the Spanish in Cuba and Puerto Rico.

The Treaty of Paris of December 10, 1898, came as a great shock to Sagasta and resulted in the loss of Cuba and Puerto Rico as well as the Philippines and Guam. Most Spaniards blamed him, and shortly after the treaty was signed, he was forced out of office. Sagasta died in Madrid on January 5, 1903.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Alfonso XII, King of Spain; Blanco y Erenas, Ramón; Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Dupuy de Lôme, Enrique; Dupuy de Lôme-Canalejas Letter; *Maine*, USS; María Cristina, Queen Regent of Spain; McKinley, William; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano

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Samar Campaigns

Start Date: January 26, 1900

End Date: April 27, 1902

U.S. counterinsurgency and pacification operations lasting from January 26, 1900, to April 27, 1902, during the Philippine-American War. The easternmost and largest of the Visayan group in the central Philippine Islands, Samar is about 5,000 square miles in size and is located across the San Jacinto Straits north of Leyte. Samar proved difficult for U.S. military operations because of its dense jungle interior, lack of roads, and few navigable rivers. These greatly aided Filipino insurgent General Vicente Lukban in carrying out guerrilla warfare against the American forces. In 1900, Samar had a population of some 222,000 people.

There had been little U.S. military activity on Samar early in the war. Rope shortages made the pacification of the island, with its significant hemp production, a priority. On January 26, 1900, U.S. military governor of the Philippines Major General Elwell Otis ordered Brigadier General William Kobbe to employ the 43rd Infantry Regiment and occupy Calbayog and Catbalogan. They forced Lukban to withdraw into the interior. Colonel Arthur Murray and Major Henry Tureman Allen sought to establish civil order on Samar through benevolent assimilation, but Lukban's guerrillas also prevented civilians collaborating with the Americans through the use of intimidation, the burning of towns, and the killing of sympathizers. Allen began offensive operations immediately; however, Major General Arthur MacArthur visited the island in May 1900 and returned the American troops to their defensive garrisons. By July 1900, the first major campaign to secure Samar had failed.

Colonel E. E. Hardin replaced Murray in July 1900 and attempted to interdict trade between Leyte and Samar through naval blockade. By early 1901, however, the small U.S. occupation force on Samar barely held the hemp ports of Calbayog and Catbalogan. This all changed in May 1901 when Leyte was turned over to the Philippine Commission. The pacification of Samar then became a priority, for the rebels across the narrow straits in Samar threatened the pacification of Leyte.

On May 13, 1901, MacArthur transferred Samar back to Brigadier General Robert P. Hughes and ordered him to "clean up" Samar "as soon as possible." A quick inspection trip to Samar convinced Hughes that the situation there was indeed poor, with American troops largely confined to their occupation posts. In June Hughes extended the naval blockade to all the ports of Samar and ordered occupation forces to seize all boats except those used for fishing. Hughes also ordered sweeps of the interior and the destruction of rebel towns and crops. The navy assisted with amphibious operations. These actions deprived the local population of supplies, leading to widespread starvation, but did not break the back of the guerrilla resistance.

Elements of the 9th U.S. Infantry Regiment arrived at Balangiga in the late summer of 1901 at the request of Mayor Pedro Abayan, who had asked for protection from raids against his people. Such

Salisbury, Lord

See Gascoyne-Cecil, Robert Arthur Talbot

raids had in fact virtually ended in the mid-19th century, and Abayan was working for General Lukban.

Captain Thomas W. Connell's Company C of the 9th Regiment occupied Balangiga, and Connell set about trying to clean up the town. Connell instituted local work details that, unknown to him, soon involved some 100 of Lukban's men. To promote a more peaceful atmosphere, Connell also prohibited the carrying of firearms except by sentries. On September 27, the insurrectionists smuggled weapons to the interior in coffins containing the bodies of children who had died in a cholera epidemic, while a number of guerrillas also gained access to Balangiga disguised as women carrying the coffins. On the morning of September 28, the rebels struck. They seized an American sentry's weapon and shot him, then rushed the mess hall where most of Connell's men, who were unarmed, were eating breakfast. Some soldiers managed to escape to the arsenal and then by boat to Basey, held by Company G. But 59 of the soldiers, including Connell, were either killed in the attack or died of their wounds on the way to Basey. When an American relief force arrived at Balangiga, it found the town deserted and, after attending to the American dead, burned it to the ground.

The yellow press in the United States immediately compared Balangiga to Custer's Last Stand, and there were immediate demands for revenge. With emotions running high, Major General Adna Chaffee sent 4,000 soldiers to Samar, while Rear Admiral Frederick Rodgers dispatched a marine battalion under Major Littleton W. T. Waller. Chaffee selected Brigadier General Jacob H. Smith to assume command of operations in October 1901. Smith, who was well known for his harsh methods, instructed Waller to take no prisoners, to "kill and burn," and to turn Samar into "a howling wilderness."

Waller soon located Lukban's headquarters in the interior on the Sohotón Cliffs along the Cadacan River. Waller planned a land and amphibious operation. In a sensational success, the marines took the rebel headquarters, killing 30 insurgents with no losses of their own.

Waller then mounted another operation to the interior, planning to cross Samar from east to west. Starting from the army base at Lanang on the eastern coast, he undertook this operation against the advice of the army commander, who could supply only limited rations. The jungle proved virtually impenetrable, and the marines soon ran out of food. The Filipino bearers with the marines claimed not to know what was edible in the jungle and refused to help. Waller then sent half of the force back to Lanang under Captain David D. Porter and pushed on with the remainder. Porter was forced to leave some of his weakened marines behind on the march. An army rescue team subsequently found 9 of them dead, and 1 was never located. Learning that the rest of the bearers had allowed a marine lieutenant to be killed by a bearer, Porter had all 10 of the bearers arrested and sent to Basey.

An ill Waller also made it to Basey, where Lieutenant John H. A. Day had discovered a conspiracy to repeat the Balangiga Mas-

sacre at Basey. Day had the mayor arrested and executed and the local priest imprisoned. Day also secured permission from a delirious Waller to execute all of the bearers arrested earlier, and Waller approved. Day had the 10 men shot in the town square.

On his recovery, Waller reported all of this to Smith, who duly sent it on to Chaffee, who then forwarded the news to the War Department. News of this shocked the American public and empowered American anti-imperialists. Indeed, at the end of January 1902, the U.S. Senate began committee hearings (the Committee on the Philippines, otherwise known as the Lodge Committee) regarding military atrocities in the Philippines.

U.S. forces captured Lukban on February 18, 1902, and continued pressuring the guerrillas, who were by then suffering from starvation and lacked the ability to sustain combat operations. Brigadier General Joseph Grant accepted the guerrillas' surrender on April 27, 1902.

Meanwhile, reaction to U.S. actions on Samar led to Waller's arrest and court-martial. He remained loyal to Smith and did not reveal the latter's orders to him but instead based his actions on American Civil War General Order 100 that authorized actions against guerrillas and civilians who aided them. When Smith testified against Waller, however, and perjured himself by claiming that the latter had acted on his own responsibility, Waller broke his silence and revealed Smith's written orders to him. A parade of witnesses confirmed Waller's testimony. This resulted in Waller's acquittal and Smith's arrest, court-martial, and conviction.

DAWN OTTEVAERE NICKESON AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Allen, Henry Tureman; Atrocities; Balangiga Massacre; Benevolent Assimilation; Chaffee, Adna Romanza, Sr.; Committee on the Philippines; Lodge, Henry Cabot; Lukban, Vicente; MacArthur, Arthur; Otis, Elwell Stephen; Pacification Program, Philippine Islands; Smith, Jacob Hurd; Waller, Littleton Tazewell; Yellow Journalism

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Samoa

Group of islands located in the Polynesian region of the South Pacific Ocean. Today the islands form the Independent State of Samoa (formerly German Samoa or Western Samoa) and the Territory of American Samoa, which belongs to the United States.

Traders from Germany and Great Britain began arriving in Samoa in the 19th century. They set up plantations and trading houses; exported products such as coconut oil, copra, and cocoa; and used the harbors as coaling stations. In 1878, the United States obtained the strategic harbor of Pago Pago, which led to friction

with both Germany and Britain. In 1879, the three Western nations agreed to establish consulates in the capital at Apia to guarantee equal economic opportunities. However, for the next 20 years, the consuls were involved in inner-Samoan conflicts and supplied arms, and in some cases troops, to the warring Samoan parties, further deteriorating the political situation.

When King Malietoa Laupepa ascended the throne in 1881, the German consul felt at a disadvantage, as the new king was purported to be under the influence of the London Missionary Society. The Germans were even more worried when New Zealand demanded stronger British involvement in the region. In 1884, the German consul Oscar Wilhelm Stübel forced Malietoa to sign a Samoan-German contract that favored German interests. When Stübel realized a few months later that this was not sufficient in strengthening his position, he used German troops stationed on the island to invade the royal palace and oust the king. Malietoa's rival Tamasese was then proclaimed as the new ruler. When news of these events reached Europe and Berlin received protests from both Britain and the United States, German chancellor Otto von Bismarck reprimanded Stübel for his unauthorized actions.

The British government, which was then more interested in North Africa, would have favored a solution with Germany over the Samoa question, yet London was forced under pressure from New Zealand to stay involved in the archipelago. Neither of the two countries believed it necessary to include the United States in their negotiations. When Grover Cleveland became president in 1885, however, his administration took a more active role in Pacific affairs. In April 1886, the U.S. consul in Samoa, Benjamim Greenebaum, interfered in Samoan politics. He not only promised to assist King Malietoa but also proclaimed Samoa an American protectorate. U.S. secretary of state Thomas F. Bayard immediately denounced Greenebaum's actions and invited Germany and Great Britain to solve the Samoan conflict at a conference to be held in Washington in June 1887. Both countries agreed to the proposal while at the same time continuing secret negotiations in order to find a compromise of their own. Great Britain assented to recognize German paramount interests in Samoa, hoping that Germany would support its policy in Egypt in return.

Because of these prior Anglo-German agreements, the conference in Washington was doomed to failure before it even began. The United States refused to accept any German control over Samoa and preferred to keep the islands neutral. The conference ended without satisfactory result.

Tensions over Samoa escalated in August 1887 when new German consul in Apia Edward Becker demanded an apology from King Malietoa for insulting the German emperor. When the latter declined, Becker had him taken prisoner and deported him to Kamerun (Cameroon) in Africa. Becker then reinstated King Tamasese and imposed martial law. Soon, German soldiers controlled all the principal buildings. Within a few days, Samoa had become a *de facto* German possession. The United States demanded an immediate return to the status quo, but Great Britain,

hoping to gain Tonga, protested yet accepted Germany's course of action.

Tensions in the islands increased when followers of Mataafa, another contestant for the throne who was supported by Anglo-American traders, fought Tamasese's troops in the spring of 1888. German soldiers stationed on Samoa were called in to help Tamasese. War between Germany and the United States over Samoa appeared to be a possibility when the German consul declared Samoa to be in a state of war in January 1889 and imposed martial law throughout the archipelago, affecting both British and U.S. nationals.

Public opinion in the United States grew increasingly hostile toward imperial Germany, yet Secretary of State Thomas Bayard insisted on resolving the conflict by diplomacy. President Cleveland, however, ordered U.S. Navy rear admiral Lewis A. Kimberly to Samoa with three ships to protect U.S. interests there. A violent hurricane in Apia Harbor destroyed or damaged a number of German, British, and U.S. warships, effectively ending the possibility of armed conflict.

Bismarck, meanwhile, publicly criticized the German consul's actions and invited Great Britain and the United States to a conference in Berlin. In June 1889, all three countries agreed to solve further Samoan problems mutually by forming a three-power protectorate. The Act of Berlin of that date also restored Malietoa as king. The Samoan monarch was nominally head of the islands yet had virtually no power.

For the next 10 years, Samoan conflicts were kept at bay, while the diplomats of the three countries were involved in trying to find a long-term solution for ruling the archipelago. When Malietoa died in 1898, Germany proposed dividing the islands to prevent further Samoan infighting over the throne. The United States was to receive the island of Tutuila, including Pago Pago; Germany was to keep Upolu and Savaii; and Great Britain was to renounce all rights to Samoa and receive Tonga instead. British prime minister Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, Lord Salisbury, gave in to pressure from Australia and New Zealand and declined the proposal.

In the meantime, the diplomats on Samoa were again taking action into their own hands. When U.S. judge William Lea Chambers, who had been installed as superior judge for Samoa at the conference in Berlin, decided in December 1898 that Malietoa's son, Malietoa Tanu, was to be the next king rather than Mataafa, fighting began again. The Germans backed Mataafa, and the United States and Britain backed Malietoa Tanu. The German diplomats protested Chambers's decision and took command of the courthouse. Chambers ordered British captain Frederick Charles Doveton Sturdee to restore the status quo.

In this crisis, the United States, Great Britain, and Germany all dispatched warships to Samoa with the intention of protecting their interests there. U.S. rear admiral Albert Kautz sent Mataafa an ultimatum to leave Apia. When Mataafa did not respond, Kautz shelled the city, which damaged the German consulate, and ordered all Europeans to leave. Forces from all three countries took part in the Samoan Civil War.

President William McKinley's formal apology for Kautz's actions in March 1899 opened the way for new diplomatic negotiations. Great Britain, facing war in South Africa, was anxious to bring the conflict over Samoa to an end. The Treaty of Berlin of November 1899 abolished the Samoan monarchy and split the archipelago into two parts. The western islands were given to Germany (and became the independent state of Samoa in 1962), while the eastern islands became a U.S. territory. Great Britain gave up its claims in exchange for Tonga, Fiji, and some Melanesian islands.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Gascoyne-Cecil, Robert Arthur Talbot; McKinley, William

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Sampson, William Thomas

Birth Date: February 9, 1840

Death Date: May 6, 1902

U.S. admiral. Born in Palmyra, New York, on February 9, 1840, William Thomas Sampson became an acting midshipman on September 24, 1857, and graduated first in his class from the United States Naval Academy and was promoted to midshipman on June 1, 1861. Sampson began his career as an instructor at the academy. He was promoted to lieutenant on July 16, 1862. Although he saw only limited action during the American Civil War, he nearly lost his life while serving on the monitor *Patapsco* in the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron. On January 15, 1865, the monitor struck a large mine or mines off Charleston, South Carolina, and sank in only about 15 seconds, taking down 62 officers and men. Only 5 officers and 38 men were saved, Sampson among them.

After the Civil War, Sampson served on the steam frigate *Colorado* in the European Squadron and was promoted to lieutenant commander on July 15, 1866. During the three decades between the end of the Civil War and the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Sampson further enhanced his reputation as an outstanding officer and man of considerable intellect. He was again an instructor at the Naval Academy and served in the Bureau of Navigation and on the screw sloop *Congress*. Promoted to commander on August 9, 1874, he was assigned to the Naval Observatory and then had charge of the Naval Torpedo Station at Newport, Rhode Island. On September 9, 1886, he became superintendent of the Naval Academy. Promoted to captain on April 9, 1889, he fitted out the protected cruiser *San Francisco* at Mare Island Navy Yard and then assumed command of the ship on its commissioning that Novem-



Rear Admiral William Thomas Sampson commanded the North Atlantic Squadron in the U.S. naval blockade of Cuba and subsequent Battle of Santiago de Cuba during the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

ber. In June 1892, he was assigned as inspector of ordnance at the Washington Navy Yard. He became chief of the Bureau of Ordnance in January 1893.

In June 1897, Sampson assumed command of the new battleship *Iowa*. After the battleship *Maine* blew up in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, President William McKinley named Sampson to head the naval board charged with investigating the cause of the disaster. On March 26, 1898, Sampson was advanced to temporary rear admiral and took command of the North Atlantic Squadron, replacing Rear Admiral Montgomery Sicard who had taken ill. Sampson's promotion may have planted the seed of his later troubles with Commodore Winfield Scott Schley, who, along with a number of other officers, was senior to Sampson. Evidence suggests that Sampson was not in the best of health at the time, a fact that he apparently managed to conceal from all but those closest to him. He may have suffered from what we now identify as multiple infarct dementia, caused by a succession of small strokes that can reduce the victim's mental acuity but do not affect the personality. It certainly did not affect his strong leadership of the squadron in the Caribbean theater of war.

On April 29, 1898, a week after the U.S. declaration of war on Spain, Spanish rear admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete, ordered

against his recommendations, put to sea with his squadron from the Cape Verde Islands to Cuba. Meanwhile, Sampson had put to sea from Key West for Cuba, his flag on the armored cruiser *New York*. He established a blockade of Havana and the Cuban northern coast and then extended the blockade to the southern coast.

After establishing the blockade, Sampson, with a small task force under his personal command, sailed for San Juan, Puerto Rico, hoping to locate Cervera. Arriving off that port on May 12, Sampson failed to find Cervera and, following a brief bombardment of San Juan's defenses, returned to Key West, where he arrived on May 18 just after Commodore Schley and his Flying Squadron. Schley was then ordered to Santiago but was dilatory in carrying out that order, not establishing a blockade of that port until May 28. Cervera, who had ample opportunity to depart from Santiago, failed to do so, and Sampson arrived on June 1 with his own ships and established a strong presence off Santiago. The blockaders included five battleships, two armored cruisers, and a number of smaller cruisers and auxiliaries. With the Spanish squadron now effectively neutralized, Sampson provided support to the landing of Major General William R. Shafter's U.S. V Corps at Daiquirí and Siboney.

Shafter believed that the navy should enter Santiago Harbor and destroy the Spanish fleet, but Sampson argued that the ground forces should first capture the forts, the guns of which dominated the harbor entrance and posed a serious threat to the navy's ships. Early on the morning of July 3, 1898, Sampson headed east from Santiago in the *New York* (commanded by Captain French Ensor Chadwick) for a conference with Shafter. As luck would have it, Cervera chose that moment to attempt a breakout. In Sampson's absence, Schley had command of the blockading ships and led the attack on the Spanish ships as they emerged from the sanctuary of Santiago Harbor.

Learning of the battle by means of smoke and signal flags, Sampson headed back at flank speed. But the *New York* did not make it back in time to contribute to the near total destruction of the Spanish squadron. Officially, Sampson was credited with the naval victory, which he announced in a cable to Washington as "The fleet under my command offers the nation as a Fourth of July present the whole of Cervera's fleet." It was Schley who received the plaudits in the press, however. Claims and counterclaims over responsibility for the victory led to subsequent controversy and much ill will in the navy.

After the war, Sampson was appointed Cuban commissioner on August 20, 1898, but he assumed command of the Atlantic Fleet that December. In October 1899, he took command of the Boston Navy Yard. All the while, his health had continued to deteriorate, and he retired on February 9, 1902. Sampson died in Washington, D.C., on May 6, 1902.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Daiquirí Beachhead, Cuba; *Maine*, USS, Inquiries into the Loss of; Sampson-Schley Controversy; Santiago de

Cuba, Battle of; Schley, Winfield Scott; Shafter, William Rufus; United States Navy

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Sampson-Schley Controversy

The Sampson-Schley Controversy grew out of differences of opinion over who should get credit for the July 3, 1898, victory of the American fleet in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba. Acting rear admiral William T. Sampson was in charge of the American naval force blockading the Cuban port of Santiago, but he did not anticipate that Spanish rear admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron would sortie. Sampson was en route to a conference with V Corps commander Major General William Shafter when the Spanish fleet emerged from the port.

Commodore Winfield Scott Schley was the ranking officer in the blockading squadron in the absence of Sampson and hoisted a signal for all ships to engage the Spanish. But the ships on blockade duty moved to attack the Spanish vessels on their own. At the sound of gunfire, Sampson's ship, the armored cruiser *New York*, turned back to rejoin the fleet but did not arrive until the end of the battle.

Although Sampson claimed credit for the victory in his report to the secretary of the navy, most newspaper reports gave Schley credit for the victory. Alfred T. Mahan argued that victory was due to Sampson's placement of the blockading force and that he deserved the praise.

After the battle, Sampson wrote a confidential report to Secretary of the Navy John D. Long that criticized Schley's actions in the weeks before the battle. When this report became known later, Schley's supporters accused Sampson of duplicity. These supporters grew resentful after both men were promoted to the permanent rank of rear admiral, but Sampson was advanced eight places on the navy list, while Schley was advanced six. Before the war when both were captains, Schley was senior by one. Now, as admirals, Schley was junior by one.

By this time, the Sampson-Schley Controversy was in full bloom, with newspapers, magazines, and individuals in and out of uniform offering their own views. Sampson and Schley did not participate in



Composite image of members of the court of inquiry that convened for three months in 1901 in an effort to settle the dispute between Rear Admiral William T. Sampson and Commodore Winfield Scott Schley over their roles in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3, 1898. (Naval Historical Center)

the dialogues. In November 1899, Secretary Long issued an order forbidding all officers on active duty to discuss the issue.

The supporters of Sampson eventually forced Schley to ask for a court of inquiry in 1901. The court held that Sampson's conduct was not under review, so only testimony directly concerning Schley was admitted. Schley's lawyer unsuccessfully argued that this was unfair because the actions of both officers were related. Sampson wanted to testify, but his health would not permit it. The court was critical of Schley's conduct prior to June 1, 1898, but said that he was self-possessed and encouraged others during the battle. President of the court Admiral George Dewey issued a separate opinion that dissented from five points at issue prior to the battle. In Dewey's view, Schley was in absolute command and was entitled to the credit for the victory. Many Americans agreed with Dewey. A number of organizations presented gifts of appreciation to Schley.

Sampson, Schley, and Dewey were all dissatisfied for various reasons. Schley appealed to President Theodore Roosevelt for relief from the findings of the court. After studying the record and interviewing the surviving captains in the battle, Roosevelt said that most of the actions that the court censured took place before the battle. He argued that if these actions were censurable, Schley should not have been left in command. Therefore, his shortcomings were in effect condoned by Sampson. As for Santiago, neither Sampson nor Schley exercised command; it was a captain's battle. Roosevelt gave credit to Schley and the captain of his ship for their excellent record in the conflict except for a controversial loop of the ship at the start of the battle. Roosevelt concluded that there was no excuse for keeping this con-

troversy alive. By 1917, the major participants had died, and the matter subsided. But the issues continue to be refought by historians and others almost any time the campaign in Cuba during the Spanish-American War is discussed. The controversy did a great deal of harm to the reputations of Sampson and Schley as well as to other naval officers and administrators.

HAROLD D. LANGLEY

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Dewey, George; Long, John Davis; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Roosevelt, Theodore; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Schley, Winfield Scott; United States Navy

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San Antonio, Texas

See Camp Wood

San Francisco, California

See Camp Merriam and Camp Merritt

San Juan, Puerto Rico, Naval Bombardment of

Event Date: May 12, 1898

Naval bombardment of San Juan, Puerto Rico, by ships of the U.S. North American Squadron on May 12, 1898. Rear Admiral William T. Sampson sailed from Havana, Cuba, to San Juan in search of Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's Cádiz Squadron. Sampson's ships arrived off San Juan in the early morning of May 12 and at 5:20 a.m. commenced a bombardment of Spanish military positions ashore. The American ships made three bombardment circuits. The cruiser *Detroit* led, followed by the battleships *Iowa*, *Indiana*, and *New York*; the double-turreted monitors *Amphitrite* and *Terror*; and the unprotected cruiser *Montgomery*.

The American warships fired a total of 1,360 shells before they broke off the engagement at 7:45 a.m. The Spanish shore batteries fired only 441 shells in reply. Neither side inflicted much damage on the other. American gunnery was abysmal. A majority of the U.S. shells went long, while others fell short. Probably only 20 percent of

the shells hit in the general target area, and many of these failed to explode. In the exchange, the U.S. side suffered some minor damage, 1 man killed, and another 7 wounded. Spanish casualties amounted to 13 killed and perhaps 100 wounded, most of these civilians.

The shelling was controversial, for international law clearly required that noncombatants be warned before such an event, but Sampson claimed that his ships were firing not on the city but on its military installations and thus that no prior notification was required. The shelling made little sense, however. Sampson later justified it as a form of naval reconnaissance to ascertain, as he put it, enemy "positions and strength." The shelling did serve to provide the American squadron with a baptism of fire. Secretary of the Navy John D. Long was not impressed and was also upset that Sampson had placed his ships at risk by shelling shore installations before he had concluded the pressing matter of locating and destroying Cervera's squadron.

On May 13, Spanish governor-general of Puerto Rico Manuel Macías y Casado and the island press trumpeted the bombardment as the first Spanish victory of the war, and island merchants distributed food and gifts to the Spanish troops. Sampson, meanwhile, took his squadron to Haiti and then on to Key West, Florida, where he arrived on May 18.

SPENCER C. TUCKER



Lithograph depicting the U.S. Navy bombardment of San Juan, Puerto Rico, on May 12, 1898. (Library of Congress)

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Long, John Davis; Sampson, William Thomas

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San Juan Heights, Battle of

Event Date: July 1, 1898

Key battle that included the Battle of Kettle Hill. The Battle of San Juan Heights took place on San Juan Heights, dominating the eastern approach to Santiago, Cuba, on July 1, 1898.

After defeating the Spanish in the Battle of Las Guásimas on June 24, 1898, the commander of the V Corps expeditionary force, Major General William R. Shafter, devised a strategy for taking Santiago. The strategy involved seizing the high ground east of the city known as San Juan Heights, which included the prominent points of San Juan Hill and Kettle Hill. Shafter's plan called for Brigadier General Jacob Ford Kent's division to attack San Juan Hill while Brigadier General Samuel Sumner's dismounted cavalry assaulted nearby Kettle Hill. It was also expected that Brigadier General Henry Lawton's division would complete its subjugation of El Caney in about two hours, allowing him to participate in the general attack on San Juan Heights. As it turned out, Lawton found himself embroiled in a day-long fight and was unable to add his support to the general attack.

In order to defend Santiago, the Spanish commander, General Arsenio Linares, established a defensive line, the strongest section of which was along San Juan Heights, where some 500 troops, supported by two pieces of artillery, were evenly divided between Kettle Hill and San Juan Hill. The former, some 400 yards northeast of San Juan Hill, was the location of a sugar-refining operation, which included two large iron kettles that gave rise to the hill's name.

Captain George Grimes's light artillery battery of four guns opened up on San Juan Hill from El Pozo at 8:00 a.m. The American fire had little effect, and the Spanish soon managed to locate the guns thanks to telltale clouds of smoke from their black powder charges. Effective Spanish counterbattery fire soon silenced the battery. The order to advance was given at 9:00 a.m., and the three American brigades—the 1st under Brigadier General Hamilton S. Hawkins, the 2nd under Colonel E. P. Pearson, and the 3rd commanded by Colonel Charles A. Wikoff—moved forward. The Spanish artillery had the range, however, thanks to an observation balloon over the Americans that moved forward with the advancing troops. Under heavy Spanish fire, the 71st New York Infantry Regiment of Hawkins's brigade panicked; however, the other units moved into position for the final assault.

All these events delayed the frontal assault across open ground up San Juan Hill, which did not begin until 1:00 p.m. In the lead were the 6th, 16th, and 24th U.S. Infantry Regiments. The men simply charged up the hill without any order. Hawkins's 6th and 16th Brigades moved up the slope through knee-high grass and barbed wire. At first the men made good progress. The Spanish had established their line along the crest of the hill rather than just below at a point where they would have an unobstructed view of the entire slope (the so-called military crest) and thus did not have a good angle from which to fire on the advancing Americans. Some critical support came from Lieutenant John D. Parker's battery of Gatling guns, which raked the Spanish positions for a crucial eight minutes. Also at the same time, Brigadier General Samuel Sumner's dismounted cavalry, including the Rough Riders, had advanced up and secured Kettle Hill. They now provided supporting fire against the Spanish positions on San Juan Hill. When the American troops reached the summit, the Spanish were already in retreat. The Americans on San Juan Hill then dug in and established defensive positions to meet a possible Spanish counterattack, for the new enemy positions were only several hundred yards distant.

In the battle for San Juan Hill, Kent's division lost 89 killed and 489 wounded. Another 35 were killed and 328 wounded on Kettle Hill. Spanish casualties in the entire battles at San Juan Heights and El Caney were fewer: 215 killed, 376 wounded, and 2 taken prisoner.

JERRY KEENAN AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Black Powder; Kent, Jacob Ford; Kettle Hill, Battle of; Roosevelt, Theodore; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign

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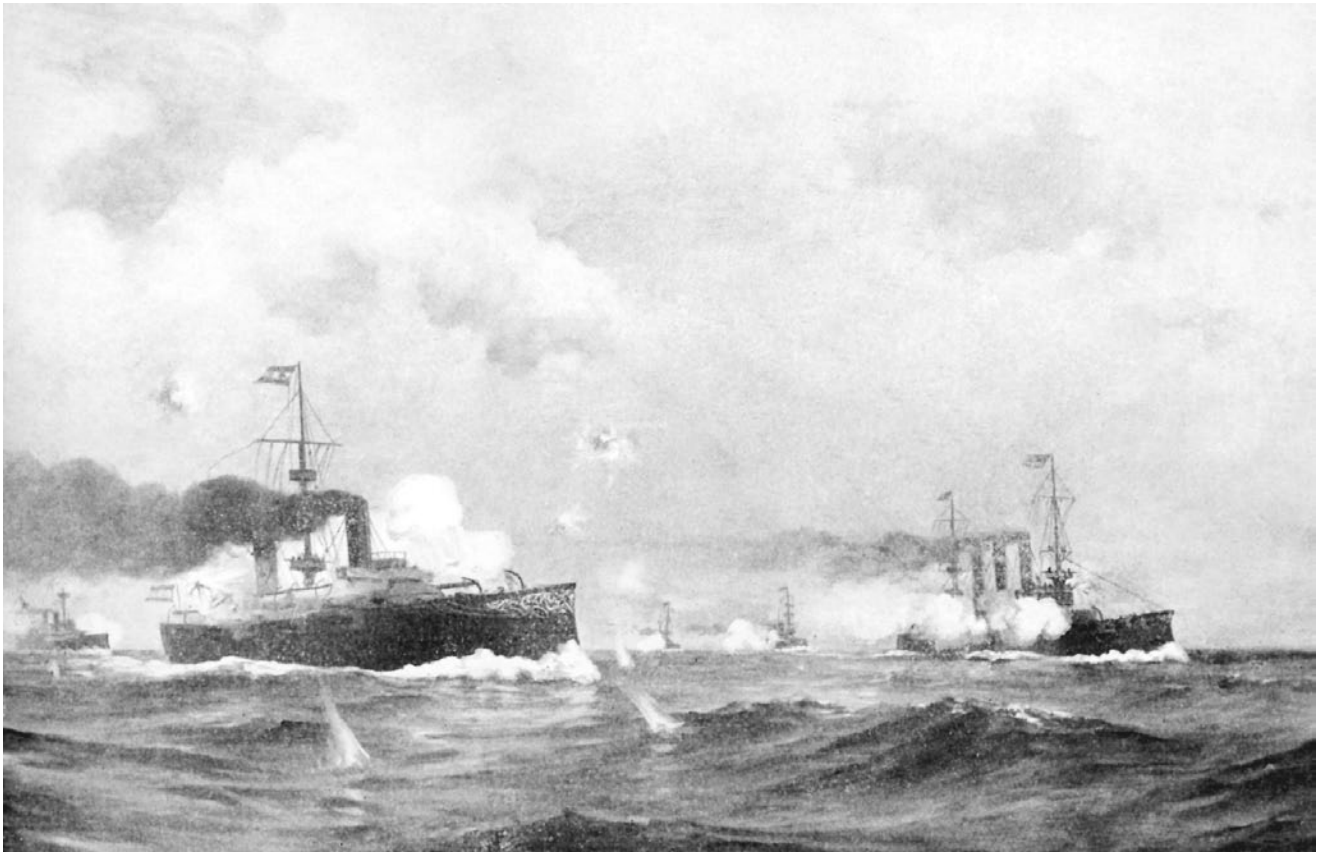
Sánchez y Gutiérrez de Castro, Juan Manuel

See Almodóvar del Río, Duque de

Santiago de Cuba, Battle of

Event Date: July 3, 1898

Naval battle off Santiago, Cuba, on July 3, 1898, that led Spain to sue for peace. On April 25, 1898, the United States declared war on Spain. On April 26, Rear Admiral William T. Sampson took command of the U.S. Navy North Atlantic Squadron from Rear Admiral Montgomery Sicard, who had taken ill. Meanwhile, on April 29,



Depiction of the Battle of Santiago de Cuba, July 3, 1898, in which the U.S. North Atlantic Squadron under Rear Admiral William T. Sampson destroyed a Spanish squadron under Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete. (John Clark Ridpath, *Ridpath's History of the World*, 1901)

Spanish rear admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's Cádiz Squadron departed the Cape Verde Islands with four cruisers and three torpedo destroyers. Although the Spanish ships were in poor repair and were not well armed, Americans along the coast were terrified of a possible descent by the Spanish squadron. An erroneous sighting of the Spanish ships off New England even led the Navy Department to send two cruisers and other vessels to look for them. Cervera, however, was headed for Cuba.

Sampson first looked for Cervera at Puerto Rico and on May 12 bombarded the shore fortifications at San Juan. But not finding Cervera there, Sampson steamed to Cuba in hopes of intercepting the Spanish ships at sea. Cervera was presumed to be carrying supplies for the Spanish garrison in Cuba. This was not the case, however; indeed, his own ships were themselves desperately short of coal and in acute need of maintenance. Cervera had proceeded via Martinique (where he had left behind one of his destroyers, the *Terror*, which was too unseaworthy to continue) and Curaçao and had put into Santiago de Cuba on May 19. That news was immediately available to the U.S. Navy via an intelligence agent in Havana. Duly informed, Sampson then ordered Commodore Winfield Scott Schley, who had commanded the Flying Squadron formed at Hampton Roads, Virginia, to protect the Atlantic coast from Cervera and had been ordered to Cienfuegos, Cuba, to shift his station to Santi-

ago de Cuba. Schley received these orders on May 23 but for some unknown reason did not take up position off Santiago de Cuba until May 28. Cervera thus had more than a week to leave Santiago de Cuba but in fact had nowhere to go.

Sampson arrived off Santiago de Cuba with his remaining ships on June 1, 1898. The American blockade now concentrated all the principal ships of the North Atlantic Squadron: five battleships (the *Oregon*, *Indiana*, *Massachusetts*, *Iowa*, and *Texas*), two armored cruisers (Schley's flagship the *Brooklyn* and Sampson's flagship the *New York*), and a number of smaller cruisers and auxiliaries. Sampson arranged the ships in a semicircle about four miles from the channel entrance. At night, some of the blockaders closed to two miles and directed their searchlights up the channel in order to detect any Spanish ship movement there.

Sampson took charge of the eastern sector and gave responsibility for the western sector to Schley, his second-in-command. In order to secure a coaling station for his operations, Sampson ordered Commander Bowman H. McCalla and a battalion of marines to seize control of Guantánamo Bay, 40 miles distant. Sampson had managed to conceal from all but a few close associates that he was ill. He was suffering from what was probably multiple infarct dementia. As a consequence, he delegated most of the responsibility to Captain French Ensor Chadwick, captain of the *New York*.

Estimated Casualties of the Battle of Santiago de Cuba

	<i>Killed in Action</i>	<i>Wounded</i>	<i>Captured</i>	<i>Ships Lost</i>
Spain	323	151	1,720	6
United States	1	1	0	0

On the night of June 3, Sampson tried unsuccessfully to block Cervera's ships in the harbor by sinking the collier *Merrimac* at the mouth of the bay. Naval constructor Richmond Pearson Hobson and a crew of seven other volunteers maneuvered the collier through Spanish minefields and the fire of the Spanish shore batteries. The *Merrimac* overshot the mark, however, going down too slowly when only 2 of the 10 demolition charges fired. Hobson and his crew were rescued by the Spanish and promptly imprisoned.

Meanwhile, Major General William R. Shafter's V Corps expeditionary force in Cuba, besieging Santiago de Cuba from the land side after its victories in the battles at El Caney and San Juan Heights on July 1, was in difficulty, its numbers rapidly diminishing from disease. The general wanted Sampson to steam up the channel into Santiago Harbor and engage the Spanish ships, a course of action that the admiral rejected because of the threat of mines. While the Americans were trying to decide how the navy might best assist the army in bringing about a Spanish capitulation, the Spanish solved the problem themselves. On July 1, Cervera's superior, Spanish governor-general in Cuba Ramón Blanco y Erenas, ordered the Spanish admiral to take his squadron to sea. Blanco feared that a failure to attempt to break out would have a disastrous psychological effect on the Spanish war effort. Blanco favored a night sortie, but Cervera vetoed that, certain that his crews would be detected and blinded by the American searchlights. On July 2, Cervera ordered the sorties to take place at 9:00 a.m. on July 3.

That same morning, July 3, Sampson, ordered by President William McKinley to cooperate with Shafter, departed in the *New York* for a meeting with the general at Siboney. This left Schley in the cruiser *Brooklyn* in command. Why Sampson took the flagship for the meeting with Shafter rather than a smaller ship is unknown. At any rate, Sampson remarked to Chadwick that it would be ironic if Cervera chose that time to sortie. That is exactly what happened. Sampson learned by signal that Cervera was departing the harbor and ordered an immediate return, but the *New York* returned too late to take a meaningful role in the action.

Cervera knew that he was badly outgunned. The American blockaders could throw three times the weight of broadside of the Spanish ships, and many of the Spanish batteries were in poor repair. The Spanish ships also were short of reliable ammunition. At 9:00 a.m., smoke from the harbor revealed that the Spanish ships were under way. Cervera's decision to sortie in daylight in fact caught the Americans by surprise. His six ships slowly made their way out of the channel, red and yellow battle streamers at their masts. The ships were the armored cruisers *Maria Teresa* (flagship), *Vizcaya*, *Cristóbal Colón*, and *Oquendo* and the torpedo boat de-

stroyers *Plutón* and *Furor*. Led by the *Maria Teresa*, the ships exited the harbor one at a time at intervals of about 600 yards and 10 minutes. It took them about an hour to clear the channel.

Cervera hoped to be able to ram the *Brooklyn*, a diversion that might allow his remaining ships to escape. The *Brooklyn* and seven other blockading warships (four battleships, three auxiliaries, and a torpedo boat) quickly converged on the harbor entrance, and the *New York* came up later. Cervera headed the *Maria Teresa* for the *Brooklyn*. The American cruiser was then headed west, and its captain, Francis A. Cook, ordered an immediate turn to the east, a decision with which Schley concurred. This almost led to a collision with the battleship *Texas*, which had to reverse engines. Captain Robley Evans of the *Iowa* hoped to either ram or torpedo the *Maria Teresa*, but before he could do so, the *Iowa* managed to score hits on the Spanish flagships with shells from the two guns of its forward 12-inch turret.

The Spanish ships were simply overwhelmed by superior U.S. firepower. Engulfed in flames, they tried to make the shore, and the Americans soon turned to rescuing their crews. The last Spanish ship afloat, the cruiser *Cristóbal Colón*, managed to steam some 50 miles along the coast until poor coal enabled the battleship *Oregon* to overhaul it. The captain of the *Cristóbal Colón* then headed his ship to shore and hauled down the flag at 1:15 p.m. Then, in violation of the laws of war, he ordered the sea valves opened and the ship scuttled.

In the four-hour Battle of Santiago de Cuba, the Spanish lost all six ships either sunk or scuttled, and 323 men killed and another 151 wounded. A total of 1,720 were taken prisoner, including Cervera. The U.S. Navy lost only 1 man killed and another injured, both on the *Brooklyn*. As Captain Evans put it, "God and the gunners had had their day." Santiago formally surrendered on July 17.

Later there was a bitter public controversy as Commodore Schley feuded with Sampson over who was responsible for the victory. Schley and his supporters subsequently claimed that Sampson was out of sight when the battle began and that he and not Sampson deserved credit for the victory. Certainly this and the maneuvers of individual ships made no difference in the outcome of the battle, but the controversy damaged the reputations of both men and denied them the satisfaction they deserved for their achievement.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Blanco y Erenas, Ramón; Cervera y Topete, Pascual; McCalla, Bowman Hendry; *Oregon*, USS; Sampson, William Thomas; Sampson-Schley Controversy; Schley, Winfield Scott; Shafter, William Rufus

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Santiago de Cuba, Capitulation Agreement

The Spanish capitulation at Santiago de Cuba was negotiated and agreed to by both sides on July 16, 1898, and effectively ended major hostilities between U.S. and Spanish forces in Cuba. The agreement went into effect the next day, July 17. The capitulation set the stage for further negotiations, brokered by the French government and French ambassador to the United States Jules-Martin Cambon. The result of the later negotiations was the August 12, 1898, Protocol of Peace, which set in motion the talks that ended with the Treaty of Paris in December 1898. The capitulation agreement also ended the campaign and siege of Santiago de Cuba, which had begun on June 22 with the landing of V Corps at Daiquirí and Siboney.

Negotiating for the Spanish side was General José Toral y Vázquez, commanding officer of the Spanish garrison at Santiago. Toral had first consulted with General Ramón Blanco y Erenas, the governor-general of Cuba, who had given his approval to the capitulation. When the colonial office in Madrid vacillated on the need for the capitulation agreement, however, Toral took it upon himself to begin talks without the explicit consent of Madrid. As the talks progressed, Toral made it clear that he would be unable to sign an agreement until he received permission from Madrid. The chief negotiators for the United States, Major General Joseph Wheeler and Major General Henry Ware Lawton, refused to allow Toral time to wait for a reply from his home government. They insisted that the

capitulation agreement be signed, and they threatened the resumption of hostilities if this was not done in a timely fashion.

Under American pressure, Toral agreed to sign the agreement and let the chips fall where they may. Also signing the agreement for the Spanish were General Federico Escario García, Lieutenant Colonel Ventura Fontán, and Robert Mason, Great Britain's consul in Santiago de Cuba. In addition to Wheeler and Lawton, First Lieutenant John D. Miley also signed the agreement for the Americans. Miley was Major General William Shafter's personal representative.

Throughout the negotiations, it was quite clear that Toral was concerned about maintaining his personal honor and that of his troops. For their part, the Americans were solicitous toward Toral and tried for the most part to allow him to capitulate while keeping intact his honor and that of his men and his country. It was also obvious that Toral was concerned about signing a capitulation agreement without the explicit authorization of Madrid and that he worried about his reception in Spain once the agreement had been concluded. It is worth noting that Toral and Escario insisted on the term "capitulation" rather than the more pejorative term "surrender."

The capitulation agreement stipulated the surrender of not only the garrison at Santiago de Cuba but also the Spanish stronghold at Guantánamo and six other encampments in eastern Cuba as well. The agreement had seven major provisions. First, the agreement was to "absolutely and unequivocally" end hostilities between American and Spanish forces in the vicinity of Santiago de Cuba. Second, the United States was to transport to Spain all Spanish troops in the region as quickly as possible and pay for said transportation. Third, Spanish officers would be allowed to keep their side arms, and all Spanish troops would be allowed to retain their personal property. Fourth, Spanish forces were to remove—or aid



U.S. troops cheering upon news of the Spanish surrender of Santiago de Cuba, July 16, 1898. (Library of Congress)

in the removal of—all explosive mines and other devices in Santiago de Cuba’s harbor. Fifth, Spanish commanders were to provide U.S. forces with a complete inventory of weapons and armaments and a full roster of all Spanish troops. Sixth, any Spaniards wishing to remain in Cuba had to surrender their arms and agree not to wage war against Cubans or Americans. Finally, Spanish troops were to march out of Santiago de Cuba with the honors of war, turning in their weapons at a mutually designated location, and await transportation to Spain.

As it turned out, the capitulation agreement of Santiago de Cuba became controversial, not only for Toral and the Spanish but for the Americans as well. Shafter had not included any representatives from the navy in the negotiations, and none had been a signatory to the final agreement. Given the important role of its victory over Spanish naval forces in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3 and the subsequent actions that aided in the U.S. Army’s successful land campaign against Santiago de Cuba, such an oversight did not rest well with the navy. Rear Admiral William T. Sampson learned of the agreement only after he received a copy of it. Understandably perturbed, he insisted that Shafter apologize, which he eventually did. Still, the agreement was yet one more example of the interservice squabbling that became one of the hallmarks of the Spanish-American War.

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See also

Blanco y Erenas, Ramón; Cambon, Jules-Martin; Escario García, Federico; V Corps; Lawton, Henry Ware; Miley, John David; Peace, Protocol of; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba, Occupation of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Shafter, William Rufus; Toral y Vázquez, José; Wheeler, Joseph

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Santiago de Cuba, Occupation of

Start Date: July 17, 1898

End Date: May 20, 1901

U.S. forces occupied the city of Santiago de Cuba on July 17, 1898, following the Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign that had begun on June 22, the destruction of Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete’s squadron in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba, and a 14-day siege. The city’s population of 50,000 came under the control of the U.S. Army’s V Corps, commanded by Major General William R. Shafter. Shafter in turn named Brigadier General Leonard Wood as the military governor of Santiago de Cuba on July 20, 1898. Wood had pre-

viously commanded a brigade of the cavalry division at the July 1 Battle of San Juan Hill on the city’s approaches.

Wood had charge of the city until December 1899 and proved most effective. As military governor, he was responsible not only for the civilian population of 50,000 people but also for 12,000 Spanish prisoners of war. After Shafter departed for the United States in mid-August, Wood’s superior was Major General Henry W. Lawton, who was the military governor of the province of Santiago. Lawton departed in October 1898, and Wood took command of both the city and the province. Wood remained in this post until December 1899, when he became military governor for all of Cuba. He served as the military governor of Cuba for 18 months and then turned the administration of Cuba over to the popularly elected president of Cuba, Tomás Estrada Palma, on May 20, 1901.

Wood’s focus and his efforts throughout his three years of service in Cuba followed the model he established in his initial experience as the governor of Santiago de Cuba. When Shafter appointed Wood governor of Santiago de Cuba, the city was in crisis. Local city officials had abandoned their posts, parts of the city had been destroyed by the siege, much of the city’s population was sick and starving, and refugees from the countryside, who were even more emaciated than the city’s population, were flooding into the city.

Wood immediately took command of the situation using his unlimited powers as military governor, backed up by the occupying American troops. His first task was to reestablish law and order. In so doing, he located former policemen and armed and equipped them under the command of his own American provost marshal. He prohibited the brutal police methods employed under Spanish authority but did not otherwise interfere with local customs of law enforcement. He also reestablished the court system, personally held a weekly Governor’s Audience to hear complaints of the population, and headed the Superior Provost Court.

As with the police force, Wood carried out occupation operations employing indigenous officials as much as possible. These were organized and then placed under the supervision of army officers. For example, U.S. Army medical officers organized and supervised all Spanish and Cuban doctors in the city. Wood himself inspected the administration of the city on a daily basis. He rode by horseback throughout the city and often, as a trained physician, intervened to provide aid to sick citizens encountered during his inspections.

Simultaneous with establishing law and order, the military governor attacked the other immediate problems facing the population: famine and disease. When Wood took command, approximately 15,000 of the population were sick, and 200 people were dying in the city each day. To attack the problem of starvation, he immediately arranged for the distribution of Spanish Army rations to the population. During the first weeks of the occupation, his command issued approximately 18,000 rations per day and on one occasion issued some 51,000 rations in a single day. The American occupation authority also instituted strict price controls and ensured that merchants sold available local foodstuffs at reasonable prices. The city governor vigorously prosecuted merchants who attempted to take

advantage of the starving population by raising prices or engaging in black market sales.

The American army fought disease in the city using a variety of techniques. The first requirement was through improved sanitation. At the beginning of the occupation, hundreds of dead lay unburied throughout the city, posing a significant health hazard. The Americans organized work parties to move the dead outside the city and then had the bodies burned. Next, work parties tackled the city streets and alleys, which were filled with refuse of all sorts, human and animal excrement, and decaying animal carcasses. This refuse was systematically loaded onto confiscated wagons, moved outside the city, and burned.

The army also published and enforced detailed sanitation regulations. The city was divided up into wards, and each ward was assigned to an army medical officer. The officer systematically inspected all areas in his ward, including house-by-house inspections of homes. The medical officers identified violations of regulations; violators conformed or faced action by the provost.

Lack of potable water also contributed to disease in the city, so army engineers restored and improved the water system. Combat as well as poor maintenance had reduced the system to a shambles. The army repaired broken or nonfunctioning water mains and extended the system into parts of the city that had not previously had functioning water service.

Wood's administration of Santiago was strict, and the population only reluctantly conformed to his authority. However, by the

end of August 1898, the city was relatively clean, the people were fed, and law and order had been restored. Also, the disease and death rates within the city had been reduced dramatically. The success that Wood achieved in Santiago de Cuba became a model. Indeed, he replicated it to cover the entire province and later all of Cuba as he subsequently governed at those levels.

LOUIS A. DiMARCO

See also

Cuba, U.S. Occupation of; Estrada Palma, Tomás; V Corps; Lawton, Henry Ware; Medicine, Military; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Shafter, William Rufus; Wood, Leonard

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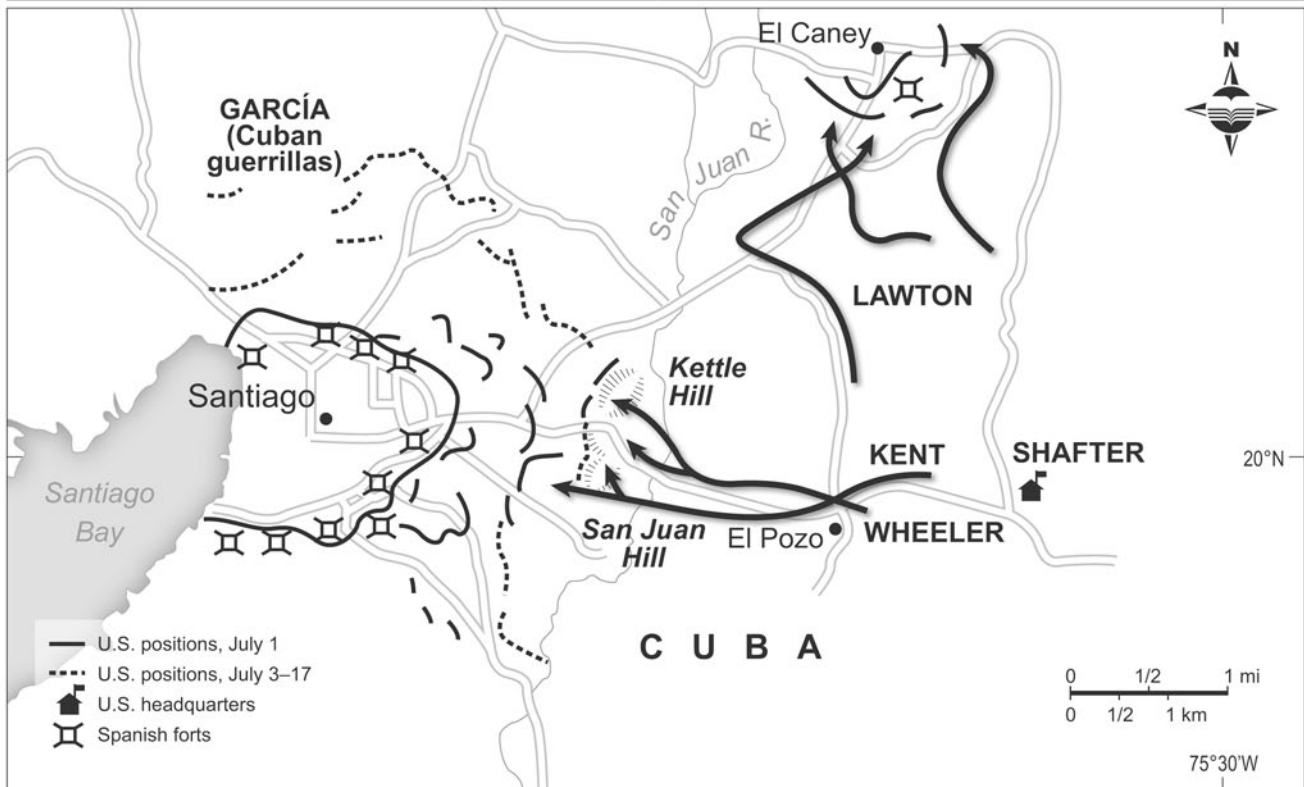
Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign

Start Date: May 19, 1898

End Date: June 17, 1898

When Spanish rear admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's Cádiz Squadron slipped into the harbor of Santiago de Cuba on May 19,

LAND BATTLE OF SANTIAGO, JULY 1–17, 1898





Buildings in Santiago de Cuba damaged by shelling after the capture of the city by U.S. forces. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

1898, U.S. war strategy shifted from capturing Havana to capturing Santiago. Destruction of Cervera's squadron, Washington believed, would help induce Spain to surrender. By June 1, U.S. Navy rear admiral William T. Sampson's North Atlantic Squadron had effectively established a blockade off Santiago Harbor, thereby neutralizing the threat posed by the Spanish fleet, at least temporarily. On June 3, however, Sampson's attempt to blockade the harbor entrance with the collier *Merrimac* failed.

Between June 22 and 26, Major General William Shafter's V Corps landed at Daiquirí and Siboney on the southeastern coast of Cuba. Some 17,000 troops were put ashore, albeit under awkward and confused conditions. Spanish troops were fought at Las Guásimas, but they offered no real obstacle to the American advance. Shafter's assignment was to capture Santiago and in so doing aid the U.S. Navy in destroying Admiral Cervera's squadron. Shafter had two options: he could march from Daiquirí to seize the fort at El Morro, guarding the entrance to Santiago Harbor, or he could drive inland from Siboney directly to Santiago and capture San Juan Heights, which overlooked the port. The advance was to be supported by General Calixto García y Iñiguez's Cuban revolutionary forces. Interservice disagreements and squabbling clouded the

issue from the beginning, both in Cuba between Shafter and Sampson and in Washington, D.C., where Secretary of War Russell Alger and Secretary of the Navy John Long were frequently in dispute.

Sampson believed that Shafter's objective should be El Morro, the capture of which would allow the navy to clear the mines that had been laid in the harbor's entrance. Shafter, by contrast, thought that the navy ought to simply enter the harbor and attack the Spanish fleet. Moreover, reports indicated that the Spanish had established a strong defensive position at El Morro, which gave Shafter pause.

Accordingly, Shafter elected to move inland on Santiago, planning a two-pronged attack on the approaches to Santiago, with Brigadier General Jacob F. Kent's 1st Division and Major General Joseph Wheeler's dismounted cavalry division attacking San Juan Heights on the left and Brigadier General Henry W. Lawton's 2nd Division attacking El Caney on the right. After Wheeler's dismounted cavalry division repulsed the Spaniards at Las Guásimas on June 24, Shafter prepared for a coordinated attack on July 1. Lawton's forces were to strike at El Caney and then move south to support Kent's assault on San Juan Heights. Although stiff Spanish resistance at El Caney resulted in an all-day battle there, Kent suc-



Illustration by William J. Glackens of the scene at El Pozo during the Santiago Campaign in Cuba in 1898. The illustration originally appeared in the October 1898 issue of *McClure's Magazine*. (Library of Congress)

ceeded in taking San Juan Heights in an engagement in which Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders figured prominently. Indeed, Roosevelt's success at Kettle Hill made him a national hero. With the victory at El Caney and the capture of San Juan Heights on July 1, what had been the campaign of Santiago became the siege of Santiago.

The Spanish meanwhile had shifted a limited number of resources to Santiago. On June 22, some 3,700 Spanish troops commanded by Colonel Federico Escario García departed Manzanillo for Santiago, 160 miles distant. Throughout the march, Cuban guerrillas harassed the force constantly. Although the Spanish column finally reached Santiago on the night of July 2, the men did little more than add to the burden on the city's food supply, which by now had reached a critical level, as the city was effectively cut off from supplies or reinforcements. Shafter perceived that Santiago was still much too strong for him to storm and believed that Spanish reinforcements were on their way to the city. In a communiqué to Washington, he requested authorization to withdraw to a more secure position.

Withdrawal was not on the minds of those in Washington, however, and Shafter was promptly directed to hold the heights. The leaders in Washington moved quickly. More troops were ordered to Cuba along with commanding general of the army Major General Nelson Miles with instructions to do whatever he judged necessary to hold San Juan Heights. On the one hand, U.S. authorities, especially Shafter, might have been less concerned had they known of the desperate situation inside Santiago, where the wounded Spanish commander, Lieutenant General Arsenio Linares, had been replaced by Major General José Toral y Vázquez and the city's inhabitants had been reduced to a starvation diet. Although the city's garrison totaled 10,429 men at the end of June, this figure included unreliable militia and volunteers. Morale was also low, with pay for the regulars 11 months in arrears. On the other hand, Shafter's V Corps was suffering an alarming increase in casualties due to fevers brought on by the onset of the tropical disease season.

On July 3, the picture at Santiago was dramatically altered when Cervera's squadron attempted to break out of Santiago Harbor and was destroyed by the U.S. blockading squadron. With the defeat of

the Spanish fleet, the military value of Santiago suddenly became questionable. Accordingly, on July 3, Shafter advised General Toral to surrender or the city would be shelled. Toral declined, but negotiations nevertheless continued. Toral then proposed surrendering the city provided that the garrison was allowed to retain its arms and march unopposed to Holguín. Shafter was disposed to accept those terms, but President William McKinley insisted on unconditional surrender.

On July 10 and 11, the two sides engaged in a final battle, with the Spanish sustaining 50 casualties compared to 4 for the Americans. Two days later, on July 13, Shafter and Miles (who had finally arrived) met again with Toral, offering to ship all Spanish troops back to Spain at U.S. expense if Toral agreed to surrender unconditionally. Recognizing that he had little choice, Toral agreed but needed the permission of Lieutenant General Ramón Blanco y Erenas, Spanish captain-general and governor-general of Cuba in Havana. Blanco eventually agreed, and on July 17, Toral surrendered the city of Santiago together with Guantánamo and a number of smaller posts that fell under the authority of the Santiago commander.

The campaign was hardly a military masterpiece. Shafter, who personally suffered from malarial fever and gout during the campaign, was often out of touch with the situation and pessimistic. The Spanish enjoyed superiority in small arms with their Mauser rifles firing smokeless powder cartridges, and American artillery support was negligible at best. In addition, Shafter had made no effort to utilize naval gunfire support or the Spanish guerrilla forces, who he perceived to be little more than laborers.

JERRY KEENAN AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; Blanco y Erenas, Ramón; Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Daiquirí Beachhead, Cuba; El Caney, Battle of; Kettle Hill, Battle of; Las Guásimas, Battle of; Linares y Pombo, Arsenio; Long, John Davis; McKinley, William; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Roosevelt, Theodore; Rough Riders; Sampson, William Thomas; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Shafter, William Rufus; Siboney, Cuba; Toral y Vázquez, José; Wheeler, Joseph

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Schley, Winfield Scott

Birth Date: October 9, 1839

Death Date: October 2, 1911

U.S. admiral. Born on October 9, 1839, in Frederick County, Maryland, and named for U.S. Army brevet major general Winfield Scott, Winfield Scott Schley graduated from the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, in 1860. His first assignment was aboard the screw frigate *Niagara* when it returned a Japanese delegation to Japan. In May 1861 at the beginning of the American Civil War, the *Niagara* joined the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron operating near Charleston. Schley garnered recognition in bringing a captured prize to Philadelphia. This act brought him promotion to master and assignment to the sailing frigate *Potomac* in the West Gulf Blockading Squadron. In July 1862, he was assigned to the screw gunboat *Winona* and participated in operations along the Mississippi River.



Commodore Winfield Scott Schley, who had actual command of the U.S. blockading warships off Santiago during the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3, 1898. The subsequent controversy between Schley and Rear Admiral William Sampson over who was responsible for the U.S. victory led to much acrimony in the navy. (Library of Congress)

Savannah, Georgia

See Camp Onward

Promoted to lieutenant commander in July 1866, Schley was detailed to the Naval Academy. He then had a variety of assignments during the next 15 years. As commander of the screw sloop *Benica*, he participated in the investigation into the loss of the U.S. merchantman *General Slocum* in Korean waters. He also served under Rear Admiral John Rodgers in the July 1871 action against Korean forts. Promoted to commander in June 1874, Schley was captain of the screw gunboat *Essex* during 1876–1879.

Schley gained public renown for leading the Greeley Relief Expedition to the Arctic, which in the summer of 1884 rescued the survivors of an ill-fated army operation. During 1887–1888, he was chief of the Bureau of Equipment and Recruiting, and in March 1888, he was promoted to captain. He then commanded the cruiser *Baltimore*.

On March 26, 1898, Schley took command as commodore of the Flying Squadron, formed to protect the U.S. coast from a possible Spanish attack. The United States declared war on Spain the next month. Leaving Key West, Florida, on May 19, however, Schley failed to locate Spanish rear admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's Cádiz Squadron, which had departed the Cape Verde Islands on April 29. Convinced that Cervera was at Cienfuegos, Cuba, Schley ignored word from North Atlantic Squadron commander Rear Admiral William T. Sampson that the Spanish squadron was probably at Santiago. Cervera in fact arrived there on May 19. Finally arriving off Santiago on May 26, Schley failed to carry out a reconnaissance and instead departed for Key West, supposedly to coal. During a 17-hour period on May 26–27, Schley disregarded an order from Secretary of the Navy John D. Long to proceed to Santiago and blockade it. Not until May 28 did Schley take up position off Santiago. Cervera thus had ample time to escape from that port but chose not to do so, largely because of the condition of his ships and opposition from his captains.

Following formation of the North Atlantic Fleet on June 21 under Sampson, Schley took command of its 2nd Squadron. Schley is chiefly remembered for his role in the July 3, 1898, Battle of Santiago de Cuba. When the Spanish squadron began exiting the harbor and with Rear Admiral Sampson absent, Schley issued the order for the U.S. ships to open fire. The unorthodox movement of Schley's flagship the *Brooklyn* during the initial stage of the battle, however, almost caused a collision with the battleship *Texas*. The question of which man deserved credit led to one of the worst schisms in U.S. naval history. The resulting media coverage and public scrutiny damaged the reputations of both men and that of the navy.

Although Schley was promoted to rear admiral on March 3, 1899, and took command of the South Atlantic Squadron, his health suffered from the ongoing controversy. He retired from the navy in October 1901. Schley died on October 2, 1911, in New York City.

RICHARD W. PEUSER AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Flying Squadron; Long, John Davis; North Atlantic Squadron; Sampson, William Thomas; Sampson-Schley Controversy; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of

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Schofield, John McAllister

Birth Date: September 29, 1831

Death Date: March 4, 1906

U.S. Army general. John McAllister Schofield was born in Gerry, New York, on September 29, 1831, the son of a Baptist minister. Raised in Illinois, Schofield graduated from the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1853, ranking seventh out of a class of fifty-four. Commissioned a second lieutenant, he served for



Major General John M. Schofield was commanding general of the U.S. Army during 1888–1895. A capable administrator, he was advanced to lieutenant general upon his retirement. (Chaiba Media)

two years in the 1st U.S. Artillery, then returned to West Point as an instructor of experimental philosophy (physics). He was promoted to first lieutenant in 1855 but, disillusioned by the lack of promotion, secured a leave of absence in 1860 and took a position teaching physics at Washington University in St. Louis.

On the beginning of the American Civil War in April 1861, Schofield was commissioned a major in the 1st Missouri Volunteers. He favorably impressed Major General Nathaniel Lyon, the local Union Army commander, who appointed him his chief of staff. In this capacity, Schofield accompanied Lyon in a series of small Union victories over Southern forces but advised against engaging numerically superior Confederate forces at Wilson's Creek on August 10, 1861. Lyon attacked anyway and was killed. Schofield particularly distinguished himself in the battle, and in 1892 was formally awarded the Medal of Honor for his role.

On November 21, 1861, Schofield was advanced to brigadier general of volunteers. In October 1862, he took command of the Army of the Frontier and the District of Southwest Missouri. Enjoying some success driving Southern guerrillas from Missouri and Kansas, he also sought a more important command. On May 12, 1863, he was named major general of volunteers and given command of the Department of the Ohio and the Army of the Ohio. He then participated in Major General William T. Sherman's Atlanta Campaign during which Schofield did battle with Confederate forces under Lieutenant General John Bell Hood's Confederates. Hood invaded Tennessee and attempted to cut off Schofield's smaller force from Nashville. Schofield eluded Hood and entrenched at Franklin. In the Battle of Franklin on November 30, 1864, Schofield's men destroyed the attacking Confederates. For this victory, Schofield was advanced to brigadier general in the regular army to date from the battle. Moving his forces by sea to Fort Fisher, North Carolina, he occupied Wilmington on February 22, 1865, and then fought at Kinston during March 8–10. He ended the war cooperating closely with Sherman against the remaining Confederate forces under General Joseph E. Johnston.

Following the war, President Andrew Johnson appointed Schofield as a confidential agent of the State Department and sent him to France, charged with negotiating with Emperor Napoleon III the withdrawal of French forces from Mexico. This mission accomplished successfully, Schofield commanded the Department of the Potomac from August 1866 to June 1868. President Johnson then appointed him secretary of war. In March 1869, Schofield advanced to major general of regulars and took charge of the Department of the Missouri until May 1870. He then commanded the Division of the Pacific and in 1873, under secret orders of Secretary of War William Belknap, traveled to Hawaii to evaluate the strategic usefulness of those islands to the United States. Upon his recommendation, the government purchased Pearl Harbor as a naval facility. In September 1876, Schofield returned to West Point as commandant, remaining there until January 1881, when he succeeded to command of the Division of the Gulf. In 1878, he also

headed a board that reconsidered the court-martial of Major General Fitz John Porter and absolved him of misconduct at the Second Battle of Bull Run in 1862.

After successive tours with the Division of the Pacific and the Division of the Missouri, in August 1888 Schofield succeeded Lieutenant General Philip H. Sheridan as commanding general of the army. During his seven-year tenure, Schofield pressed for improvements in the life of common soldiers through better rations, higher pay, and improved standards of living. He also sought to foster professionalism among the officer corps by a system of examinations for promotion, the creation of post libraries, and strong support for service schools.

In sharp contrast with his predecessors Sherman and Sheridan, Schofield disagreed with the prevailing national policy toward the Native Americans. Indeed, he urged that they be allowed to join the military as regular soldiers. He believed that in this capacity Native Americans and their dependents could be cared for while at the same time performing useful national service. Owing to the racism prevalent at the time, however, this policy was never adopted.

Schofield proved an able administrator. He clarified the military chain of command by ending a long feud with the secretary of war, subordinating the post of commanding general to the secretary's office, and agreeing to function as his senior military adviser. Schofield's final act was to advocate the adoption of a general staff on the German model to better formulate grand strategic planning. This scheme was not adopted. Schofield, advanced to lieutenant general, retired from the army on February 5, 1895.

On the eve of the Spanish-American War, Schofield argued strongly in favor of U.S. intervention in Cuba in order to end the suffering of the Cuban people. During the war, President William McKinley, who distrusted both Miles and Secretary of War Russell Alger, often sought the counsel of the retired Schofield regarding military issues. Schofield also played a major role in McKinley's decision to call for an increase in the size of the regular army. In 1902, Schofield appeared before a congressional committee to support the creation of a general staff concept, contrary to the opinions of the commanding general of the army, Major General Nelson A. Miles. Schofield died in St. Augustine, Florida, on March 4, 1906. He is generally regarded as one of the finest peacetime commanding generals of the army. Schofield Barracks at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, is named for him.

JOHN C. FREDRIKSEN AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; McKinley, William; Miles, Nelson Appleton

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Schwan, Theodore

Birth Date: July 9, 1841

Death Date: May 27, 1926

U.S. Army brigadier general who served during the American Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and the Philippine-American War. Theodore Schwan was born in Hanover, Germany, on July 9, 1841. Educated in his native country, he immigrated to the United States with his family in 1857.

On June 12, 1857, when he was not yet 16, Schwan enlisted as a private in the 12th U.S. Infantry. He served in the Civil War and rose through the ranks to sergeant until October 31, 1863, when he was commissioned as a second lieutenant. He was advanced to first lieutenant on April 9, 1864, and to captain on March 14, 1866. He was belatedly awarded the Medal of Honor on December 12, 1898, for saving a wounded fellow officer in Virginia during the Civil War in the Battle of Peebles' Farm (October 1, 1864).

Schwan remained in the army after the Civil War and in 1872 participated in Indian campaigns in West Texas. On July 6, 1886, he was promoted to major, serving in the 11th Infantry Regiment. During 1892–1893, he was attached to the U.S. embassy in Berlin, Germany, and on February 19, 1895, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel.

When the Spanish-American War began, Schwan was promoted to colonel on May 18, 1898, and then advanced to brigadier general of volunteers. On June 20, several volunteer regiments from Mobile, Alabama, were transferred to Miami, Florida, where they formed the 1st Division of IV Corps under Schwan's command. On July 1, however, Schwan took command of the Independent Regular Brigade of IV Corps.

On July 31, Schwan sailed with his brigade of some 1,500 men in the transport *Cherokee* for Puerto Rico. He landed with his brigade at Guánica. The brigade remained there until August 6, when Schwan received orders from IV Corps commander Major General Nelson A. Miles to concentrate his brigade at Yauco. Miles hoped to trap Spanish troops by converging on them from three different directions. Schwan's brigade was charged with operations in western Puerto Rico. The brigade occupied Yauco on August 9 and fought in the Battle of Hormigueros on August 10. The next day, Schwan's force entered the town of Mayagüez, which was immediately encircled by Spanish troops. The brigade fought another brief engagement at Las Marías on August 13, the last combat of the Puerto Rico Campaign. Operations by Schwan's brigade had largely cleared Spanish forces from western Puerto Rico. Although Schwan himself was sick during much of the nine-day-long campaign, it was an unqualified success. His men had moved 92 miles, occupied nine towns, and taken 362 prisoners, all at a cost to his own force of 1 dead and 16 wounded.

On August 28, Schwan left for Ponce and then returned to the United States. Transferred to the Philippines, he became chief of staff of VIII Corps there. In October 1899, Schwan's forces helped to crush the Philippine resistance in Cavite and adjacent provinces.

He campaigned for a second time in Cavite during January–February 1900 during which remaining insurgents were dispersed. Schwan retired from the army on February 21, 1901, after more than 40 years in the service. Promoted to major general on the retired list in 1916, he died on May 27, 1926.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Cavite, Philippines; Hormigueros, Battle of; Las Marías, Battle of; Mayagüez, Battle of; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Philippine-American War; Philippine Expeditionary Force; Puerto Rico Campaign; Yauco, Battle of

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Scovel, Henry Sylvester

Birth Date: July 29, 1869

Death Date: February 11, 1905

Born on July 29, 1869, near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Henry Sylvester Scovel (who preferred to be called by his middle name) was one of the best-known newspaper reporters to cover the Spanish-American War. He graduated from Michigan Military Academy in 1887. Sources are confusing concerning Scovel's early life, but he apparently studied at both the College of Wooster in Ohio and the University of Michigan, working part-time as a time-keeper in blast-furnace plants. Some sources claim that he worked on ranches in the West before returning to Ohio to work in the hardware business. He was general manager of the Cleveland Athletic Club and a member of the First Cleveland Troop, an Ohio National Guard unit. Although he was educated in engineering, his passion was writing and journalism.

In 1895, possibly as a result of his penchant for aggressive promoting, the *Pittsburgh Dispatch* and *New York Herald* appointed Scovel to cover the increasing unrest in Spanish-held Cuba. He managed to slip onto the island and locate insurgent leader Máximo Gómez y Iñiguez with whom he spent 10 months in 1896 covering the skirmishes with Spanish troops and the growing Cuban War of Independence. Scovel's mission coincided with the arrival of new captain-general of Cuba Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, who instituted the infamous *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) policy that proved harsh and deadly to the native population. Scovel's stories detailing Spanish abuses did not endear him to Weyler, who ordered him to leave Cuba. But Scovel ignored this order, leaving for New York only when it suited him.

Scovel's blatant disregard for Weyler led to his hiring by Joseph Pulitzer's paper the *New York World*, which sent Scovel back to Cuba early in 1897. Scovel interviewed Gómez, who publicly rejected the Spanish offer of autonomy for Cuba. Weyler, learning that Scovel was back in Cuba, posted a \$5,000 reward for his capture. On February 5, 1897, Scovel was in the port of Tunas trying to send out letters by boat when he was seized by Spanish troops and thrown into prison, accused of communicating with the enemy, crossing Spanish lines, and possessing a false police pass. Once word of his capture reached the United States, the *New York World* began a campaign to secure his release. State legislatures passed resolutions demanding his release, while more than 50 newspapers banded together in a message to Weyler toward the same end. Finally, on March 9, 1897, Weyler, on orders from Madrid, released Scovel.

After briefly covering the Greco-Turkish War, Scovel returned to Cuba late in 1897. This time, the Spanish simply ignored him. He was seated in a waterfront restaurant in Havana on the evening of February 15, 1898, when explosions rocked the U.S. battleship *Maine*. His story appeared two days later in the *New York World*. Scovel, with other American reporters, was expelled from Cuba on April 10, as relations between America and Spain quickly deteriorated.

After war was declared, Scovel befriended Rear Admiral William T. Sampson and placed *New York World* dispatch boats at the navy's disposal, running errands and providing information. The newspaper benefited greatly from this relationship, but on May 18, 1898, Secretary of the Navy John D. Long issued an order banning Scovel from all navy vessels after he was caught stowing away on a navy tug.

Scovel participated in several scouting expeditions along the Cuban coast, helping search for the arrival of the Spanish fleet. Together with reporter Stephen Crane, Scovel landed in Cuba and scouted Santiago Harbor in mid-June, writing a detailed report for both the *New York World* and Sampson who, in spite of Long's edict, continued to make use of Scovel's expertise. Scovel was present at and reported on the American assault on San Juan Heights on July 1, 1898.

American troops entered Santiago de Cuba to accept the formal surrender of the Spanish on July 17. At noon, the Spanish flag was lowered from the governor's palace and the Stars and Stripes raised. In order to be visible in the photos, Scovel had climbed to the palace roof. When some officers saw him, they ordered him down. Once he was on ground level, he began arguing with Major General William R. Shafter and even threw a punch at the general before guards seized him. This incident led to the revocation of Scovel's correspondent's credentials, and he was shipped home.

After the war, Scovel returned to Cuba, serving there until 1902 as a consulting engineer to the Cuban customs service of the U.S. government. Until his death in Havana on February 11, 1905, Scovel was engaged in various commercial enterprises on the island. In many ways, he epitomized the yellow press of the day, but his reporting went beyond that by embedding itself into the local scene and by relying on firsthand (rather than secondhand or thirdhand) reporting.

RICHARD A. SAUERS

See also

Cuban War of Independence; Gómez y Báez, Máximo; Journalism; Newspapers; *Reconcentrado* System; Sampson, William Thomas; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Shafter, William Rufus; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano; Yellow Journalism

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Seacoast Fortifications

See Coastal Defenses, U.S.

Shafter, William Rufus

Birth Date: October 16, 1836

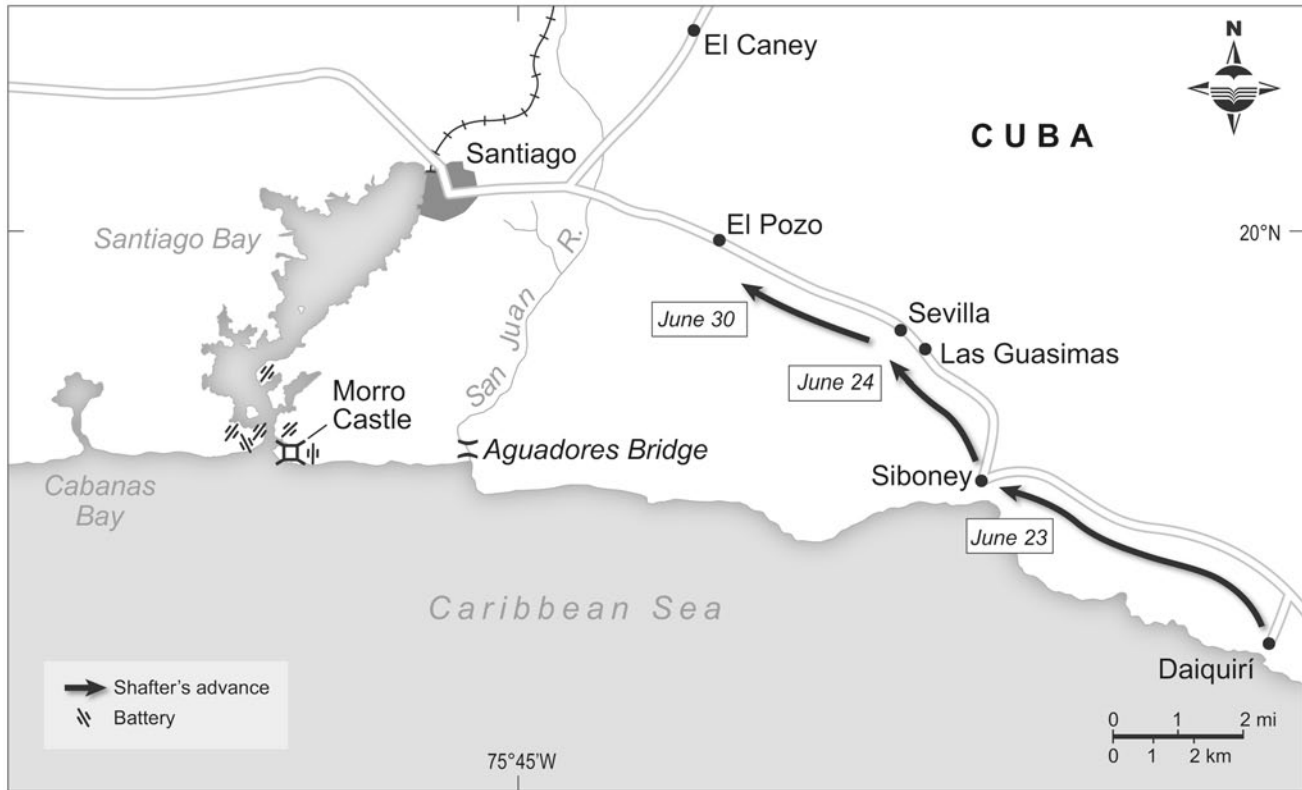
Death Date: November 12, 1906

U.S. Army general and commander of U.S. forces in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. Born in Galesburg, Kalamazoo County, Michigan, on October 16, 1836, William Rufus Shafter



Major General William Rufus Shafter commanded V Corps in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

SANTIAGO CAMPAIGN, JUNE–JULY 1898



taught school before the American Civil War. On the outbreak of that war, he secured a commission as a first lieutenant in the 7th Michigan Infantry. He fought in the 1862 Peninsula Campaign and was wounded in the Battle of Seven Pines/Fair Oaks (May 31–June 1). For his role in the battle, he was belatedly awarded the Medal of Honor.

Returning to duty that September, Shafter served as a major in the 19th Michigan Regiment in the western theater. Captured at Thompson's Station, Tennessee, in March 1863, he was exchanged several months later and promoted to lieutenant colonel in June. In April 1864, he assumed command of the 17th United States Colored Infantry as a colonel, leading his unit in the Battle of Nashville in December 1864. In March 1865, he received a brevet promotion to brigadier general in the volunteers.

Offered a regular commission in the army at the end of the war, Shafter reentered the army as a lieutenant colonel of the 41st Infantry, one of the African American regiments, that was merged into the new 24th Infantry in 1869. For the next decade, he served on the West Texas plains. There he supported campaigns led by Colonel Ronald Mackenzie and earned the sobriquet of "Pecos Bill" as commander of the 24th Infantry.

In 1879, Shafter was promoted to colonel of the 1st Infantry Regiment. He held this assignment for almost 18 years. He was stationed with that regiment in the Dakotas, in Texas, and in Arizona. He also headed recruiting in New York, and he commanded the army post at Angel Island, California, during 1891–1897. In May

1897, he received promotion to brigadier general and assumed command of the Department of California.

With the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898, Shafter was advanced to major general of volunteers and received command of V Corps, the U.S. Army force slated to invade Cuba. Age 63 in 1898, Shafter's weight had ballooned to 300 pounds. He was clearly out of shape and in poor health, suffering from persistent gout. In retrospect, he seems to have been a poor choice for the Cuban command, although he was the first pick of the commanding general of the army Major General Nelson A. Miles and Adjutant General Henry Corbin.

In early June 1898, after some indecision by the War Department because of the movement of the Spanish fleet, Shafter received orders to assemble 10,000 men at Tampa, Florida, and prepare to invade Cuba. The original objective was Havana, but upon learning that Spanish rear admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's Cádiz Squadron had reached Santiago Harbor, the focal point of the campaign became that port city.

From the outset in Tampa, Shafter's ineptness became evident. In his defense, like so many U.S. Army officers of that day, he had no experience managing large numbers of troops. But he also lacked the requisite energy, stamina, health, and organizational skills for such a challenging situation. Fortunately for his command, he had an able staff that made up, at least in part, for his shortcomings.

Departing from Tampa on June 14, 1898, Shafter began landing V Corps at Daiquirí and Siboney on June 22. With orders to

capture Santiago, he proposed to move on that city as quickly as possible in the hope of reaching his objective before the beginning of the fever season. Moving inland, Shafter's forces defeated the Spanish in the battles at Las Guásimas, San Juan Heights, and El Caney. Following the U.S. naval victory over Cervera's squadron in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3, 1898, Shafter began a series of negotiations with Spanish commander General José Toral y Vázquez, who surrendered to Shafter on July 17.

Ill with gout and suffering from the tropical heat, Shafter was barely able to function as commander during the Santiago campaign and was forced to follow the action from the rear, issuing orders through deputies, especially his aide-de-camp Lieutenant John David Miley. Because of Shafter's poor health, a number of his officers believed him unfit for command. Indeed, because of his weight and illness, he occasionally had to be carried about on a door. Finally, he failed to develop a harmonious rapport with his naval counterpart, Commodore William T. Sampson. Fortunately for the United States, the weakness of the Spanish position offset the absence of a strong army-navy relationship. Shafter also drew much criticism in the press for problems associated with the Cuba Campaign, most of which were beyond his control.

Promoted to major general in 1901, Shafter retired from the army several months later. He returned to his farm in California, which was adjacent to his daughter's ranch. Shafter's health continued to deteriorate. He died on November 12, 1906, near Bakersfield, California, of complications from an intestinal obstruction and pneumonia.

JERRY KEENAN

See also

Daiquirí Beachhead, Cuba; El Caney, Battle of; V Corps; Las Guásimas, Battle of; Miley, John David; Sampson, William Thomas; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Siboney, Cuba; United States Army

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Shafter-García Conference

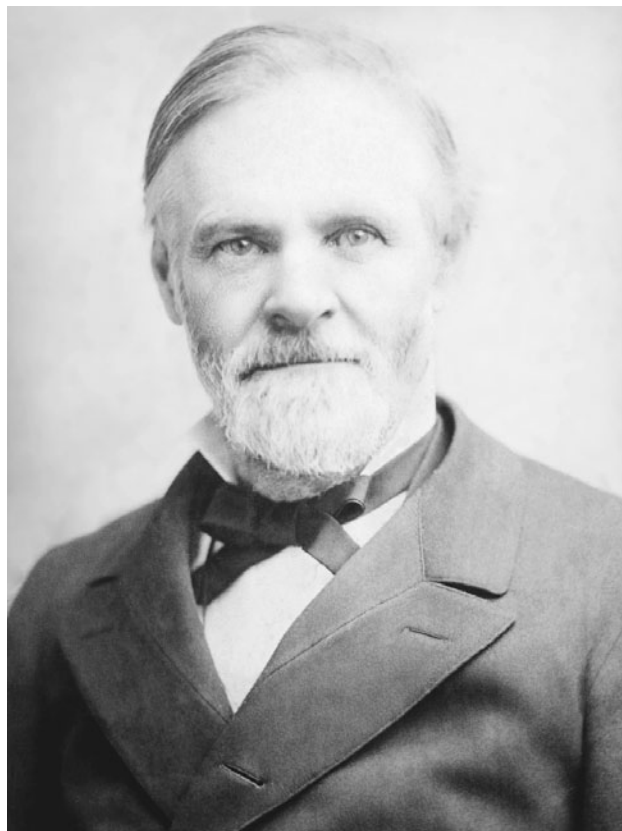
See Aserraderos Conference

Sherman, John

Birth Date: May 10, 1823

Death Date: October 22, 1900

Republican politician, U.S. congressman (1854–1861), U.S. senator (1861–1877, 1881–1897), and U.S. secretary of state (1897–1898).



John Sherman was a congressman and senator. As secretary of state (1897–1898), he was forced to resign by President William McKinley because of his staunch opposition to war with Spain. (Library of Congress)

Born on May 10, 1823, in Lancaster, Ohio, John Sherman, who was the older brother of American Civil War major general William Tecumseh Sherman, began the study of law at age 14. At the same time, John Sherman worked on a number of canal projects in Ohio. He was admitted to the bar in 1844 and established a practice in Mansfield, Ohio, before moving to Cleveland in 1853. Active in politics as a member of the Whig Party and strongly opposed to slavery, Sherman helped to organize the new Republican Party in Ohio after passage of the 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act. That same year, he was elected to the first of three successive terms in the U.S. House of Representatives. As chairman of the powerful Ways and Means Committee from 1859 to 1861, he quickly rose to political prominence and played an important role in securing passage of the Morrill Tariff of 1861, a protectionist tariff that sharply raised duties on imported goods.

In 1861, Sherman won election to the U.S. Senate, where he served until 1877. As chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, he played a crucial role in formulating government financial policy during the Reconstruction era. Although he had supported the use of paper money (greenbacks) during the Civil War, he deplored the inflationary effects of relying on anything but gold as the foundation of the nation's monetary system. In 1875, he oversaw the enactment of the Specie Resumption Act.

In 1877, Sherman left the Senate to assume the post of secretary of the treasury in the Rutherford B. Hayes administration. While secretary of the treasury, Sherman directed the successful implementation of the Specie Resumption Act in 1879. Once again, the dollar, including the remaining greenbacks in circulation, was redeemable in gold. Sherman served as treasury secretary until March 1881. Later that year, he was once more elected to the U.S. Senate to take up the seat vacated by James A. Garfield, who had been elected president.

Although unsuccessful in securing the Republican presidential nomination for president in 1880, 1884, and 1888, Sherman gave his name to two important pieces of legislation passed in 1890. The first was the Sherman Antitrust Act (1890), which made it a crime for business firms to combine to prevent competition. This legislation was aimed principally at big businesses and trusts, such as John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company. The second piece of legislation was the Sherman Silver Purchase Act (1890), which dramatically increased the amount of silver purchased by the federal government. The silver was to be used to back the printing of paper money, called treasury notes. The goal was to foster debt relief for farmers and debtors through inflation. The consequences of this act proved to be disastrous for the treasury, however, during the economic depression of 1893–1897, because the notes were redeemable in either gold or silver. When the public demanded gold, the treasury's gold reserves fell below the required level of \$100 million.

Perhaps as a reward for Sherman's long service to the party and to secure a seat in the U.S. Senate for his political adviser Marcus Alonzo Hanna, President William McKinley appointed Sherman secretary of state in 1897. The move proved to be a poor choice. The combination of Sherman's advanced age (he was then 74), failing memory, and staunch opposition to the acquisition of overseas colonies led McKinley to request that Sherman resign from the Cabinet in April 1898. McKinley replaced him with Assistant Secretary of State William Rufus Day. Sherman thus left the public spotlight after nearly 40 years of public service. He died in Washington, D.C., on October 22, 1900.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Day, William Rufus; Economic Depression; Hanna, Mark; McKinley, William; Rockefeller, John Davison; Silver Standard

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talks that ended in the treaty had begun in Shimonoseki, Japan, on March 20, 1895, even as hostilities continued between the two nations. At its core, the First Sino-Japanese War was a conflict over the control of Korea. The Treaty of Shimonoseki compelled China to recognize and honor Korean independence and cede large land areas to the Japanese, including the Liaotung (Liaodong) Peninsula in southeastern Manchuria and the islands of Formosa (Taiwan) and the Pescadores (in the Taiwan Straits). The Chinese were also forced to pay Japan an indemnity of 200 million Kuping taels (Chinese currency) over a seven-year period and to sign a new commercial treaty that would open various Chinese rivers and ports to Japanese and Western trade.

The treaty was drafted with the help of former U.S. secretary of state John A. Foster, who had been retained by the Qing dynasty, which was in power in China at the time of the negotiations. On March 24, 1895, just as the negotiations had gotten under way, Chinese representative to the talks Li Hung-Chang was attacked by a Japanese right-wing extremist. The attempted assassination caused a furor in Japan and led the government to temper its demands and agree to a temporary cease-fire. The talks were temporarily suspended until April 10. The treaty was signed a week later, on April 17.

Russia, which had its own aspirations in the Far East over Korea and Manchuria, was very much opposed to the treaty, for if Japan secured Korea, it would control both sides of Tsushima Strait, the southern outlet of the Sea of Japan where the Russian port of Vladivostok was located. Should Japan also secure Port Arthur and the Liaotung Peninsula, it would prevent Russia from having a warm-water port in that region.

Russia secured the assistance of its ally France and also German kaiser Wilhelm II, who sought to divert Russia's attention to Asia. Soon after the conclusion of the treaty of Shimonoseki, Russia, France, and Germany in a joint note advised Japan not to annex any part of the Chinese mainland. Japan had not yet proved its mettle against any of the great European powers and could not easily contemplate war against a coalition of these three great European states. Japan thus gave up her claim to territory on the Asiatic mainland and in return received from China an additional indemnity of some \$22.5 million.

In 1896, Russia secured from China a concession to build a railway from China in Siberia across Manchuria to Vladivostok and two years later secured a 25-year lease of about 500 square miles of territory—including part of the land surrendered by Japan in 1895—at the end of the Liaotung Peninsula and the right to construct a branch line to connect this territory with the Chinese Eastern Railway at Harbin. Russian troops maintained security along the line. Soon the Russians were at work building a powerful fortress and naval base at Port Arthur and hoped that it might secure all of Manchuria. The Japanese were furious at these developments, which sparked anti-Russian riots in Japan. In 1902, the Japanese government secured an alliance with Great Britain, and in 1904, Japan went to war against Russia.

Shimonoseki, Treaty of

Treaty signed between China and Japan on April 17, 1895, that officially ended the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895). The peace

Following the Treaty of Shimonoseki, all the major imperialist powers, including the British and Germans secured territorial concessions in China. Thus in 1896, the major powers added an economic addendum to the treaty. Under it, Japanese nationals were allowed to open factories and engage in port trade in China. The same right was extended to the Western powers under the most favored nation clause.

It was clear to American policy makers on the eve of the Spanish-American War that Asia was to be a major cockpit of great power rivalry. American policy makers believed that the Treaty of Shimonoseki and the events that flowed from it demonstrated that the United States must acquire a presence in Asia. This was for geostrategic reasons as well as economic imperatives, such as markets for American goods. But what the Americans did not agree with was the partitioning of China into exclusive spheres of influence. Rather, they saw China as a potential great market that should be open to all foreign trade. Such logic drove Secretary of State John Hay's Open Door Notes of 1899. Be that as it may, the U.S. acquisition of the Philippines in 1898 ensured that the United States would secure an Asian presence.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR. AND ANNA RULSKA

See also

China; China Market; Japan; Open Door Policy; Philippine Islands;
Russo-Japanese War; Sino-Japanese War

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Siboney, Cuba

Small hamlet located along Cuba's southeastern coast and situated just to the east-southeast of Santiago de Cuba. Siboney was the second beachhead for V Corps after the initial landing at Daiquirí beginning on June 22, 1898. The village is located some seven miles west of Daiquirí, which at the time of the Spanish-American War was accessible via a fairly well-maintained but narrow coastal road. Major General William R. Shafter, commander of V Corps, planned to land at Daiquirí, move up the coast to Siboney, and then turn northwest toward El Caney and Santiago de Cuba.

At midmorning on June 22, V Corps began moving ashore, finding Daiquirí virtually undefended by Spanish troops. By nightfall, some 6,000 U.S. troops had established a beachhead. Although the landing experienced many problems with lost supplies and equipment, just two American soldiers died during the operation, both



Men of the 32nd and 33rd Michigan Volunteer regiments landing near Siboney, Cuba, on June 25, 1898. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War, 1898*)

victims of drowning. Shafter immediately assigned Brigadier General Henry Lawton and his brigade the task of marching to Siboney and taking it. At the same time, Shafter decided to make Siboney rather than Daiquirí his headquarters for the eventual assault against Santiago de Cuba.

Lawton's men arrived at Siboney on June 23. They soon realized that the town was undefended and had been abandoned by Spanish troops. Within hours, U.S. troops controlled the hamlet. That same evening, more troops from V Corps began landing at Siboney and were entirely unopposed. By June 26, all of V Corps had disembarked and were well placed to begin the campaign against Santiago de Cuba. American troops were extraordinarily lucky to have landed at two different locations without enemy resistance. As Theodore Roosevelt would later observe, a force of just 500 Spaniards may have foiled the landings.

To care for men wounded in combat and stricken by disease, the U.S. Army established a major hospital operation in Siboney, which was then augmented by several naval ships located off shore. The transport *Olivet*, for example, was converted into a hospital ship in early July. The wounded began pouring into the hospital at Siboney as the campaign for Santiago de Cuba intensified in the last days of June. While Santiago was under siege, on July 6 doctors at Siboney observed the first cases of yellow fever among American troops in Cuba. At the same time, malaria coupled with dysentery was sending more and more soldiers to the now terribly overcrowded hospital. Fearing that V Corps would be decimated by a runaway yellow fever epidemic, the commanding general of the army, Major General Nelson A. Miles, ordered the torching of all buildings in Siboney under the mistaken notion that yellow fever was spread via infected buildings and personal belongings. It was the outbreak of yellow fever at Siboney that served to convince U.S. commanders to seek a rapid end to hostilities.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Daiquirí Beachhead, Cuba; Dysentery; V Corps; Lawton, Henry Ware; Malaria; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Shafter, William Rufus; Yellow Fever

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the United States Naval Academy in 1855. He saw service afloat with both the Home Squadron and the East India Squadron and was promoted to master on November 4, 1858, and to lieutenant on May 31, 1860. With the start of the American Civil War, he was assigned to the West Gulf Coast Blockading Squadron. He participated in flag officer David G. Farragut's run past the Mississippi River forts and capture of New Orleans in April 1862 as well as the runs past Vicksburg that June. Sicard was promoted to lieutenant commander on July 16, 1862. He commanded the screw gunboat *Seneca* during the Union assaults on Fort Fisher in December 1864 and January 1865.

Following the war, Sicard held assignments afloat and ashore, including ordnance duty in Washington, D.C., and New York City. Promoted to commander on March 2, 1870, he served as chief of the Bureau of Ordnance during 1881–1891, being promoted to captain on August 7, 1881. He was named commodore on July 10, 1894, and was advanced to rear admiral and took command of the North Atlantic Squadron on April 6, 1897. However, he was forced to relinquish his command on March 26, 1898, because of poor health. He was replaced by Rear Admiral William T. Sampson.

Upon his partial recovery, Sicard was named the chair of the Naval War Board and served as Secretary of the Navy John D. Long's chief adviser during the Spanish-American War. Sicard played an important role in guiding naval strategy. Fearing loss of capital ships, he opposed V Corps commander Major General William R. Shafter's demand that the navy force the entrance to Santiago Harbor. Rear Admiral Sicard retired from the navy on September 30, 1898. He died at Westernville, New York, on September 14, 1900.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Long, John Davis; Naval War Board; North Atlantic Squadron; Sampson, William Thomas; Shafter, William Rufus

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Signal 250

U.S. Navy flag signal used to inform American warships of the departure of Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's Spanish squadron from the bay at Santiago de Cuba. Three flags were used, one each for the numbers "2," "5," and "0." The first flag was yellow with a disk in the center, the second one was half yellow and half red, and the third flag was a yellow swallow-tail pennant with a blue cross. The three flags were hoisted as a signal code to mean "The enemy's ships are coming out!" The signal was to be flown by the first U.S. ship to sight the Spanish ships exiting the harbor of Santiago de Cuba, and every other U.S. ship would then fly the same signal to acknowledge receipt and understanding of it. If the

Sicard, Montgomery

Birth Date: September 20, 1836

Death Date: September 14, 1900

U.S. Navy admiral. Born in New York City on September 20, 1836, Montgomery Sicard became a midshipman after graduating from

Spanish squadron attempted to elude the U.S. blockade at night, the signal was to have been two red rockets.

The 250 signal was first hoisted by the armored cruiser *Brooklyn*, flagship of Commodore Winfield Scott Schley, to other U.S. ships blockading the port on Sunday morning, July 3, 1898, as two Spanish torpedo boat destroyers and four armored cruisers attempted to break through the American blockade. In the ensuing battle, which lasted for just a few hours, only 1 American was killed. Ten others were wounded, and there were no losses of U.S. warships. Spanish losses were 323 killed and 151 wounded and the sinking or grounding of the entire squadron. A total of 1,720 Spaniards were taken prisoner.

TIMOTHY J. DEMY

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Schley, Winfield Scott

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Sigsbee, Charles Dwight

Birth Date: January 16, 1845

Death Date: July 13, 1923

U.S. Navy officer and captain of the U.S. Navy battleship *Maine*, which exploded in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, an event that helped trigger the Spanish-American War. Charles Dwight Sigsbee was born in Albany, New York, on January 16, 1845. Aspiring to a naval career, he graduated from the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, in the spring of 1863 and soon saw action in the American Civil War.

Sigsbee was first assigned to Rear Admiral David G. Farragut's West Gulf Blockade Squadron and served on the *Brooklyn* and *Monongahela*. While serving on the *Brooklyn*, Sigsbee participated in the Battle of Mobile Bay on August 5, 1864. Transferred to Rear Admiral David D. Porter's North Atlantic Blockading Squadron, Sigsbee participated in the December 1864–January 1865 assaults on Fort Fisher, North Carolina.

Following the war, Sigsbee served on different ships before becoming an instructor at the Naval Academy from 1869 to 1871. In late 1871, he joined the Hydrographic Office. There he invented numerous deep-sea sounding devices and several apparatuses for deep-sea sampling. From 1873 to 1891, he again served afloat as a hydrographer in both the Asiatic Squadron and the European Squadron. While conducting deep-sea explorations in the Gulf of Mexico, ships under his command located the deepest spot in the



U.S. Navy captain Charles D. Sigsbee was commanding the battleship *Maine* when it blew up in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898. Sigsbee survived the explosion and retired from the navy as a rear admiral. (Library of Congress)

Gulf, which was named the Sigsbee Deep in his honor. He also commanded the screw sloop *Kearsarge* of American Civil War fame. From 1893 to 1897, he was stationed in the navy's Bureau of Navigation as a hydrographer.

Promoted to captain in March 1897, the next month Sigsbee took command of the ill-fated battleship *Maine*, which had been commissioned in 1895. The *Maine* was built as a heavy armored cruiser, but the navy classified it as a second-class battleship. It mounted four 10-inch guns and six 6-inch guns and was capable of a top speed of about 17 knots. On January 24, 1898, with tensions building between the United States and Spain, President William McKinley, upon the recommendations of Secretary of War Russell A. Alger and Secretary of the Navy John D. Long, ordered the *Maine* to Havana, Cuba, as a show of force there and to stand ready to defend U.S. interests if need be.

Sigsbee departed Key West, Florida, that same day. The *Maine* arrived in Havana Harbor the next day, January 25. As instructed, Sigsbee anchored in the harbor. The *Maine* stayed at anchor until 9:40 p.m. on February 15, 1898. Just as Sigsbee was concluding a letter to his wife in his cabin, two massive explosions rocked the ship. With smoke pouring into his cabin, he made his way to an outer

deck, where he gave orders to flood the vessel's magazines. The ship sank shortly thereafter. A total of 266 members of the crew perished. Sigsbee promptly cabled Washington about events but urged caution in reaching a conclusion as to the cause of the explosion.

There was immediate suspicion that the ship had fallen victim to a mine planted by the Spanish or a disgruntled Cuban. In his own testimony before the subsequent Navy Court of Inquiry convened at Key West and then before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Sigsbee said that he believed the cause of the explosion was indeed a mine, electronically detonated from the shore. The court of inquiry agreed with this conclusion. The court also found that neither Sigsbee nor the crew of the *Maine* had done anything untoward before, during, or after the explosion.

Sigsbee then took command of the armed merchant cruiser *St. Paul*, which had been assigned to blockade duty off the Cuban coast. On June 22, 1898, off San Juan, Puerto Rico, the *St. Paul* engaged and heavily damaged the Spanish destroyer *Terror* and cruiser *Isabella II*. Sigsbee next commanded the battleship *Texas* until 1900.

In February 1900, Sigsbee was named chief intelligence officer for the Office of Naval Intelligence, a position he held until his promotion to rear admiral in August 1903. From late 1903 to mid-1904, he commanded the Philadelphia Navy Yard. He then assumed command of the South Atlantic Squadron in 1904 and the 2nd Division of the North Atlantic Squadron in 1905. He retired from active duty in January 1907. He remained active in retirement, both with speaking and writing engagements. He also wrote several books, including *Deep-Sea Sounding and Dredging* (1880) and *The Maine: An Account of Her Destruction in Havana Harbor* (1899). Sigsbee died in New York City on July 13, 1923.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Maine, USS; *Maine*, USS, Inquiries into the Loss of; "Remember the *Maine*"; United States Navy

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Silver Standard

A monetary system based on the coinage of silver and/or the printing of paper currency that is based upon a specific redeemable silver standard (value). In the years leading up to the Spanish-American War, those advocating so-called free silver (a misnomer because there was nothing free about it), or a currency standard based on gold and silver (bimetallism), believed that a silver standard would cure the nation's economic ills. The Populist Party was

most identified with the free silver platform, although segments of the Democratic Party bought into it as well. Indeed, when Democrat William Jennings Bryan ran for president in 1896, the Populists threw their support behind his candidacy.

In 1792, Congress had officially established a gold- and silver-based currency, setting the gold value of the American dollar at a ratio of 15:1 silver to gold, meaning that 15 ounces of silver equaled 1 ounce of gold. The first coins were issued in 1793, but at the time silver was in greater use than gold, which in demand as market bullion had largely disappeared from circulation. This began to change as the result of gold discoveries in North Georgia in 1828. Although the United States officially maintained a bimetal standard, the 1834 Coinage Act Congress changed the ratio of silver to gold to 16:1, a step that overvalued silver at the time. More important, the California Gold Rush of 1849 greatly increased the amount of gold in circulation and virtually eliminated silver from circulation because the cost of silver to the mint was greater than the official value of coins being issued. To meet the escalating costs of the American Civil War, in 1862 the Treasury Department began issuing paper notes, or greenbacks, as legal tender, which caused prices to skyrocket.

In the aftermath of the Civil War, the issue of the monetary standard became one of the most hotly debated issues in American politics. In order to ensure that the United States would have access to foreign financial markets, Republicans championed a slow but steady return to the prewar monetary standard by providing for the gradual redemption of greenbacks in gold. Combined with increased industrial and agricultural production in the 1870s, this resulted in a sharp decline in prices, which had the most adverse impact on American farmers. In addition, new discoveries of silver in the West resulted in a sharp decline in the price of silver, which in turn made gold a far more stable monetary standard. Although the United States would not officially adopt the gold standard until 1900, the country had a de facto gold standard from 1879 onward at an effective ratio of 20:1.

Amid the often heated post-Civil War debate over redemption or resumption of greenbacks, or non-interest-bearing paper that was legal tender in payment of all debts, came the 1873 Coinage Act, which did not provide for further coinage of silver dollars. Passed in the context of falling prices and an economic depression that devastated farmers and debtors, the act was soon labeled the "Crime of '73." More important, in 1876 it led to the formation of the Greenback Party, which sought a return to the paper currency of the Civil War, and the Free Silver Movement, which demanded the unlimited coinage of silver. Both movements essentially advocated an inflationary scheme to put more money into circulation and depreciate the value of the dollar. Farmers, who were often heavily in debt, would benefit from inflation because it would decrease the value of their accumulated debts. Most businessmen and others in the upper and middle classes disdained the free silver movement, however, and the Republican Party ardently opposed it.

After Democrats gained control of the House of Representatives in the congressional elections of 1874, they led an effort to increase

the amount of silver in circulation. In 1878, the Bland-Allison Act required the U.S. Treasury to purchase monthly between \$2 million and \$4 million worth of silver bullion at market prices; this was to be coined into silver dollars with legal tender status. Demands of the so-called free silver forces for unlimited coinage ultimately failed. The Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890, passed as a compromise effort with some Republican support, increased the amount of silver purchased by more than 50 percent, authorizing the Treasury to issue notes payable in either gold or silver. The onset of the economic depression of 1893–1897 not only resulted in severe hardships throughout the country but also placed the Treasury's gold reserve in jeopardy when note holders demanded payment in gold instead of silver. President Grover Cleveland, a Bourbon Democrat who firmly supported the gold standard, not only secured the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act in 1893 but also called upon financier John Pierpont Morgan to help the Treasury purchase enough gold abroad to restore the minimum \$100 million gold reserve and maintain the gold standard. Cleveland's stance would ultimately split the Democratic Party in 1896.

Most notable of the groups promoting silver was the Populist Party (also known as the People's Party) of the 1890s. Despite having a wide range of political and economic demands—from direct election of U.S. senators to strict government regulation of railroads—the party made silver its central platform issue in 1892. Its 1892 presidential nominee, former Civil War brevet brigadier general James B. Weaver, who had been the Greenback Party nominee in 1880, received more than 1 million votes. When Democrats nominated William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska in 1896 after his famous “Cross of Gold” speech, Populists decided to nominate him as well. Despite the practical merger of the two parties on a platform of unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of 16:1 to gold, Bryan lost the 1896 election to Republican William McKinley. The election ushered in an era of Republican dominance that would last until 1932.

As the economy improved in the aftermath of the election of 1896, demands for a silver standard faded. In 1900, Congress passed the Gold Standard Act. Silver continued to circulate as subsidiary coins. Not until the Coinage Act of 1906, however, did Congress vote to reduce or eliminate all silver in American coins (dimes and quarters). By the 1980s, American coins no longer contained silver.

CLAUDINE FERRELL AND JUSTIN D. MURPHY

See also

Bryan, William Jennings; Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Economic Depression; McKinley, William; Morgan, John Pierpont, Sr.; Populist Party; Sherman, John

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Sims, William Sowden

Birth Date: October 15, 1858

Death Date: September 25, 1936

U.S. Navy admiral. Born in Port Hope, Ontario, Canada, on October 15, 1858, William Sowden Sims was the son of an American father and a Canadian mother. His family moved to Pennsylvania when he was 10, and he graduated from the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, in 1880. The transformation of the U.S. Navy in this period to new steel ships and breech-loading guns marked the beginning of his lifelong interest in the development of naval equipment, technology, and doctrine.

From 1880 to 1897, Sims was almost continuously on sea duty, seeing service with the North Atlantic, Pacific, and China squadrons. He had the opportunity to witness firsthand the fine performance of the Japanese Navy in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, and his intelligence reports sent to the Office of Naval Intelligence analyzed the performance of the various ships involved in the war.

From 1897 to 1900, Sims was the U.S. naval attaché in Paris. From that city, he provided information on European naval innovations and also established an extensive intelligence network that included a number of individuals of widely different backgrounds in a number of nations, including a well-placed doctor in Madrid. Using his network, Sims provided Washington with highly useful intelligence reports about Spanish intentions during the Spanish-American War as well as accurate information on the voyage of Rear Admiral Manuel de la Cámara y Libermoore's squadron. In an effort to secure the recall of that squadron to Spain, Sims carried out a disinformation campaign to the effect that U.S. Navy warships were preparing to assault the Spanish coast.

Sims's activities during the war favorably impressed Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt, who became president in 1901. In 1901, Sims served on the staff of the commander of the U.S. Asiatic Fleet and there became friends with British captain Percy Scott and learned from him new techniques of gunnery introduced into the Royal Navy. Sims's efforts to interest the U.S. Navy in these were not successful, leading him to write to President Roosevelt, technically an act of insubordination. Recalled to Washington in 1902 and appointed as inspector of target practice, during 1902–1909 Sims achieved significant success in U.S. naval ordnance reform, reducing the firing time for large-caliber guns from 5 minutes to 30 seconds while at the same time improving accuracy. He was an observer during the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War.

Promoted to captain in 1911, Sims was an instructor at the Naval War College during 1911–1912. He then commanded the At-



Admiral William S. Sims commanded U.S. naval forces in European waters during World War I. During the Spanish-American War, he was U.S. naval attaché in Paris, where he established an intelligence network that gathered highly useful information on Spanish naval capabilities and intentions. (Library of Congress)

lantic Torpedo Flotilla. Promoted to rear admiral in 1916, the next year he returned to the Naval War College as its president.

With war between the United States and Germany looming, Sims went to Britain in 1917 to discuss naval cooperation with the Allied powers. The United States declared war on Germany on April 6 before his arrival. Promoted temporary vice admiral in May and made commander of U.S. naval forces in European waters, Sims bombarded Washington with recommendations on convoying, antisubmarine warfare, intelligence gathering, and strategic planning. He urged the immediate implementation of convoys, which gained the support of British prime minister David Lloyd George and also urged that American battleships be assigned primarily to escort duties convoying supplies and men for the Allies, ventures that brought drastic reductions in Allied shipping losses but generally involved resigning overall control of American naval operations in Europe to British admirals.

Sims's attitude and his excellent relations with his British counterparts led Washington officials, including Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels and Chief of Naval Operations William Shepherd

Benson, to consider him an Anglophile. For his part, Sims ascribed the navy's initially somewhat disappointing wartime performance to his superiors' failure to implement some of his suggestions and what he viewed as their earlier reluctance to prepare the navy for a major conflict, charges he aired to Congress during a 1920 investigation that he largely precipitated and that provoked bitter feuding within the navy.

By November 1917, Sims and his staff were supervising the operations of 350 ships and 75,000 men. Promoted to temporary admiral in December 1918, Sims returned to the United States and reverted to his permanent rank of rear admiral. He then headed the Naval War College from April 1919 until his retirement in October 1922. He continued to speak out on naval and defense issues, publishing his wartime memoirs *The Victory at Sea* (1920), which won the Pulitzer Prize for History, and forcefully urging the development of naval aviation. A dynamic and energetic reformer and proponent of naval expansion, in later life his unfortunate tendency to demonize those who opposed him vitiated his numerous concrete achievements. Sims died in Boston on September 25, 1936.

PRISCILLA ROBERTS

See also

Cámara y Libermore, Manuel de la; Spain, Navy; United States Navy

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Sinclair, Upton

Birth Date: September 20, 1878

Death Date: November 25, 1968

American novelist, activist, and socialist whose interest in social and industrial reforms shaped many of his writings. Upton Beall Sinclair Jr. was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on September 20, 1878. He graduated from City College of New York in 1897 and attended Columbia University from 1897 to 1901. He began publishing articles, short stories, and jokes while still a teenager, but he struggled to find a publisher for his first two novels. His third novel, the historically themed *Manassas* (1904), was a minor critical and commercial success.

Sinclair's conversion to socialism inspired *The Jungle*. Published in 1906, the novel's graphic depiction of the Chicago stockyards and America's meatpacking companies provoked public outrage, leading to the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act (1906) and the Meat Inspection Act (1906). His landmark work was inspired in part by the Embalmed Beef Scandal that had arisen from the Spanish-



Upton Sinclair was a prominent novelist and socialist who pointed out the need for reform in many areas of American life. He is best known for *The Jungle*, a savage exposé of the meatpacking industry. (Library of Congress)

American War. Several army commanders—most notably the commanding general of the army, Major General Nelson A. Miles—had accused Commissary General Charles P. Egan of supplying U.S. troops in Cuba and Puerto Rico with 337 tons of refrigerated beef and 198,508 pounds of canned beef that was tainted. The meat allegedly made hundreds of U.S. soldiers sick and may have killed dozens more. The scandal became a national sensation. While the Dodge Commission, the presidential commission tasked with investigating it, could find no hard evidence that the meat had caused the illnesses, President Theodore Roosevelt had believed that the meat was indeed tainted, as he had himself eaten it while on duty in Cuba. Roosevelt's disgust with Sinclair's description in *The Jungle* combined with his suspicion about meat rations during the war led him to prompt Congress to enact the 1906 Meat Inspection Act.

Sinclair used profits from *The Jungle* to found Helicon Hall, a short-lived socialist commune. He published subsequent novels exposing societal ills, including *King Coal* (1917), *Oil!* (1927), and *Boston* (1928), the latter set during the Sacco and Vanzetti trial.

Sinclair drifted in and out of the American Socialist Party throughout his life. In contrast with most of his socialist brethren,

he supported America's intervention in World War I. He believed that the overthrow of Germany's autocratic government was necessary to realize a socialist revolution in Germany. However, he loudly criticized the federal government's suppression of civil liberties during the war and the American military intervention in Russia following the Bolshevik Revolution of November 1917. He was a particularly harsh critic of the so-called Red Scare in the United States that lasted from 1919 to about 1921.

In 1934, during the height of the Great Depression, Sinclair won the Democratic primary for governor in California. Although he lost the general election to the Republican Party candidate, his activism on behalf of the economically disadvantaged may have inspired President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to implement some of the New Deal's most progressive reforms.

In 1940, Sinclair published *World's End*, the first in a series of novels dealing with world affairs from 1914 to 1950 and featuring the fictional protagonist Lanny Budd. The third novel in the cycle, *Dragon's Teeth* (1942), which chronicled German Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler's rise to power, won a Pulitzer Prize. All 11 novels in the Lanny Budd series were best-sellers and were translated into several foreign languages. The Lanny Budd novels reflected Sinclair's shifting politics, which saw him not only embrace orthodox and rightist causes but also renounce his support for the Soviet Union. During the 1960s, he voiced his approval of America's involvement in the Vietnam War as well his support for the nation's Cold War foreign policy.

Sinclair published *My Lifetime in Letters* in 1960 and published his autobiography two years later. During the course of his life, he wrote more than 80 books. Sinclair died on November 25, 1968, in Bound Brook, New Jersey.

TED BUTLER

See also

Egan, Charles Patrick; Embalmed Beef Scandal; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Progressivism; Roosevelt, Theodore

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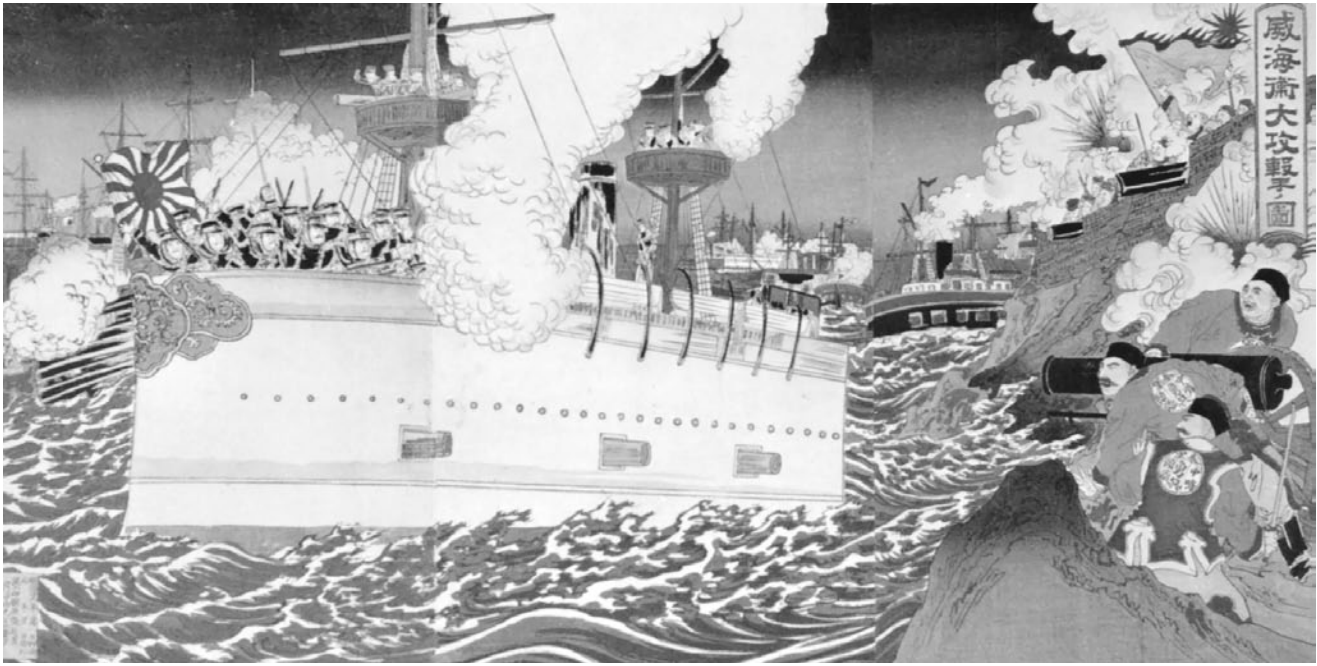
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Sino-Japanese War

Start Date: August 1, 1894

End Date: April 17, 1895

Major Asian confrontation that occurred several years before the Spanish-American War. Unlike China's leaders, the Japanese recognized the need for their nation to Westernize, at least to the point of acquiring advanced Western military technology. Initially, this



Japanese woodcut depicting a Japanese battleship bombarding Chinese shore fortifications during the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895). (Library of Congress)

process was to prevent the country from falling under the control of a Western power, but by the closing decade of the century, Japan's leaders were ready to embark upon their own program of imperial expansion. They were especially desirous of securing Korea, a tributary kingdom of China across the Tsushima Strait from Japan. As a result of Japanese interference in Korean affairs, war between China and Japan began in 1894.

On July 20, Japan seized control of the Korean government. Then on July 25, Japanese admiral Kozo Tsuboi attacked a Chinese troop convoy bringing reinforcements to Korea, sinking one transport and severely damaging its naval escorts. At the same time, fighting began on land. On August 1, both sides declared war.

The Sino-Japanese War quickly revealed that unarmored wooden ships were no match for the new warships. China's military was antiquated, while that of Japan was modern. Both sides now rushed reinforcements to Korea by sea, although neither attempted to interfere with the other's resupply effort. Chinese admiral Ting Ju-ch'ang (Ding Ruchang) had two newer ironclad battleships, the *Ting Yuen* (Ding Yuen) and *Chen Yuen* (Zhen Yuan). He also had four light cruisers and six torpedo boats. These escorted six transports carrying 4,500 men and 80 guns to the Yalu River. Simultaneously, Admiral Yuko Ito disembarked Japanese troops some 100 miles farther down the Korean coast, after which he sailed north to locate Ting's squadron.

On September 17, 1894, Ito's larger force came upon Ting's ships between the mouth of the Yalu River and Haiyang Island. Ito had four heavy cruisers, four light cruisers, and six torpedo boats. He had the advantage of newer and faster ships, and he enjoyed

a considerable advantage in larger (over 5-inch) quick-firing guns. Japanese gunnery and ship handling were superior to those of the Chinese. The Japanese quick-firing guns soon riddled the unprotected Chinese ships, setting their exposed wooden areas ablaze. In the battle, the Chinese lost four or five ships. Although only one of his own ships was seriously damaged, Ito feared the two larger Chinese battleships and did not press his advantage. During the night, the remaining Chinese vessels escaped to Port Arthur.

In March 1895, the Japanese took both Port Arthur (Lüshun) and Wei-hai-wei (Weihaiwei), fortified harbors guarding access to Peking (Beijing). China then sued for peace. In the Japanese-dictated Treaty of Shimonoseki of April 17, 1895, China ceded to Japan the Island of Formosa (Taiwan) and the Liaotung (Liaodong) Peninsula in southern Manchuria. China was also forced to pay an indemnity of \$150 million and recognize Korea as an independent kingdom, a step toward its absorption by Japan.

Japan's acquisition of a foothold on the Asian mainland was particularly distasteful to Russia's leaders, who secured the support of France and Germany in advising Japan to refrain from annexing any part of the Chinese mainland. Confronted by three powerful European states, Japan gave up claim to territory on the Asian mainland and in return received from China an additional indemnity. Russia then leased from China territory in Manchuria, including Port Arthur (Lüshun), originally assigned to Japan. This action understandably infuriated the Japanese and was a major factor leading to the Russo-Japanese War a decade later.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Imperialism; Russo-Japanese War; Shimonoseki, Treaty of

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Slums

An area, district, or neighborhood in a town or city in which impoverished and socially disadvantaged people live. Slums can be traced back to antiquity. Indeed, as long as income disparities, growing populations, and racial, ethnic, and religious discrimination have endured, so too have slums. In the 1890s, as now, slums were ubiquitous in both large cities and smaller towns all across the world. They existed in Cuba, the Philippines, Western Europe, and the United States. Slums are generally areas of permanent—albeit substandard—housing as opposed to shanty towns, which have less-permanent housing and are subject to movement or relocation.

“Slum” is also a somewhat generic term to describe an area of impoverishment. Indeed, a ghetto would often be impossible to differentiate from a slum except for the fact that a ghetto is a slum in which one particular racial, ethnic, or religious group predominates. The first true ghetto was located in Venice, Italy, and was reserved for Italian Jews. In addition to being poor and a minority within the larger population, most ghetto dwellers have experienced significant discrimination or persecution, or both, by the larger society. This often precluded them from leaving the ghetto or ameliorating their plight.

Slums are usually blighted areas in which the inhabitants occupy crowded rental housing that is often notorious for its poor sanitation and unsafe living conditions. During the 1890s, many slums, even in relatively wealthy nations such as the United States, had little or no indoor plumbing, which turned streets and alleys into open sewers. Unscrupulous landlords demanded exorbitant rents given the terrible housing they provided, and slum dwellers had little choice but to pay, as rents were still lower than they were anywhere else. In general, unemployment, alcoholism, crime, prostitution, and drug addiction were rampant in slums then as now. Many of those forced to live in the slums had high death rates because of substandard medical care, malnutrition, and diseases of various kinds, many of them communicable in the 1890s.

Most slums were built on shoddy construction with little regard for safety or comfort. Jammed one against the other, apartment slums were notoriously susceptible to fire, which spread quickly because of the close proximity of buildings, almost all of which at the turn of the 20th century were made of wood. Compounding the problem were narrow and clogged streets and alleys that often impeded the arrival

of fire-fighting equipment if a slum was lucky enough to be have been served by a fire house. Poor sanitation facilities and overcrowding also made slum housing veritable prone to vermin and rat infestations and communicable diseases of every kind.

In the United States and Western Europe, slums tended to be ghettoized; that is, they were based on racial and ethnic makeup as much as they were on poverty. This was particularly the case in the United States, which witnessed huge influxes of immigrants beginning in the 1840s. Indeed, by the time of the Spanish-American War, immigration to the United States was close to its greatest peak to date. Over time, ghettos and slums in the United States tended to change based on the most newly arrived ethnic group. At first it was the Irish, then the Germans, then the Italians, then the Eastern Europeans, etc. As each group moved up the socioeconomic ladder, they moved out of the slums, which were then peopled by other groups just arriving. In places such as Cuba and the Philippines, slums tended to be less susceptible to change and more homogeneous in makeup, but they were even more ubiquitous because the economies in these areas provided little chance of upward mobility.

The effects of mass immigration and the prevalence of slums in American cities gave rise to the settlement house movement, which had begun in the slums of London in the early 1880s and blossomed in the United States in the 1890s. Settlement houses were established in slum neighborhoods principally to help newly arriving immigrants acculturate to American society. They offered literacy and language programs, educational and vocational training, employment opportunities, health services, socialization programs, and the like. They were essential to mitigating the worst aspects of slum living and helped thousands of individuals better their lives and eventually leave the slum or ghetto.

One of the first and most famous settlement houses in the United States was created by Ellen Starr Gates and Jane Addams in Chicago in 1889. Known as Hull House, this settlement house became the gold standard for the many others that sprang up around the country during the 1890s and into the early 20th century. Almost all of these facilities were created by well-educated, middle-class women who had a genuine desire to mitigate poverty and help newly arriving immigrants. The first settlement house in New York City, known as the Henry Street Settlement, was founded by Lillian Wald in 1893.

The settlement houses and their founders, such as Addams, were the original pioneers in sociology and social work, which would flourish after the turn of the 20th century. At a time in which no government-funded or government-sponsored programs existed for the downtrodden, settlement houses provided invaluable services to those forced to live in slums. The settlement house movement also brought to the public consciousness the problem of poverty, which was quickly spotlighted by the journalists and investigative reporters of the era. In 1890, muckraking journalist Jacob Riis published *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York*, shocking genteel American society with his lurid depictions of overcrowded and dangerous tenement houses in



A photograph by Lewis Hine of 233 East 107th Street in New York City, 1912. The rent sign states that these are “Eleganti Apartmenti.” (Library of Congress)

which as many as four or five families inhabited a dark, filthy two- or three-room apartment.

Ultimately, the settlement house movement and the exposés of slums in the 1890s gave birth to the Progressive movement in the United States. This was a period of great reform (ca. 1900–1920) during which myriad laws and regulations were passed to ameliorate slum conditions and other dangers associated with low-income housing. Playing a central role in the Progressive movement were journalists, who in the 1880s and 1890s were referred to as yellow journalists. They were redubbed “muckrakers” by President Theodore Roosevelt shortly after the turn of the 20th century. In the end, their innovative reporting did the very same thing: it shone a bright light into the once-dark corners of the human condition.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Addams, Jane; Journalism; Progressivism; Roosevelt, Theodore; Yellow Journalism

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Smallpox

A systemic disease caused by the Varicella virus that in its most common form (Varicella major) is fatal in 30 percent of cases. The disease begins with a two-week prodrome of fever, headache, and back pain followed by a widespread raised rash that breaks down into pustules. It is during this time that the disease is most contagious. If the patient survives, the rash subsides although usually leaving scars that are often disfiguring. There is no effective treatment for smallpox, but since Edward Jenner demonstrated in the late 18th century that immunity is conferred by administration of the related but clinically innocuous cowpox virus, vaccination has been so effective that the mild form of the disease had vanished by 1977.

The U.S. Army, under direct orders from General George Washington, had begun prophylactic smallpox inoculations during the Revolutionary War, and at the time of the Spanish-American War, the disease did not exist in American troops. The same could not be said of Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the Philippines. Although Cuban law had mandated vaccination for all citizens under Spanish rule, the statute had been generally ignored. When Brigadier General Leonard Wood assumed command of Santiago in the autumn of 1898, the province was in the throes of an epidemic outbreak of the disease. The town of Holguín, 20 miles inland from Santiago City, had more than 3,000 active cases. Wood sent 100 of his so-called Immunes under Colonel Duncan Hood to disinfect Holguín's buildings and vaccinate the inhabitants. American medical officers supervised local Cuban physicians and established a quarantine hospital that treated 1,185 cases of smallpox between November 1898 and January 1899. By 1901, the American occupation government had mandated and enforced vaccination of all Cuban children by age one and had effectively eliminated the disease on the island. Although the disease was also endemic in Puerto Rico, Major John Van R. Hoff, chief military surgeon on that island, had success similar to that of Wood in Cuba.

The story was less favorable in the Philippines. Lieutenant Colonel Louis Maus, appointed commissioner of health in Manila, attempted an extensive vaccination campaign, but dense jungles, poor roads, and the fact that the Philippines comprised thousands of widely scattered islands made his job much more difficult and prolonged than that in Cuba. The geographic barriers were also complicated by the ongoing insurrection.

JACK MCCALLUM

See also

Cuba, U.S. Occupation of; Philippine Islands, U.S. Occupation of; Wood, Leonard

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Smith, Jacob Hurd

Birth Date: 1840

Death Date: March 1, 1918

U.S. Army general notorious for the severity of his campaign in Samar in 1901–1902 during the Philippine-American War. Little is known of Jacob Hurd Smith's childhood. Born in Kentucky in 1840, he enlisted in the U.S. Army in 1861 and was commissioned a second lieutenant a year later. He fought in the American Civil War Battle of Shiloh (April 6–7, 1862) and was badly wounded. Unable to return to field service, he served out the remainder of the war as

a recruiting officer, primarily of African Americans, in Louisville, Kentucky.

Smith secured a regular army commission as captain in 1867. Controversy dogged him, however, for he was soon accused with his father-in-law of being involved in illegal financial dealings that included speculation with funds entrusted to him for enlistment bounties. Revelations of this activity led to his removal from the post of temporary army judge advocate in 1869. Demonstrating a continued propensity both for intemperate remarks and poor judgment, he encountered legal problems for failure to pay debts.

Assigned to the West, he fought in the American Indian Wars. In 1885, however, he was court-martialed in San Antonio, Texas, for failing to pay a sum he had lost playing poker. Found guilty, he was sentenced to be confined to Fort Clark for a year and a half and loss of half his pay. When a number of statements he had made to army authorities regarding the case were determined to be false, he was again court-martialed in 1886 and found guilty. He would have been dismissed from the service had not President Grover Cleveland intervened and changed the sentence to a reprimand.

At the beginning of the Spanish-American War, Smith was a major. He saw service in Cuba and then was assigned to the Philippines as a colonel in command of the 12th Infantry Regiment during the Philippine-American War. Following the Balangiga Massacre on the island of Luzon on September 28, 1901, when villagers and guerrillas attacked 74 American soldiers and killed 48 of them in what was the single worst U.S. military disaster of the war, commander of U.S. forces in the Philippines Major General Adna Chaffee panicked and, in what may have been the worst decision of the war, placed Smith, now a brigadier general, in charge of a punitive campaign on Samar.

Chaffee's decision was no doubt based on Smith's reputation as a commander who was prepared to be tough on guerrillas, but what Chaffee did not seem to realize was Smith's willingness to resort to extralegal means to achieve his ends. Chaffee in 1901 had recommended Smith for promotion to brigadier general, a decision with which civilian governor of the Philippines William Howard Taft had concurred, and given him command of the 6th Separate Brigade precisely because Smith was regarded as being a hard-liner. But Chaffee must have known that Smith had in the past shown a callous disregard for the lives of prisoners and made statements condemning what he believed to be the tendency of officers involved in pacification duties to be too lenient. Typical of this was a letter to the *Manila News* in which Smith blamed the Balangiga Massacre on "U.S. officers who love 'little brown brother.'"

In ordering him to recapture the U.S. weapons taken at Batangas, Chaffee no doubt encouraged Smith to employ harsh methods, but it is by no means clear, as Smith later claimed, that Chaffee ordered him to turn Samar into "a howling wilderness." Clearly, Smith's orders regarding policies to be followed in Samar increased the violence there. Most notoriously, Smith allegedly gave verbal orders to U.S. Marine Corps major Littleton T. Waller, who commanded a marine battalion on loan to Smith, to "kill and burn," to



U.S. Army brigadier general Jacob Hurd Smith, who became notorious for his harsh tactics during fighting on the island of Samar during the Philippine-American War. (Library of Congress)

take no prisoners, to turn the interior of Samar into “a howling wilderness,” and to regard every male over the age of 10 as a combatant who could be executed.

Although Waller did not take Smith’s orders literally and insisted that the marines not make war on children, the resulting violence of the Samar Campaign attracted considerable unfavorable coverage in the American press. In March 1902, Major Waller was court-martialed for the execution of 10 civilian porters during the Samar Campaign. Waller tried to protect Smith by basing his defense on General Order No. 100 of the American Civil War that dealt with the treatment of guerrillas caught behind the lines. Smith was then called as a witness by the prosecution and, in an act of self-protection, perjured himself by denying that he had issued any special orders to Waller. The defense then rebutted Smith’s testimony with three witnesses who had heard the conversation between the two men in which Smith had told Waller not to take prisoners and to execute males above the age of 10. It was by this means that the order became public.

Waller was acquitted, and this forced Secretary of War Elihu Root to order a court-martial for Smith in May 1902. Root sought to reduce the damage by claiming that Smith’s orders had never been meant to be taken literally. Always his own worst enemy, Smith contradicted Root and informed reporters that such a course

was the only effective one when dealing with “savages.” Root also tried to have Smith declared temporarily insane, but this failed when two of three medical officers appointed by Chaffee to hear the case refused to go along.

Smith’s court-martial then proceeded. The charge was not for his orders or for war crimes but rather for “conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline.” The court found Smith guilty and sentenced him to a verbal reprimand. To mitigate the outcry in the United States over the affair and the lenient sentence, Root recommended that Smith be retired, which President Theodore Roosevelt accepted. Smith retired to Portsmouth, Ohio, and died in San Diego, California on March 1, 1918.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Atrocities; Balangiga Massacre; Chaffee, Adna Romanza, Sr.; Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Roosevelt, Theodore; Root, Elihu; Samar Campaigns; Waller, Littleton Tazewell

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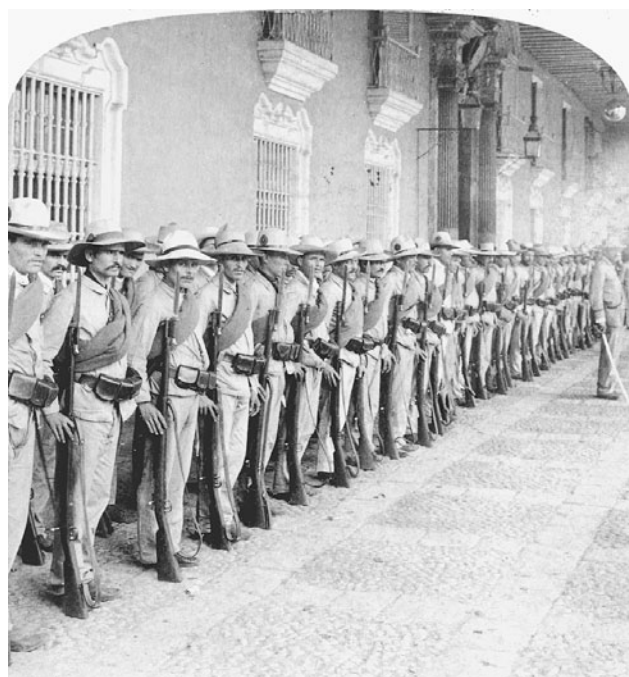
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Smokeless Powder

Smokeless powder, an important development in military technology, made its first appearance in the last two decades of the 19th century. A more efficient propellant than black powder, it helped revolutionize firearms by permitting smaller projectiles with greater muzzle speed than previously possible. The small amount of smoke produced with smokeless powder also impacted battlefield tactics, as it made it easier for riflemen to conceal their positions and prevented the haze associated with black powder that obscured battlefield vision.

For centuries, firearms had used the same basic gunpowder for a propellant. The exact proportions of saltpeter, sulfur, and charcoal might have varied, but the formula remained the same. In the last half of the 19th century, however, scientists began experimenting with new forms of explosive. Individuals such as the Swede Alfred Nobel sought to create a stable and more efficient product. They found that fibrous materials such as cotton or wood pulp could be treated with nitric acid to produce an explosive. Known by such names as guncotton and nitrocellulose, these explosives were stable and could be used safely in engineering projects.

Frenchman Paul Vieille experimented with different ways of treating guncotton to produce a propellant for firing projectiles. He found that a gelatinized nitrocellulose could be mixed with ether and alcohol. The resulting product was rolled into flat sheets, dried, and then cut into small granules or flakes. As with



Spanish troops under the palace colonnade, Havana, Cuba, 1898. The Spanish enjoyed superiority in small arms. Their modern Mauser rifles used smokeless powder cartridges, while U.S. volunteer units still used rifles that fired black powder, which gave away their positions. (Library of Congress)

gunpowder, Vielle's mixture could be loaded into cartridges and ignited by fulminate. Vielle found that when fired his mixture produced a much smaller amount of smoke than regular gunpowder. Powder B, as he called his creation, became better known as smokeless powder. Because the new powder was usually a light color, ordinary gunpowder became known as black powder, a name it still carries.

More important for arms makers, Vielle's smokeless powder was a more efficient propellant than gunpowder. The smokeless powder combined on a molecular level to push a projectile down a gun barrel with greater force. Gun manufacturers soon found that an 8-millimeter (mm) bullet fired with smokeless powder had the same hitting power as an 11-mm bullet fired with ordinary gunpowder. Range was also improved. New bullets appeared as well. Manufacturers quickly introduced weapons to take advantage of the technology. Most European armies, including the Spanish Army, began to rearm with such weapons by 1890.

This transition was incomplete in the U.S. Army at the time of war with Spain. During the conflict, U.S. regulars employed the .30-caliber Krag-Jørgenson (Krag) magazine rifle, but the 150,000 volunteers received old 1873 .45-caliber Springfield Trapdoor rifles that used black powder cartridges. The Americans soon discovered that the Spanish infantrymen, armed with modern 7-mm Mauser rifles firing smokeless powder cartridges, were able to outrange them and remain hidden. U.S. artillery also employed black powder charges. Thus, in the Battle of San Juan Hill on July 1, 1898, the

Spanish were easily able to locate the American guns, and Spanish artillery, firing from behind the heights, soon silenced it. Although the Americans won the battle through bravery and sheer numbers, the experience clearly demonstrated the need in the army for more modern weapons.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Rifles; San Juan Heights, Battle of

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Socapa Point, Cuba

Promontory located on the western edge of the sea entrance leading to Santiago de Cuba and Santiago Harbor. Socapa Point rises to about 200 feet above sea level and offers a commanding view of the harbor and adjoining waters. Across a 400-yard channel lies Morro Castle (el Castillo de Morro), not to be confused with the castle of the same name located at Havana Harbor. Morro Castle was situated on a similarly high headland and in 1898 contained a small battery of outdated artillery pieces. Socapa Point also contained Socapa Heights and the Socapa Batteries. The upper artillery battery faced Punta Gorda, while the battery faced toward the sea. Both batteries were situated some 150 feet above sea level, but ammunition for them was in short supply.

Socapa Point's lower battery boasted a single 57-millimeter (mm) gun, four 37-mm Hotchkiss guns, and a single machine gun. It was designed chiefly to fire upon vessels attempting a sea invasion and to defend the minefields that lay just in front of the channel between Socapa and Morro.

The upper battery facing land mounted badly outdated guns. These included three 8-inch muzzle-loading howitzers and two 16.3-inch Hontoria guns that had been taken from the Spanish ship *Reina Mercedes*. This battery was supposed to thwart a land-based attack on Santiago.

In spite of the largely antiquated gun batteries, the commander of the North Atlantic Fleet, Rear Admiral William T. Sampson, chose not to force his way into Santiago de Cuba via the harbor, believing that his ships would be imperiled by the Socapa batteries and minefields. Sampson, however, calculated that a land-based assault on Socapa and Morro would be accomplished easily and would leave Santiago open for immediate capture and occupation. The U.S. Army did not see the wisdom in Sampson's plan, however, and thus did not adopt it. Instead, the army preferred a siege to a



U.S. Army Hotchkiss guns at Socapa Point, Cuba, defending Santiago Harbor following its capture by the Americans during the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

frontal assault. After the destruction of the Spanish squadron on July 3, 1898, the Americans besieged Santiago de Cuba, which lasted until the city capitulated on July 17. This marked the end of major hostilities on Cuba during the Spanish-American War.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Artillery; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign

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of Darwin's theory of evolution to human societies. It asserts that races, nations, and civilizations evolve in a way that is similar to the evolution of biological species. Social Darwinism holds that because of a process of natural selection, fitter races and societies survive while others are extinguished, the process leading to the progressive improvement of humanity. Social Darwinism was tailor-made for the leaders of industrialized Western states seeking justification for their control of less-developed nations. Thus, when the Spanish-American War raised the question of whether the United States ought to acquire an overseas colonial empire, social Darwinism was used to support the imperialists' position.

In *The Origin of the Species* (1859), Darwin largely avoided extending his theory to human beings, either to their biological evolution or to the understanding of human social relations. His original theory asserts that each species is not permanently fixed; that is, existing species can evolve, new species can develop from existing ones, and species can become extinct. These possibilities arise because all living things are engaged in a struggle for existence and survival. Certain biological variations in an individual member of a species will result in advantages that allow that individual to adapt better to its environment and thereby to survive and procreate. Such individuals

Social Darwinism

A sociological-political construct derived from Charles Darwin's pioneering work on evolution. Social Darwinism is the extension



William Graham Sumner was one of the leading exponents of social Darwinism in the United States. Viewing life as a grim struggle in which only the fittest would survive, Sumner glorified the millionaires of his day as products of natural selection and attacked reformers for trying to preserve the unfit. (Hayward Cirkner and Blanche Cirkner, eds., *Dictionary of American Portraits*, 1967)

transmit these adaptive traits to their offspring, which eventually results in more members of the species who have them. The species as a whole, then, gradually changes, which makes it more likely to survive. Darwin called this process natural selection.

Furthermore, Darwin wrote that “the theory of natural selection is grounded in the belief that each new variety, and ultimately each new species, is produced and maintained by having some advantage over those with which it comes into competition; and the consequent extinction of less favoured forms almost inevitably follows.” In *The Descent of Man* (1871), Darwin explicitly applied his theory of evolution to human beings. While Darwin limited himself to discussing the biological development of human beings, he acknowledged that variations in body and mind would prove advantageous to certain individuals and their races.

Working independently of Darwin, the English philosopher and political theorist Herbert Spencer developed a similar theory of evolution, a central feature of which was his concept of the survival of

the fittest, a phrase that he (not Darwin) coined. Spencer conceived of human societies as natural organisms to which the theory of evolution would apply. Human societies, too, adapt to their environments. Being engaged in a struggle for existence with one another, societies become ever more complex and advanced. Competition between societies, then, is natural and even essential for progress, with fitter societies becoming dominant and progressive, while those that cannot compete are forced out of existence or are subjugated by the fitter races. When Darwin published his theory of natural selection, which supplied a biological mechanism for evolution, Spencer eagerly incorporated it into his own theory.

Social scientists sought to understand the full implications of Darwin’s and Spencer’s works for human societies. Incorporating elements of both, their efforts led to the development of social Darwinism. Social Darwinism combines the central concepts of the struggle for existence, natural selection, and the survival of the fittest into a comprehensive account of the evolution of human races and societies. Special attention is given to the dominance of some races and societies and the subjugation or extinction of others. Differences in religions, ethics, and political systems as well as the rise and fall of empires and civilizations are explained by evolutionary forces working at both the biological and social levels. According to social Darwinists, there is nothing exceptional about human beings, then, that excludes them from the evolutionary process, neither having been specially created by God nor having developed unique intellectual capacities that allow them to intervene in the process. Both human biology and human societal development are products of natural and necessary evolutionary processes. To what extent Darwin himself could be deemed to have been a social Darwinist remains a debate among scholars.

The deterministic arguments of social Darwinism, especially the concept of the survival of the fittest, were employed both to justify and to condemn war and its outcome among races and nations. On the one hand, social Darwinism suggests that war is merely part of the universal struggle for existence and that nature tends to hand the victory to the superior race or nation. The winning of wars and the acquiring of empire, then, are evidence of a higher order of evolution of one’s race, nation, or civilization, an indication of its biological, social, political, ethical, or intellectual advantages. On the other hand, social Darwinism could suggest that war is dysgenic, ensuring the slaughter of the best individuals (the healthiest, the most courageous, and the most public spirited). From this point of view, war is contrary to natural selection insofar as it destroys the fitter members of society while it is the less fit left at home who survive and procreate. Such arguments both for and against war were common in Europe shortly after the appearance of Darwin’s and Spencer’s theories and were adopted in American debates about beginning a war with Spain and pursuing a colonial empire abroad.

Social Darwinism became a popular and respected viewpoint in the United States in the last decades of the 19th century, especially as a result of the work of the American sociologist William Graham Sumner. Theories of racial superiority, however, certainly existed

before social Darwinism arose. A theory of Anglo-Saxon superiority was already prevalent, and social Darwinism was used to lend support to it and to encourage international expansion. The increasing success of the United States as a result of major struggles (such as the Revolutionary War, the acquisition and settling of the western territories, and the Indian Wars) suggested to social Darwinists that American society was superior to those it was displacing, conquering, or otherwise surpassing. Unlike many other arguments used in support of racial superiority, however, social Darwinism provided a natural, scientific, and universal framework to justify war, conquest, and empire. Like those who adhered to the concept of Manifest Destiny—the belief that the United States was supernaturally ordained to conquer the continent—social Darwinists similarly believed that the United States was naturally ordained to become a colonial power.

American domination and expansion were seen to be natural and inevitable because there were forces of nature at work that were beyond human control. Furthermore, the recognition of the superiority of American society created a moral obligation to bring civilization to people around the world such as in the Philippines, Guam, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii, all of which were acquired as a result of the Spanish-American War. On the other hand, for anti-imperialists opposing expansionist foreign policy, social Darwinism provided arguments against war and empire. For example, some anti-imperialist social Darwinists claimed that war is dysgenic, while others were concerned that the acquisition of colonies would lead to the conferring of American citizenship upon less-advanced or inferior races, resulting in the deterioration of American society. Ultimately, social Darwinism was employed more effectively by imperialists. It lent the authority of science to the justification for war and American empire. While social Darwinism was influential nationally at the end of the 19th century, it was relatively short-lived. After World War I, its popularity declined precipitously as the United States returned to a more isolationist foreign policy.

S. J. LANGE

See also

Imperialism; Manifest Destiny; Racism; Spencer, Herbert

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Social Gospel Movement

Broad-based Protestant intellectual and social reform movement that began in the late 19th century and endured well into the 20th century. Among many things, the Social Gospel movement informed Progressivism (ca. 1900–1920), advocated extraterritorial

expansion and imperialism on the part of the United States, and launched myriad social reforms aimed at curbing the excesses and dilemmas caused by the Gilded Age. Although the movement lost some of its influence in the late 1930s and early 1940s, it never entirely disappeared and continues in a more modest form in the early 21st century. One of the founders of the Social Gospel movement in America was Josiah Strong, a Congregational minister who wrote several highly popular books in the 1880s and 1890s that systematically laid out much of the movement's philosophical and theological underpinnings.

The Social Gospel movement paralleled a similar—although not identical—movement in Great Britain known as Christian Socialism. In the United States, the concept of socialism as an economic prescription to societal ills was never widely adhered to by those advocating the Social Gospel. Indeed, Strong listed socialism as one of the scourges that had to be eliminated. Other prominent Americans involved with the movement in its early years included Reverend Walter Rauschenbusch, Charles Clayton Morrison, and Charles Sheldon.

The Social Gospel movement was never primarily about theology. Instead, it sought to harness the basic core of Christian theology and apply it to societal ills and problems. In the 1890s, Strong and others viewed mass immigration, urbanization, industrialization, poverty, and radicalism as problems to be solved using Christian principles. In other words, this was an activist movement that sought to move far beyond pulpits and preachers; it was a movement designed to eradicate social problems and establish, ultimately, an ideal society akin to God's kingdom on earth. As such, it invoked the power of the almighty as well as the power of individuals to make choices based upon Christian beliefs that would benefit the whole of society. Most of those involved with the movement also sought Protestant unity and ecumenicalism, although this was not achieved largely because of the large and long-standing chasms dividing many Protestant denominations.

Adherents of the Social Gospel labored on a variety of fronts. They sought better education and housing for the poor, especially for newly arrived immigrants; the imposition of child labor laws; safer factories and workplaces; political reforms aimed at the mitigation of corruption, especially at the municipal level; and public health initiatives, among many others. They worked closely with progressive reformers in both major political parties and counseled a number of leading progressive reformers, including President Theodore Roosevelt. The movement also inspired reformers such as Jane Addams, who established the nation's first settlement house in Chicago to administer to immigrant populations.

There was among some adherents of the Social Gospel movement a healthy strain of American exceptionalism and Anglo-Saxon superiority. This manifested itself most clearly in the many writings and speeches of Strong, who was an unabashed promoter of American imperialist expansionism. Believing the Protestant Anglo-Saxon tradition to be morally and culturally superior to others, he believed that it was a God-given duty for the United States to extend its reach over

so-called less-civilized peoples in an effort to introduce them to Christian principles and American ideals. This mind-set became widely accepted within the movement and became a powerful tool for those Americans interested in overseas expansion for strategic, commercial, and political reasons. American imperialism also became a prime motivating factor for Protestant missionaries. Interestingly, although the Catholic Church would also adhere to its own form of the Social Gospel beginning in the 1930s, most Protestants spurned Catholicism in the 1890s and early 1900s, linking it with Mormonism as a scourge to be eliminated.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Addams, Jane; Churches and the War; Expansionism; Gilded Age; Immigration; Imperialism; Missionaries; Progressivism; Slums; Strong, Josiah

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Sousa, John Philip

Birth Date: November 6, 1854

Death Date: March 6, 1932

Iconic American musician, composer, band leader, and creator of some of America's most enduring and beloved military marches. John Philip Sousa, who came to be known as the "March King" by the 1890s, was born on November 6, 1854, in Washington, D.C., to a musical family. His father, of Spanish and Portuguese decent, was a trombonist in the U.S. Marine Band and instilled in the young Sousa a fondness for music at a very young age.

When Sousa was just 6 years old, he began violin lessons with several well-respected violinists. In short order, his teachers declared that he had perfect pitch, a gift that many musicians cannot claim. When Sousa was 13 years old, his father secured for him an apprenticeship with the Marine Band. The job allowed him access to many different musical instruments, all of which he learned to master to a substantive degree. In the meantime, he had continued mastering the violin and studied voice, piano, and flute.

At the age of 21, Sousa left the Marine Corps. He almost immediately began touring with various bands and orchestras, playing the violin, conducting, and even arranging musical scores. His conducting jobs included the "HMS *Pinafore*," a Gilbert and Sullivan light opera. At the time, it was one of the most popular and profitable musicals on Broadway.



American composer and bandmaster John Philip Sousa is perhaps best known for his march "The Stars and Stripes Forever." (National Archives)

In 1880, Sousa was honored by being named director of the Marine Band, then perhaps the most famous musical group in the United States. He stayed with the band for 12 years, performing before Presidents Rutherford B. Hayes, James A. Garfield, Chester A. Arthur, Grover Cleveland, and Benjamin Harrison. While Sousa directed the elite band, he kept busy composing and orchestrating many different types of music. Indeed, his talents spanned several musical genres including operettas, waltzes, orchestral suites, short songs, a symphonic poem, and, of course, military marches, for which he is best known today. Sousa and the Marine Band toured all over the world and extensively throughout the United States. Many Americans went to concerts to hear Sousa's music performed live, and as the phonograph gained in popularity, his recordings became very popular.

In a significant sense, Sousa was the right man for the time, musically speaking. His unflinching patriotism, affiliation with the Marine Corps, and rousing marches all fed into the upsurge in American patriotism during the 1890s. His quintessentially American sound also helped the great masses of immigrants become instantly familiar with a key part of American culture. The timing of the Spanish-American War could not have been better, for Sousa's

marches were played nearly ad nauseam in civilian parades, military reviews, and the like. His most famous march, “The Stars and Stripes Forever” (1896), was composed less than 18 months before the Spanish-American War began in April 1898. In an age prior to electronic media, with no radio or television, Sousa’s music took its place as an auditory form of propaganda of sorts, stirring American patriotism and showcasing Americans’ newfound pride as a nation on the edge of greatness.

Among Sousa’s prolific scores for marches are “Semper Fidelis” (1888), the official Marine Corps march; “The Washington Post” (1889); “King Cotton” (1895); “El Capitan” (1896); and “The Gallant Seventh” (1922). In all, Sousa composed 136 marches. He also wrote nine full-length operettas. A man of many talents, he wrote his autobiography, five novels, poems, and countless songs and song scraps. He was an unabashed self-promoter, so nearly everything he did ended up being successful.

In 1892, with his popularity akin to a present-day rock star, Sousa left the Marine Corps and began touring extensively with his own band of handpicked musicians. It played to sell-out crowds throughout the rest of the decade and was particularly sought after during and immediately after the Spanish-American War. In 1900, Sousa’s band embarked on an extensive tour of Europe after opening at the Paris Exposition of 1900. Interestingly, Sousa was suspicious of radio and refused to conduct any live radio broadcasts for fear that he would lose his connection to the audience. Not until 1929 did he conduct his first radio-broadcast concert. It proved so popular that Sousa found an entire new audience. During World War I, he joined the U.S. Navy Reserve at the age of 62 to show his support for the war effort. He was given the rank of lieutenant and a \$1 per month stipend.

Active until the very end of his life, Sousa continued to tour and compose musical scores. By the early 1930s he remained a household name, and while his popularity was not what it was in the 1890s, he nevertheless managed to play to packed houses. Sousa died in Reading, Pennsylvania, on March 6, 1932, while on tour. Fittingly, the last piece he conducted was “The Stars and Stripes Forever.”

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Music

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ern Europe. Spain, which has extended coastlines on both the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, occupies the Iberian Peninsula with Portugal, Andorra, and Gibraltar. Spain borders France and the Bay of Biscay to the north, the Gulf of Cádiz and the Alboran Sea to the south, Portugal to the west, and the Mediterranean Sea to the east. Spanish territory includes the Balearic Islands, the Canary Islands, and five small presidios (enclaves), the most important being Ceuta and Melilla in North Africa. At the time of the Spanish-American War, Spain, with a metropolitan population of about 18.6 million, also controlled the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Guam. It was ruled by María Cristina, queen regent of Spain, as a parliamentary monarchy.

The name of the country comes from the Latin word *Hispania*, the term used by the ancient Romans to describe the entire Iberian Peninsula. Although the original inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula left a slight cultural footprint on the area, six centuries of Roman domination (roughly the second century BCE to the fourth century CE) greatly influenced Spanish culture. It was during this time that Latin-derived languages (such as Castilian, Portuguese, Catalan, and Galician), Roman Catholicism, Roman legal traditions, corporatism, and Mediterranean foodways became prevalent. In 711 CE, the Moors, Muslims of mixed Arab and Berber descent, invaded the peninsula, and ultimately the entire peninsula except for a few small Christian enclaves in the north came under their domination. Trade flourished, religious toleration for Christians and Jews existed, and the rich intellectual tradition from the Middle East was transplanted to Iberia. Notwithstanding seven centuries of fierce Christian resistance, local culture was strongly influenced by the Muslims.

During the 15th century, Christian resistance against the Muslims on the peninsula intensified. The final stage of the seven-centuries-long Reconquista came to fruition with the destruction of the last Moorish kingdom, Grenada, in 1492. This feat was made possible by the dynastic union of the Christian kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, which resulted from the marriage of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon in 1469. The year 1492 also marked the expulsion of the large Jewish community from Spain and the arrival of Christopher Columbus in the New World, which set the stage for an immense Spanish colonial empire in the New World. Precious metals from the New World allowed Spain to become a major world power. Ferdinand and Isabella centralized royal power at the expense of the lesser nobility, and the term *España* (Spain) began to be used to describe the two kingdoms. The Kingdom of Navarre, located in the Basque region of northwestern Spain, was incorporated into the new Spanish kingdom in 1513. Spain, which came to dominate vast territorial possessions in Western Europe, was the most powerful European kingdom during the 16th century and most of the 17th century.

Although still able to assert influence over its vast colonial empire, Spain began a period of seemingly irreversible decline during the 17th century, as the Hapsburg royal family engaged in religious wars that drained the Spanish treasury. Simultaneously, other

Spain

Nation in southwestern Europe. The Kingdom of Spain, with an area of 194,364 square miles, is the second largest country in West-

European nations, specifically England and France, increased their strength. In 1640, Portugal ended the dynastic union with Spain that had existed since 1580. The reign of King Carlos (Charles) II (1665–1700), the last Hapsburg ruler of Spain, came to symbolize the decline of the country. The childless king's death in 1700 ultimately sparked the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714). Although Spain lost its nonpeninsular territorial possessions in Europe, the new Bourbon royal family was able to reestablish order and reinvigorate, albeit temporarily, the Spanish economy.

In 1808, French armies invaded Spain during the Napoleonic Wars and deposed the Spanish monarch. Napoleon then proclaimed his brother, Joseph, the new king of Spain. For eight years, the Spaniards, with the assistance of the British, fought a war of national liberation against the French. At the same time, colonial elites in the New World established autonomous local governments in Latin America that were only nominally loyal to the deposed Spanish monarch. Because Madrid could not assert its authority over its colonies at this time, the colonies began to drift further and further away. Although the Spaniards represented a victorious nation at the Congress of Vienna in 1814–1815, the nation had been economically decimated by the French occupation and was politically divided between liberals and conservatives.

During the reign of King Ferdinand VII (1814–1833), Spain lost all of its New World colonies with the exception of Cuba and Puerto Rico. Latin American colonial elites, realizing that continued colonial dominance by Spain offered neither economic rewards nor military protection, declared independence. Ferdinand, who produced no male heir, died in 1833, sparking a political controversy that plagued Spain for the next five decades. Partisans of Ferdinand's daughter Isabella II, who supported the Pragmatic Sanction of 1830 that abolished the Salic Law and allowed for Isabella's succession, fought the supporters of Ferdinand's brother Carlos, the pretender to the Spanish throne. The result was a series of three Carlist Wars that caused much political and economic confusion.

In 1843, in an attempt to restore political order, the Spanish government declared the 13-year-old Isabella of age and ended the inept regency of her mother. Isabella's reign, however, was plagued by coups, turmoil, and court intrigue. Nevertheless, fiscal reform, especially a revised tax system, established a viable economy that facilitated the revival of the Spanish military. Isabella's incessant political intrigues, however, resulted in the overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy in 1868 by a group of liberal generals, led by General Juan Prim. Isabella went into exile, living in France until she died in 1904.

In the midst of this political turmoil, Spain confronted a major challenge in Cuba, where revolutionaries seeking independence launched the Ten Years' War (1868–1878). Spanish attempts to quell the Cuban revolutionaries placed a considerable drain on the Spanish treasury. In 1870, the liberal generals placed Amadeus, the second son of King Victor Emmanuel II of Italy, on the throne. The 1870 assassination of Prim, the main force behind Amadeus's election as king, however, made Amadeus's hold on power tenuous. The out-

break of the Third Carlist War in 1872 convinced Amadeus that the Spaniards were ungovernable, leading him to abdicate in 1873. On February 11, 1873, the Spanish Cortes (parliament) proclaimed the First Republic. The republic, however, was unable to deal with political and economic chaos at home, the Third Carlist War, and the ongoing revolution in Cuba. In 1874, General Arsenio Martínez de Campos proclaimed the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy under the leadership of Isabella's son, Alfonso XII.

Alfonso XII (1874–1885) was able to defeat the Carlists in 1876 and end the Ten Years' War in Cuba by signing the Pact of Zanjón with the Cuban revolutionaries in 1878. His pragmatic leadership gradually allowed the Spanish government to restore political and economic stability. However, nationalist movements in the Philippines and in Cuba, such as the Guerra Chiquita (Little War) of 1879–1880, continued. Never allowing himself to become the political instrument of either of the two major political parties, Alfonso was able to work with administrations led by Conservative Antonio Cánovas del Castillo as well as Liberal Práxedes Mateo Sagasta. Alfonso's benevolent disposition, which won him the admiration of his people, and his ability to stabilize the economy and implement modernization programs allowed the Bourbon monarchy to withstand the threat of revolution in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War. Following his death by tuberculosis in 1885, his wife, María Cristina, became queen regent for his infant son, Alfonso XIII, who was not crowned until he came of age in 1902.

The outbreak of the Cuban War of Independence in 1895 eventually drew Spain into conflict with the United States. Spanish attempts to quell the Cuban revolutionaries, especially the draconian *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) system unleashed by General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, were roundly denounced in American newspapers. The jingoistic rhetoric of American newspapers, commonly referred to as yellow journalism, fueled anti-Spanish sentiment in the United States. Spanish attempts to be conciliatory in finding a peaceful situation to the turmoil in Cuba met with U.S. intransigence. At the same time, Spain was waging a smaller but stubborn struggle with Filipino nationalists, led by Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy.

Notwithstanding Spanish attempts to defuse the situation and great ambivalence in Madrid about a war with the Americans, the United States and Spain went to war in April 1898. Spain and the United States were not evenly matched. The population of Spain was roughly 18.6 million people, while that of the United States was more than 76 million. More problematic still were the American industrial and military capabilities generated by the Industrial Revolution in the United States during the last third of the 19th century. By 1898, the United States led the world in industrial production, including pivotal war materials such as steel. Spanish forces were quickly overwhelmed by superior American forces and manufacturing capacity.

As a result of the 1898 Treaty of Paris, Spain lost its two remaining colonies in the New World—Cuba and Puerto Rico—as

well as Guam and the Philippines. Although a political and military disaster for the Spanish, the war actually benefited Spain economically. Large sums of capital held by Spaniards overseas were brought back to Spain and invested in the national economy. Spain's defeat in the Spanish-American War, known as *El Desastre* (The Disaster) in Spain, also gave rise to a movement in Spain known as the Generation of '98, a group of novelists, scholars, poets, writers, and philosophers who tried to restore the intellectual and literary prominence that Spain had once exerted during the 16th century. Writers such as Miguel de Unamuno, frustrated by Spain's military defeat, initiated a period of critical analysis concerning Spanish identity.

Spain's defeat in the Spanish-American War and the writings of the Generation of '98 weakened the legitimacy of the Bourbon monarchy and contributed to the political instability that eventually resulted in the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). That in turn led to the establishment of an authoritarian quasi-fascist regime led by General Francisco Franco that endured until the dictator's death in 1975 and the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy under Juan Carlos. Today, Spain is once again a parliamentary monarchy.

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See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Alfonso XII, King of Spain; Alfonso XIII, King of Spain; Cánovas del Castillo y Vallejo, Antonio; Carlists; Cuba; Cuba, Spanish Colonial Policies toward; Cuban War of Independence; Guam; María Cristina, Queen Regent of Spain; Martínez de Campos, Arsenio; Philippine Islands; Philippine Islands, Spanish Colonial Poli-

cies toward; Puerto Rico; *Reconcentrado* System; Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo; Ten Years' War; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano; Yellow Journalism; Zanjón, Pact of

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Spain, Army

The Spanish Army (*Ejército de España*) was an important and powerful institution in Spain at the end of the 19th century. It consisted of both a regular force and a reserve. Spain had universal military service with young men older than 19 required to serve, although there were a number of exemptions for only sons, for sons supporting their parents or grandparents, and for specialized areas of employment. The so-called blood tax fell predominantly on the poor, as military service could be avoided by payment of as little as 1,200 pesetas, a sum paid by more than 10,000 young men in 1882.

In spite of the fact that the Spanish Army claimed 18 percent of the national budget in 1895, it was chronically short of equipment



Spanish infantry in 1898. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

Distribution of Spain's Overseas Army in 1898

Location	Men	Percent of Total Spanish Army	Military Units
Cuba	278,457	56.60%	101 infantry battalions 4 marine infantry battalions 11 cavalry regiments 2 mountain artillery regiments
Philippines	51,331	10.40%	7 infantry battalions 1 Civil Guard regiment
Puerto Rico	10,005	2.0%	7 infantry regiments 15 independent rifle regiments 1 marine infantry regiment

and supplies in large part because much of the budget was consumed by officer salaries. (Spain had 1 officer for every 6 enlisted men—four times the ratio for the U.S. Army—and 1 general for every 100 enlisted men.) Officers traditionally were drawn from the upper classes and had little contact with their men. Promotion in the Spanish Army was generally slow and was heavily influenced by family connections to the monarchy rather than demonstrated military merit. Under the 1876 constitution, all army captains-general and all navy admirals were given seats in the Cortes (parliament), and all officers were eligible to run for election to the House of Deputies.

In 1898, the Spanish Army numbered 492,077 men, but nearly 70 percent of them were overseas: 278,457 in Cuba, 51,331 in the Philippines, and 10,005 in Puerto Rico. The army had wide recent experience fighting insurgents in both Cuba and the Philippines. While fairly efficient as an antiguerrilla force, the Spanish Army had no recent experience in conventional warfare, and its officers were not skilled in handling large formations. The army was organized into regiments, with the battalion serving as the tactical unit. A regiment consisted of two battalions of six companies each. At full strength, there were 160 men and officers per company, but this strength was not often maintained.

Many of the Spanish officers on the front line were in their late teens and were unable to inspire their men. Although most Spanish units were poorly trained, a number performed well in action against the Americans. Spanish soldiers were armed with the 1893 model Spanish-made Mauser, a bolt-action rifle with a five-cartridge clip that fired a 7-millimeter smokeless powder round. The Mauser was sighted to a maximum range of 2,300 yards and was superior to the American Krag-Jørgensen rifle, but as with much else in the Spanish Army at the time, marksmanship was often poor.

The colonial Spanish army in Cuba consisted of 101 battalions of infantry and four battalions of naval infantry. There were also 11 regiments of cavalry, but they were kept in a garrison role and played no active part in the campaign. There were also two mountain artillery regiments with 70 guns and three fortress artillery battalions. The regular army in Cuba was augmented by 82,000 volunteers.

On the island of Puerto Rico, there were 7 battalions of Spanish regular infantry supported by a regiment of the Civil Guard and about 6,000 additional volunteers. In the Philippines, the Spanish army consisted of 7 regiments of infantry, 15 independent rifle regiments, and a marine infantry regiment. A majority of these troops were stationed on the island of Luzon in and around Manila. There were also another 5,600 native troops.

The war claimed more than 55,000 Spanish troops dead, including those lost fighting against both the Americans and insurgent forces. Although battle losses amounted to some 5,600 killed and more than 10,000 wounded, the majority of fatalities came as a result of disease. When the Spanish Army was repatriated from Cuba, almost all were suffering from various infections and were near starvation.

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See also

Cuba; Cuban Revolutionary Army; United States Army

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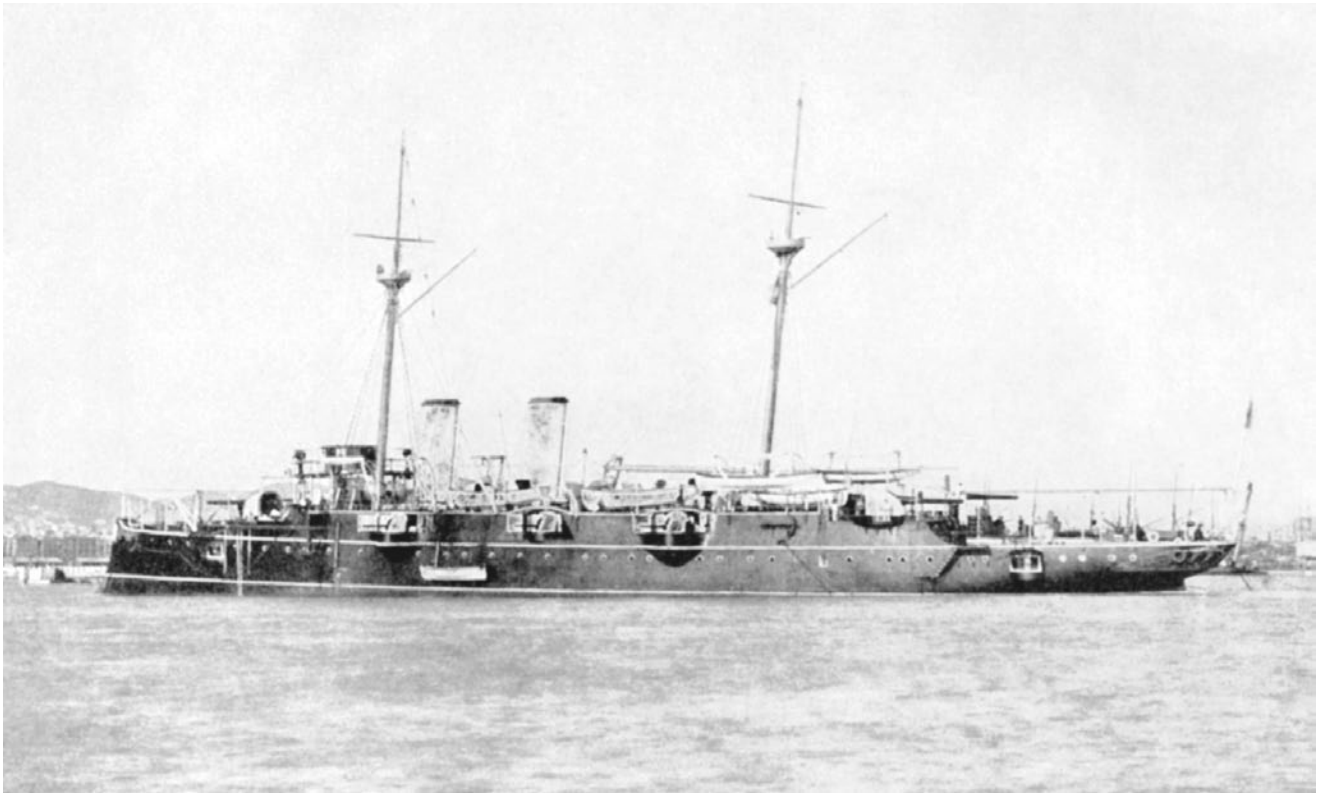
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Spain, Navy

When decades of national strife and a failed experiment in republicanism ended with the restoration of 17-year-old Alfonso XII to the Spanish throne in the mid-1870s, the Spanish Navy lay in tatters from neglect. The navy numbered only five armor-plated frigates, a half-dozen wooden ones, a pair of unseaworthy monitors, and a number of lesser auxiliaries. Morale was low, and resources were negligible. Although four new warships emerged from Spanish yards during 1874–1877 and a like number would be built for Spain in France and England over the next four years, all eight were small and outdated in design and capability.

In Spain, a fervent pronaval newspaper campaign began in 1882 that called for the modernization of the Spanish Navy. In accord with these sentiments, conservative Spanish premier Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, himself a former minister of the navy, promoted just such an effort. Two years later, his government secured a major loan to finance the construction of a battleship at the La Seyne shipyards in Toulon, France. The result was the 9,900-ton *Pelayo*, Spain's first modern warship. Its main armament consisted of 2 12.5-inch Spanish González Hontoria guns, each in an armored turret fore or aft, plus 2 11-inch guns. Typical of capital ships of the



The Spanish Navy protected cruiser *Alfonso XIII*. (Photographic History of the Spanish-American War, 1898)

time, it mounted a mix of ordnance for long-, medium-, and short-range fire. Its armament also included 1 6.4-inch gun, 12 4.7-inch guns, 12 6-pounder quick-firing guns, 14 machine guns, and 7 torpedo tubes. The ship was rebuilt in 1897 with new boilers and slightly modified armament.

While the *Pelayo* was still being built, Spain's naval allotments had been significantly bolstered because of a diplomatic flap with Germany over the Caroline Islands in the Pacific. This surge in funding permitted Spanish yards to produce during 1885 and 1887 six iron-hulled, 1,150-ton, single-screw, three-masted Velasco-class unprotected cruisers based on the older *Velasco* and *Gravina*, launched in 1881 at the Thames Iron Works at Blackwall in London. These unprotected cruisers mounted a plain armament of four 4.7-inch guns as well as lesser weaponry and two 14-inch torpedo tubes. Their outdated designs and light armament meant that they were really suited only for staking a claim to distant colonial waters, patrolling against native craft or smugglers.

In 1887, the 3,042-ton, single-screw, three-masted unprotected cruisers *Alfonso XII*, *Reina Mercedes*, and *Reina Cristina* were launched at El Ferrol and Cartagena. They mounted a main armament of six 6.4-inch guns. During 1889–1891, seven 562-ton twin-masted Temerario-class torpedo gunboats were launched from various Spanish yards, and an experimental electric submarine was even tested at Cádiz.

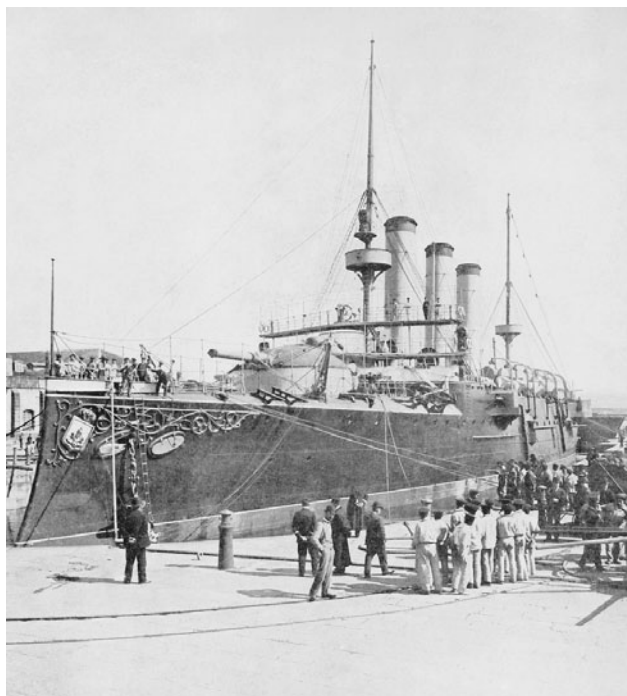
Spain contracted abroad for the more modern 1,030-ton protected cruisers *Isla de Cuba* and *Isla de Luz*. They were launched in

1886 at the Elswick yards in England. A third ship in that class, the *Marqués de la Ensenada*, was launched by La Carraca in Cádiz in 1890. Each boasted a steel hull, 2.5-inch deck armor, and a main armament of six 4.7-inch guns. In January 1887, a swift (more than 20 knots) 348-ton torpedo gunboat emerged from the Thomson yards on the Clyde in Glasgow. It entered the Spanish Navy as the *Destructor*. A half-dozen assorted torpedo boats were also acquired from Britain, Germany, and France.

In 1888, the Thompson yards delivered the 4,725-ton protected cruiser *Reina Regente*. Armed with four 7.9-inch guns, six 4.7-inch guns, multiple lesser pieces, and five torpedo-tubes (two forward, one aft, and one on each broadside), it had a top speed of 18.6 knots. The *Reina Regente* would be copied in the Spanish-built *Alfonso XIII* (Ferrol) and *Lepanto* (Cartagena).

Although this construction program of the mid-1880s had greatly expanded the Spanish Navy, adding more than two dozen new ships, professional officers realized that this number included at least 1 dubious battleship and 10 outmoded cruisers. Even the *Reina Regente* would prove to be dangerously top-heavy, eventually sinking with all hands during a sudden storm on March 10, 1895, while steaming to Cádiz from Tangier. The main batteries of the *Alfonso XIII* and the *Lepanto* were reduced in caliber so as to make them a bit more stable.

Once a long-term budget was approved by the Spanish Cortes (parliament) on January 12, 1887, a more focused approach to naval acquisitions was imposed, allowing for an expenditure of 225 million



The Spanish armored cruiser *Emperador Carlos V*. (Photographic History of the Spanish-American War, 1898)

pesetas over the next 10 years. This sum, large by Spanish standards, was small when compared to the amounts being spent in Britain, Germany, France, and the United States. Spanish builders would therefore have to economize so as to maximize their limited funding.

The *Infanta Maria Teresa*, *Almirante Oquendo*, and *Vizcaya* were all launched at Bilbao in 1890–1891 and were based upon the successful design of HMS *Orlando* with technical assistance from its British shipwright Sir Charles Palmer. Yet despite displacing only 6,890 tons, all three were rated as battleships in the Spanish Navy rather than their true classification of armored cruisers. Heavily armed, they each mounted 2 11-inch and 10 5.5-inch Hontoria pieces, the 11-inch guns mounted fore and aft in barbette mounts with lightly armored hoods and the 5.5-inch guns mounted on the upper deck. The three ships were poorly protected.

The 9,090-ton armored cruiser *Emperador Carlos V* was launched at Cádiz in 1895. It had a main armament of two 11-inch guns along with eight 5.5-inchers and a top speed of about 19 knots. Three other 6,888-ton cruisers, the *Princesa de Asturias*, *Cardenal Cisneros*, and *Catalu* with a main armament of two 9.4-inch guns along with eight 5.5-inchers, were also laid down in Spanish yards, but they were not completed until 1902, 1903, and 1904, respectively.

As tensions between Spain and the United States escalated in the 1890s, Spanish minister of the navy Vice Admiral José María Beranger secured in 1896 an additional 23 million pesetas to begin construction of an 11,000-ton battleship, two 6,800-ton heavy cruisers, a 5,300-ton light cruiser, two destroyers, and two tugs.

Given the lead time in ship construction and the looming crisis with the United States, Beranger also persuaded the Spanish gov-

ernment to purchase in May 1896 the fine 7,234-ton armored cruiser *Giuseppe Garibaldi* from Italy. Delivered in May 1897 and renamed the *Cristóbal Colón*, it was a swift (20 knots), well-planned warship. The ships of that class mounted 2 10-inch guns and 2 8-inchers along with 14 6-inch guns, 4 17.7-inch torpedo tubes, and assorted smaller armament. Because of a dispute over payment, however, it was delivered without its 10-inch guns, which were never installed.

On the eve of hostilities in April 1898, naval deployments in Spain supposedly consisted of six battleships, although only the ancient *Pelayo* could actually be deemed such, the other five being the armored cruisers *Carlos V*, *Infanta Maria Teresa*, *Almirante Oquendo*, *Vizcaya*, and *Cristóbal Colón*. Spanish ports also held the protected cruisers *Alfonso XIII*, *Aragón*, and *Navarra*; the auxiliary cruisers *Doña María de Molina*, *Marqués de la Victoria*, and *Don Alvaro de Bazán*; 8 destroyers; 14 torpedo boats; 15 gunboats; and a dozen assorted transports, coast guard vessels, and lesser craft. These 60 vessels were manned by a total of 6,778 sailors and 5,412 marines.

Overseas, there were on station in Cuba an additional six cruisers, 6 destroyers, 9 gunboats, 29 patrol boats, 3 tugs, and 6 auxiliaries manned by 2,533 sailors and 581 marines. Two additional cruisers and 2 gunboats were assigned to Puerto Rico, with 291 seamen and 23 marines. The destroyer *Temerario* was stationed at Montevideo. Ten cruisers, 15 gunboats, 9 patrol boats, and other auxiliaries were assigned to the Philippines and were manned by 2,479 sailors and 2,515 marines.

This apparent strength on paper was quite deceiving. With the exception of the cruiser *Carlos V* and a handful of destroyers, the vast majority of the Spanish warships were undergunned, too weakly armored and slow, or otherwise technologically outdated. Many inadequate or older vessels had even been refurbished and retained on active duty at considerable expense, while modern warships were either still in the yards or yet to be built. It is little wonder that Spanish rear admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete had no confidence in the outcome when he departed the Cape Verde Islands with his small squadron for the Caribbean. As it worked out, Spain's naval inferiority was glaringly revealed in the two major naval engagements of the war. On May 1, 1898, U.S. Commodore George Dewey's Asiatic Squadron destroyed Spanish rear admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón's squadron in the Battle of Manila Bay. Then on July 3, 1898, on the other side of the globe off Santiago de Cuba, U.S. Admiral William T. Sampson's North Atlantic Fleet destroyed Cervera's squadron.

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See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Dewey, George; Manila Bay, Battle of; Montojo y Pasarón, Patricio; Naval Strategy, Spanish; North Atlantic Squadron; Sampson, William Thomas; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of

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Spanish-American War, International Reaction to

Reactions in other countries to the war between the United States and Spain ranged from cautious sympathy for the United States on the part of Great Britain to indifference and mild hostility on the part of the governments of the other great powers to dismay among liberal and socialist elements and the general public in Europe and

Latin America. These attitudes were largely a product of their perceptions of the war's impact on their own interests.

While most Americans believed that they had gone to war with Spain for humanitarian motives, this was not the perception among European governments. The combination of American belligerence in the First Venezuela Crisis (1895–1897) followed by jingoism in the American press and the U.S. Congress regarding the Cuban crisis and the ensuing American war with Spain triggered considerable anxiety in Europe over U.S. intentions. Except for Britain, where leading members of the government of Prime Minister Robert Gascoyne-Cecil (Lord Salisbury) and other political observers viewed the United States as a potential ally, the other European powers were uneasy about this aggressive American expansionism.

These reactions were, in part, a product of differing political cultures among the European powers. At the end of the 19th century, most of the European states (including Spain) were still headed by monarchies, and these monarchs sympathized with Spanish monarch Queen María Cristina and her ministers. Even Britain's Queen Victoria, the monarch of power otherwise sympathetic with the United States, spoke out against American bellicosity toward Spain. Indeed, Victoria called on other European powers to “unite



Political cartoon titled “The see-saw nations—The Anglo-Saxons balance of power” by Victor Gillam from the April 9, 1898, issue of *Judge*. The cartoon shows Uncle Sam and John Bull sitting at one end of the seesaw, while Turkey, Spain, China, France, Germany, and Russia struggle to stay on the other end, with “History” and a cannon as the fulcrum. (Library of Congress)

against such unheard of conduct” in reference to American war aims. The monarchies of the other great powers (except for Republican France) were also uneasy about the war’s possible impact on the Spanish Crown and how a threat to the Spanish monarchy might impact them.

Beyond the reactions of the governments lay the hostility of public opinion and of editorials and essayists across the political spectrum. Conservative political observers took the occasion of the war to revive long-standing images of Americans as greedy, materialistic, selfish, hypocritical, and overbearing. Outside of Britain, few commentators accepted American claims that the war was being waged for humanitarian purposes or to liberate Cuba. Many Europeans saw this as utter hypocrisy carried out by a nation that, as one German press editorial pointed out, conducted “numerous cruel Indian wars and persecutions of ‘Negroes.’” There was also virtually no discussion of Cuban aspirations in the European press. Coverage of the war in the continental press was Eurocentric, and throughout the continent, the American war against Spain was perceived as a war against all of Europe.

For liberal and leftist Europeans more in sympathy with U.S. republican values, the war represented a betrayal. They perceived the war and the overseas expansion that accompanied it as an abandonment of America’s traditions and core beliefs. Many leftist observers saw the war as evidence of the ascendancy of monopoly capitalism in the United States. There was great concern in liberal internationalist circles that the United States, by intervening in Cuba and seizing the Philippines, had undermined the international legal order.

Public and press outrage over perceived American aggression against Spain did not translate into any kind of united front on the part of the governments of the great powers, however. Of all the European powers, Germany showed the most sympathy toward Spain and, conversely, the most hostility toward the United States. Germany, led by its impetuous Kaiser Wilhelm II, urged a united stand by the European powers against the United States but took no action to bring about collective action by the powers. Germany’s actions were governed largely by economic considerations and its overseas ambitions. Indeed, the Germans feared disruption of trade with the United States, then Germany’s most important trading partner outside of Europe.

The Germans also had ambitions and concerns regarding the Philippines, where German officials both nursed aspirations about taking over the islands for themselves and feared that Britain might seize the Philippines if the United States did not acquire them. After the outbreak of the war and the American victory in Manila Bay in May 1898, the Germans alternated between hostility toward the United States and moves toward a rapprochement, including feelers about gaining a naval base at Subic Bay and a possible alliance with the United States. When President William McKinley announced the U.S. intention to annex the islands, the Germans acceded without protest.

Similarly, France assumed a stance of ambivalent neutrality, and the French government scarcely commented on the Cuban cri-

sis. After the outbreak of war and the American victory at Manila Bay, press comment in France fearfully acknowledged the new status of the United States as a great power. With its hands tied by domestic political instability, however, the French government could do little more than keep a wary eye on the Americans. As with the Germans, the French sent a naval force to the Philippines and put out feelers concerning a possible sphere of influence in the islands. French foreign minister Théophile Delcassé offered to mediate between Spain and the United States, but when the United States showed no interest, he did not press the offer. When Spain proposed a joint protectorate over the Philippines by all the powers, France refused to support the proposal.

Tsarist Russia, France’s ally, followed the same pattern as the other powers. Of all the European powers, Russia should have been the most concerned over the Spanish-American War. The emergence of the United States as a Pacific power clearly affected Russia’s ambitions in the Far East. The Russian Foreign Ministry was concerned with the possibility that Britain and the United States might cooperate against a Russian sphere of influence in North China and Manchuria. Nevertheless, apart from expressions of sympathy for the Spanish monarchy from Tsar Nicholas II, the government did not show great concern with the prewar deterioration of Spanish-American relations. Russian diplomats were not enthusiastic about proposals for joint intervention by the powers in support of Spain lest the Americans become even more involved in the Far East.

After the Americans’ May 1898 victory at Manila Bay, the Russian government expressed some concern that Britain or Germany, Russia’s two chief rivals in both Europe and the Far East, might acquire the Philippines if the United States decided not to take the archipelago. Russian foreign minister Count Mikhail Muraviev approached the French about intervening in the war, forcing Spain to make peace, and taking the Philippines for themselves. The French, however, refused. Muraviev’s actions aside, Russia’s governing bureaucracy gave little thought during and immediately after the war to policy toward the new world power. If the French had shown more concern and a willingness to mediate between the United States and Spain, it is likely that the Russian government would have vigorously supported a French initiative. As it was, Russia did not seriously rethink relations with the United States until the Americans became more active in China with publication of the Open Door Notes of 1899–1900.

Just as surprising was the ambivalent reaction of another emerging power, Japan. Like the United States, Japan was an emerging Pacific power and had designs on both Hawaii and the Philippines. Expansionist and imperialist ideology was steadily gaining influence in the Japanese press as well as in Japanese government and military circles. In 1893 and 1897, important newspapers representing Japanese political parties had protested American designs on Hawaii. Although Japanese political leaders acquiesced to the U.S. annexation of Hawaii in 1898, many believed that Japan’s destiny lay to the south and called for Japan to seize the Philippines if and when the Spanish regime collapsed.

Many European diplomats and other observers also believed that Japan might oppose American acquisition of the Philippines and seek to acquire the islands for itself. On the other hand, many analysts with access to anti-Russian elements in Japan's political establishment believed that the Japanese would seek American assistance, along with that of the British, in contesting Russian and German seizures of Port Arthur and Shantung in North China, respectively.

The Japanese pursued neither course, as domestic political instability brought on by a severe economic depression precluded foreign adventures at this time. In 1898 and 1899, three governments rapidly succeeded one other, each preoccupied with domestic political and economic affairs. None of the three cabinets could afford to take any action that might panic Japanese capitalists or discourage foreign investments. Faced with internal turmoil, the Japanese leadership decided that it could not afford to resist the United States or to court it.

Thus, none of the powers made any serious efforts to unite in support of Spain against the American expansionism. Britain, facing growing isolation in Europe and the approach of war with the Boers in South Africa, elected to strive for American friendship. Germany initially sympathized with Spain but wound up seeking an accommodation with the United States. The other powers displayed neither hostility nor friendship. The powers were all preoccupied with balance of power considerations. Indeed, they feared each other as much as they feared the United States and were faced with internal political and class divisions that limited their ability to act. The result was that decisions regarding America's future in the world were left in the hands of the Americans themselves. As had so often happened in the previous century, the United States benefited from Europe's distress and ambivalence.

WALTER F. BELL

See also

China; China Market; Cuba; Delcassé, Théophile; Diederichs, Ernst Otto von; France; Germany; Great Britain, Policies and Reactions to the Spanish-American War; Imperialism; Japan; Manila Bay, Battle of; McKinley, William; Open Door Policy; Spain; Subic Bay; Venezuela Crisis, First

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Spanish-American War, U.S. Financing of

The Spanish-American War cost the U.S. government approximately \$250 million, exclusive of the costs associated with the Philippine-American War that began in 1899. This outlay was a significant percentage of the total federal budget and exceeded the total cost of the American Revolution and the War of 1812 combined. While the fighting was brief, the global nature of the conflict proved to be costly in terms of logistics, fuel, supply lines, and troop movements. Fortunately for Americans, the costs associated with the war surfaced at the same time that the U.S. economy was recovering from the disastrous effects of the Panic of 1893 and the economic depression of 1893–1897. The renewed prosperity of the late 1890s allowed the federal government to finance the war with Spain without placing an enormous burden on the entire American economy and without piling up huge debts. The rebounding economy, however, had led many business leaders, including Mark Hanna, President William McKinley's chief political adviser and confidant, to caution against war with Spain because of the potential negative impact on the American economy.

The challenge faced by lawmakers in financing the conflict was trying to increase revenues in the aftermath of the 1895 Supreme Court decision in *Pollock v. Farmers' Loan and Trust Company*, which held that an income tax was a direct tax and thus unconstitutional. This deprived Congress of the option of implementing a wartime income tax that had been quite effective in funding the American Civil War. Moreover, pressure from Wall Street and the business community prompted Congress to reject proposals that would significantly increase tariffs. Given these two major restrictions, the federal government instituted new excise taxes and increased rates on those already in existence.

The need for wartime revenue pressed Congress to pass the War Revenue Act of 1898, an omnibus bill that restored many of the taxes passed during the American Civil War. This legislation generated nearly \$344 million in revenue and offset the entire cost of the war.

The most common and profitable source of revenue under this act was excise taxes imposed on a variety of commodities and services. The excise taxes were frequently placed on luxury items or

Comparative Costs of the Spanish-American War (in Millions)

Conflict	Original War Costs	Veterans' Benefits	Repayment of Interest on War Loans	Total
American Revolutionary War	\$100	\$70	\$20	\$190
Mexican-American War	\$73	\$64	\$10	\$147
Spanish-American War	\$400	\$6,000	\$60	\$6,460
World War II	\$288,000	\$290,000	\$86,000	\$664,000

took the form of sin taxes on items such as alcohol and tobacco. One famous excise tax was a 3 percent levy on private phone service, which generated approximately \$314,000 during the Spanish-American War. This tax was not repealed until 2006, however, and thus continued to raise billions every year. A stamp tax on legal and commercial commodities was another excise tax that was instituted during the war.

The most controversial and widely debated source of wartime revenue was a tax on inheritances. While this type of tax was imposed during the American Civil War, many powerful and wealthy scions of the Gilded Age vociferously opposed this measure, realizing that large amounts of money would transfer from private hands to the federal government. Despite these high-profile opponents, support from prominent economists and industrialist Andrew Carnegie convinced Congress to pass the national inheritance tax in 1898. This graduated tax was placed on all legacies and inherited property. The rate was determined by the size of the inheritance and the relationship of the individual to the deceased. The maximum tax was 15 percent on inheritances that exceeded \$1 million. This tax, which was eliminated in 1902, survived legal challenges to its constitutionality.

The federal government was able to finance the short-lived war without imposing taxes that stifled the economy or produced widespread opposition. In most cases, the taxes enacted were specifically for the conduct of the war, and the war revenue reduction bill of 1901 eliminated virtually every tax enacted during the war. The experience of financing the Spanish-American War alerted many astute leaders in the United States that a lengthy and wider war would require more effective and productive sources of revenue. This led to the passage of the 16th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1913, which provided for an income tax just in time for the U.S. entry into World War I.

JAMES T. CARROLL

See also

Carnegie, Andrew; Economic Depression; Gilded Age; Hanna, Mark; McKinley, William

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Spanish-American War, U.S. Public Reaction to

In the final years of the 19th century, the United States was emerging as a world power and developing a wide array of methods to measure public opinion on specific events. Straw polls, mail solicitations, and random interviews were well established by the 1890s and were quickly embraced by political parties, politicians, newspaper editors, and magazines. The events leading up to the Spanish-

American War, however, prompted a groundswell of public sentiments that frequently moved President William McKinley, members of Congress, and average Americans to take action against Spanish oppression in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. The high degree of support for military action against Spain was a significant reason for the declaration of war in April 1898. Of course, propaganda, instigated chiefly by newspapers and the yellow journalism of the day, also played a significant role in shaping public reaction to events before, during, and after the war.

Reports, both real and imagined, of atrocities committed by the Spanish in Cuba reached a highly sympathetic audience in the United States through newspapers, which had assigned reporters, artists, and photographers to the island nation with the objective of generating graphic accounts of deprivation and mayhem. The arrival in Cuba in the winter of 1896 of General Veleriano Weyler y Nicolau—dubbed “the Beast” and “the Butcher” by American newspapers—provided political cartoonists, writers, and artists with ample accounts to rile American sensibilities and garner support for an American response to the building crisis. The portrayals of mass starvation, murders, and the horrific implementation of the *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) system appealed to a broad spectrum of the American population.

The effective representation of events in Cuba prior to the start of the Spanish-American War shaped American public opinion and motivated a national response to the slaughter. These prewar developments engendered support for Cuban independence, renewed notions of American nationalism, and catapulted yellow journalism to new levels of influence.

The revelation of the Dupuy de Lôme-Canalejas Letter on February 9, 1898, and the explosion of the U.S. Navy battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, galvanized American public opinion and initiated the process that ultimately led to a formal declaration of war on April 25, 1898, retroactive to April 21, 1898. On February 9, 1898, the San Francisco *Examiner* released details of personal correspondence between Enrique Dupuy de Lôme, Spanish ambassador to the United States, and José Canalejas, a friend and Spanish newspaper reporter, that vilified President William McKinley and indicated that the United States was weak. The letter outraged many Americans. On February 15, 1898, less than a week after the publication of the letter, the destruction of the *Maine* killed 266 U.S. seamen. In short order, it was determined that the tragedy was the result of an external mine explosion, presumably laid by the Spanish.

The shaping of public opinion during the Spanish-American War was heavily influenced by newspapers. In 1898, virtually every town had at least one daily paper, and several major syndicates dominated print media in the major cities of the United States. Some large cities such as New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia had as many as seven daily newspapers. The two most influential editors of the period were William Randolph Hearst, who published the *New York Journal*, and his cross-town rival Joseph Pulitzer, who headed the *New York World*. These newspapers were engaged in a circulation war at the time and employed yellow journalism—often rampant and irresponsible sen-



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sationalism—to win readers and to capture memorable headlines. While many of the assertions in the newspapers were erroneous or exaggerated, they nevertheless shaped public opinion and dictated national policies. The glory of war was good for newspaper circulation and ensured that remarkable headlines were in ready supply during the Spanish-American War.

Both Congress and the White House felt the pressure generated by the press and public opinion, which seemed to be leaning heavily toward war. In the harried weeks prior to the war, pressure mounted on President McKinley to respond to Spanish aggression by taking decisive military action. By the end of March, most Americans believed that war was inevitable, and some factions in Congress threatened to take independent action if the president did not act immediately. Congressmen and senators from both political parties were keenly aware of their constituents' popular support for military intervention and mounted a sustained barrage of pressure on McKinley that led to the war declaration. The Spanish-American War ended up being a highly popular conflict and garnered support from virtually every segment of the American society.

The short duration of the war, its overwhelming military successes, and the large territorial acquisitions to be gained certainly sustained support for the war and swept widespread enthusiasm for the conflict right through to the peace treaty.

JAMES T. CARROLL

See also

Atrocities; Cuban War of Independence; Dupuy de Lôme-Canalejas Letter; Hearst, William Randolph; Journalism; *Maine*, USS; Newspapers; Pulitzer, Joseph; *Reconcentrado* System; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano; Yellow Journalism

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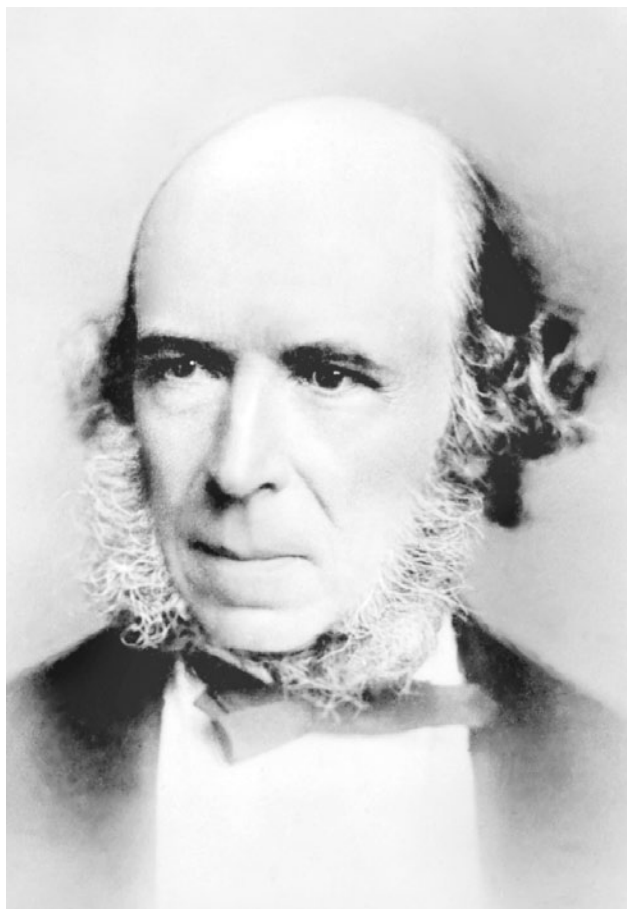
Spencer, Herbert

Birth Date: April 27, 1820

Death Date: December 8, 1903

English-born political theorist and philosopher. Herbert Spencer was the 19th century's most ardent proponent of the theory of social evolution (later termed social Darwinism), which relied on scientific findings, particularly those of Charles Darwin and his theory of evolution, to formulate a view of the workings of modern society. Spencer's theories can be said to have driven the Gilded Age and its reliance on industrialization and the search for overseas markets as well as having acted as a validation for the expansionism and imperialism of the late 19th century.

A Spanish-American War ribbon, "To Hell with Spain." (David J. & Janice L. Frent Collection/Corbis)



British philosopher Herbert Spencer was the leading proponent of social evolution, later known as social Darwinism. He coined the phrase “survival of the fittest.” (Library of Congress)

Born on April 27, 1820, in Derby, England, Spencer came from a family known for its radical politics. His father and uncles had been religious and political dissenters and were fervent believers in the need for widespread reform in British society. Spencer received little formal education, as he was tutored mostly by his father (a former schoolmaster) and uncle. His course of study was unconventional and erratic. He received almost no training in the humanities but instead spent a considerable amount of time exploring the world of science and conducting experiments that gave him great practical knowledge.

At age 17, Spencer became a teacher but quickly became dissatisfied with what he perceived as the stifling limits of formal education. In 1837, he gained a position as a railway engineer through a series of family connections. He excelled in this position, although within a few years he had become restless in this profession as well and in 1841 left the railways.

During the same period that he worked as a railroad engineer, Spencer also became involved in radical politics. He supported electoral reforms and the disestablishment of the Church of England. In concert with such radical politicians as John Bright and Richard

Cobden, Spencer fought against the Corn Laws and for expansion of suffrage. In early 1842, he joined the Chartist movement, an organization whose goals included universal male suffrage without the limits of property qualifications, a redefining of electoral districts so that all men in Great Britain were equally represented in the British Parliament, the use of secret ballots in voting, and financial support for members of Parliament so that poor men as well as rich men would be able to hold office. Both the Chartist movement and Spencer’s involvement in radical politics were brief, but his activity brought his name into the public eye and earned him a small degree of recognition among Britain’s radical circles.

In 1842, Spencer wrote his first political discourse, 12 letters that appeared in a radical newspaper that year and were later published as a pamphlet titled *The Proper Sphere of Government* (1843). In those letters, he argued for the government to adopt a strict attitude of laissez-faire, meaning that it should take no action that in any way regulated the economy, industry, or society. He also declared that governments routinely did more harm than good by interfering in society’s workings. This publication brought him praise and the opportunity to publish in other radical publications.

In 1848, Spencer became an assistant editor at the prestigious magazine *The Economist*. He continued to write philosophical tracts during his spare time and in 1851 published *Social Statics: The Conditions Essential to Human Happiness Specified, and the First of Them Developed*. In this work, he advocated not just political but also economic and social laissez-faire. He also reaffirmed that government interference in the economy or the workings of society upset the natural order of the world, where, he believed, the strong survived and the weak perished. This work made his reputation and presented the germ of his social theory that he would refine for the rest of his life.

In 1853, Spencer quit his job at *The Economist* after he received an inheritance from his uncle. His financial independence now allowed him the freedom to develop his social theories and present them to the world by his own fashion. He also dabbled in several inventions during the 1850s, although none amounted to much. However, he wrote prolifically, publishing books in 1885, 1861, 1862, 1864–1867, 1872, 1873–1881, 1882–1896, and 1902.

Throughout those works, Spencer developed his ideas regarding extreme laissez-faire. In 1859, after the publication of Darwin’s *On the Origin of Species*, Spencer adopted Darwin’s theory of natural selection to bolster his own theories of social science. Although Spencer had already employed this theory and even published a rudimentary version of it in *Social Statics*, Darwin’s work on the natural world substantiated Spencer’s work on society. Darwin himself never used the phrase “survival of the fittest,” but it suited Spencer’s needs perfectly. It embodied the idea that policies such as tariffs in the economic world and welfare in the social world were truly unfounded and perverted the order of the natural world. Spencer thus became one of the leading proponents of social Darwinism, an intellectual movement that used Darwin’s theories of evolution to explain social and economic phenomena.

Spencer's publications caused a great deal of controversy and debate in Victorian Great Britain and the United States, where his ideas were propagated by William Graham Sumner. In fact, Spencer's theory of social evolution—that society evolved and changed over time just as the natural world did—prompted nearly as much debate as Darwin's theories. Spencer viewed industrialization as progress in society's evolution (itself a highly debatable point in Victorian society) and claimed that the class system existed because some members of society were strong and had therefore succeeded, while others were weak and were therefore being winnowed out. Such an idea that the poor were poor because they lacked the qualities necessary to succeed flew in the face of many of Britain's social reformers at the time, many of whom advocated that the poor were poor because of circumstance and the inequities of capitalism and the factory system. Proponents of Manifest Destiny in the United States used Spencer's findings to advocate their theories, as would Germany in the two world wars in terms of victory of the strong over the weak in society and war.

Indeed, Spencer's worldview was clearly in keeping with social and economic changes taking place in the United States in the late 19th century. The relentless pursuit of technological innovation, industrial conglomeration, and the aggregation of extreme wealth in the hands of a few all fit the patterns of Spencer's social Darwinism. His theories not only helped explain why these trends were developing as they were but also served to validate the trends and the personalities involved. Thus, for Spencer, the robber barons—Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, and John Pierpont Morgan, among others—were captains of industry and industrial statesmen rather than shady characters who had accumulated too much wealth and power. As America's industrialization and economic growth began to outpace those of its competitors, the race was on to open overseas markets. Thus, as the Spanish-American War approached, social Darwinists in the United States saw American expansion abroad as a natural extension of its long-standing continental power and search for ever-expanding markets. Social Darwinism certainly fit the mind-set of U.S. imperialists in the 1890s.

Regardless of how Spencer's contemporaries felt about the soundness of his theories, all respected his approach to studying society. Spencer believed that all aspects of intellectual inquiry were ultimately related. Biology, psychology, ethics, economics, and politics made up interlocking parts of society, and therefore none could be studied in isolation. Neither could any branch of study be deemed irrelevant to society. In addition, Spencer advocated that the same rigorous standards that shaped scientific studies must also be applied to studying society. Thus was born the broad field of social science and the more focused field of sociology.

Deeply devoted to his work, Spencer spent his life elaborating on his theories and defending them before the public. He never married and spent much of his life in solitude. Spencer died on December 8, 1903, in Sussex, England.

ELIZABETH DUBRULLE AND PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Expansionism; Imperialism; Manifest Destiny; Robber Barons; Social Darwinism

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Spheres of Influence

The phrase “spheres of influence” refers to the attempt by the world's major powers to establish exclusive economic (and sometimes political) domains in areas of the developing world. The new imperialism of the last third of the 19th century and the first part of the 20th century resulted in a remarkable spread of Western domination around the globe. Various methods for securing control of lands in Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and the Pacific were utilized, among them direct colonization, the establishment of protectorates, and the creation of spheres of influence. Spheres of influence may be thought of as economic concessions granted to a stronger power by a weaker one. Spheres of influence allowed the stronger power to exploit the weaker state economically for the profit and benefit of the nation receiving the concession. However, the weaker nation



Queen's Road, the principal thoroughfare of Hong Kong, China, circa 1906. (Library of Congress)

remained nominally in control of its geographical territory, meaning that no direct cession of land was involved.

Although Great Britain established a sphere of influence in Afghanistan in the late 19th century and divided the region that comprised present-day Iraq and Iran into spheres of influence with Russia in 1907, the concept of a sphere of influence is most commonly associated with imperialist competition in China during the late 19th century. The establishment of a number of these would serve as the culmination of the rivalry that was the result of the efforts of the great powers, along with a rising Japan, to take advantage of a declining China.

The combination of Chinese defeats in two Opium Wars (1839–1843 and 1856–1860) with the British and the French and the Sino-French War over Vietnam (1884–1885) was a clear indication of a Chinese state that had become weak and unable to defend itself from increasingly aggressive Western encroachment. In addition, the Taiping Rebellion of 1850–1864 had further sapped the strength of the Chinese Empire. The competition for influence and control in China was further intensified by the emergence of two new players in the game, Germany and Japan, that now joined Britain, France, Russia, and the United States as competitors for the considerable China Market and other economic opportunities. These factors all contributed to increasing encroachment upon China by the Western powers and Japan. The result would be a scramble for concessions between 1895 and 1898. This would formalize the creation of a series of spheres of influence in China that would bring that country to the brink of complete partition by the rival powers.

Two factors in particular contributed to the scramble for concessions. First, increasing Japanese influence in Korea, which China perceived to be under its protection, led to the outbreak in 1894 of the Sino-Japanese War, which concluded in 1895 with a decisive Japanese victory. The ensuing Treaty of Shimonoseki forced China to recognize Korean independence, to cede the island of Taiwan and the Liaodong (Liaotung) Peninsula to Japan, and to allow the Japanese to build factories and industries in Chinese treaty ports. Using the most favored nation status accorded them in their trade agreements with China, the Western powers quickly acquired this privilege as well.

Russia, which had been expanding its interests into Chinese Manchuria with German and French support, forced Japan to restore the Liaodong Peninsula. The Russians then negotiated a treaty with China in 1896 that permitted them to build a railroad to cross Manchuria connecting Vladivostok to the Trans-Siberian Railroad then under construction. This new Chinese Eastern Railway allowed Russia to substantially increase its interests in Manchuria, which threatened Japanese ambitions in the region.

These actions may well have encouraged the other powers to expand their interests in China as they scrambled to take advantage of the “sick old man of Asia” in China. The Germans, who had been interested for some time in acquiring a naval base in the area, initiated the scramble for concessions. The murder of a pair of German

missionaries in Shandong Province in November 1897 gave Germany a pretext for action. The Germans seized the port city of Qingdao (Tsingtao) and Jiaozhao Bay, and China was forced to lease the region to Germany for 99 years. The lease also gave the Germans mining rights and permitted the construction of two railroads.

Germany’s action set off a new phase of imperialist rivalry as the other powers joined in the scramble. Russia followed up on its earlier actions in Manchuria by occupying the southern Manchurian Peninsula of Liaodong, which Japan had wanted for itself, and leased the region with the harbor cities of Port Arthur (today Lüshunkou) and Dalian for 25 years. Russia also gained permission to link the area to the Chinese Eastern Railway by building a new railroad, the South Manchurian Railway.

In order to block further Russian and German gains, Great Britain acquired a 25-year lease of Weihaiwei, which was located directly across the Bohai Strait from Port Arthur and Dalian, giving the British an excellent location from which to monitor both Russian and German activities in North China. In addition, Britain leased Kowloon, or the New Territories of Hong Kong, for 99 years and effectively held a sphere of influence in the region around the Yangtze River.

The French, meanwhile, were able to coerce a lease of Guangzhou Bay in southern China. The 99-year lease enabled France to create a sphere of influence in Southwest China that included mining rights and permission to construct a railroad linking the area to the French colony in Vietnam. Japan, locked out of North Asia, had to settle for a sphere of influence in Fujian Province across the Taiwan Strait from Taiwan itself. In 1902, Japan also negotiated a naval treaty with Britain that placed Japan in position to challenge Russia for control of Manchuria in the Russo-Japanese War. The Chinese, however, rebuffed an Italian demand to lease a seaport, making Italy the sole European nation to have concession demands rejected by the Qing dynasty.

As for the United States, the war with Spain in 1898 offered the perfect opportunity to expand American influence into East Asia. Having acquired Hawaii and the Philippine Islands during the Spanish-American War, however, the United States made no demands for a sphere of influence in China. Instead, the William McKinley administration responded to the scramble for concessions by enunciating what would become known as the Open Door Policy. In two diplomatic notes circulated to the powers involved in China, Secretary of State John Hay called for equal opportunity for all nations to trade freely in that country and for the powers to respect China’s territorial integrity. The Open Door Notes formalized a policy practiced by the United States in regard to international commerce since independence and were designed to ensure American access to ports, investment opportunities, and natural resources located within these new spheres of influence.

While it was feared for a time afterward that the creation of these spheres of influence was a precursor to the ultimate division of China among the great powers, no further significant encroachment occurred during the remaining years of the Qing dynasty. This

likely was because the imperial powers and Japan were unable to set aside their competition to come to an agreement regarding dismemberment of the Chinese Empire. When the powers convened to determine China's fate following the Boxer Rebellion (1899–1901), they made no effort to divide Chinese territory among themselves, suggesting simply that they were incapable of agreeing on a formula that would be acceptable to all of them. The competition between the powers in China may well have helped save the empire from a complete collapse.

GREGORY MOORE

See also

Boxer Rebellion; China; China Market; Imperialism; Open Door Policy; Russo-Japanese War; Sino-Japanese War

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Splendid Little War

Descriptive phrase used to refer to the Spanish-American War. In a July 27, 1898, personal letter to Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, U.S. ambassador to the United Kingdom John Milton Hay, who subsequently became secretary of state in September 1898, described the Spanish-American War as a “splendid little war.” Hay meant that the U.S. victory over Spain was, compared to the long 19th-century wars, relatively short and easy.

The war lasted less than four months, and there were few casualties. It claimed only 379 American combat deaths, although 5,462 American soldiers died of other causes. President William McKinley easily won reelection in November 1900, in large part because of the successful U.S. war with Spain. Most Americans, albeit not all, saw the war as a just and noble cause. Hay's term was duly publicized and became an instantly recognizable term for the Spanish-American War.

As a result of the war, the United States liberated Cuba and annexed Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands. Notwithstanding American victory against Spain, the United States was obliged to fight a protracted and brutal war against Filipino nationalists from 1899 to 1902. Certainly, nobody referred to that conflict as “splendid.”

Nevertheless, the Spanish-American War taught the U.S. military important lessons about supplying forces overseas and pro-

jecting military power far from the continental United States. These would prove valuable in World War I. In addition, the splendid little war made the United States a major imperialist power and an Asian power, setting up the ultimate confrontation with Japan in 1941.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Hay, John Milton; Imperialism; McKinley, William; Roosevelt, Theodore

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Staging Areas

See Camps, U.S. Army

Steel

Steel production is the lifeblood of a modern industrialized economy. The measure of a nation's steel output, particularly at the turn of the 20th century, was the leading indicator of its economic health and prowess. At the time of the Spanish-American War, the United States was far and away the world's greatest steel producer. America's supremacy in steel production allowed its economy to expand



A steel mill in Homestead, Pennsylvania, circa 1907. (Library of Congress)

exponentially in the years after the American Civil War, permitted the construction of an unparalleled national railroad network, and gave military planners the ability to move toward an ultramodern all-steel navy. All of these developments stood the nation in good stead during the Spanish-American War.

Steel is an alloy that until the mid-19th century was produced by mixing wrought iron with small amounts of carbon. The resulting mixture then had to be laboriously heated for a number of days. This arduous process made large-scale steel production extremely expensive and virtually impossible to attain. Records of steel production—albeit in very small quantities—can be traced to antiquity. However, in 1856, an English inventor, Henry Bessemer, came upon a new process, using a blast furnace, for making steel that allowed the alloy to be fashioned directly from pig iron, a lesser grade of metal than wrought iron. This brought down the labor needed and the amount of coal required to produce steel, which in turn made it significantly less expensive. Even more important, however, the Bessemer process sped up steel production tremendously and allowed producers to make steel in quantities heretofore unthinkable.

In the mid-1850s, the United States produced about 10,000 tons of steel per year. In 1867, only 1,643 tons were being produced by the Bessemer method. However, Andrew Carnegie, who would one day own the world's largest steel-manufacturing facility, witnessed the Bessemer process in action and vowed to put it to use on a large scale in the United States. The results were truly transforming. By 1897, on the eve of the war, the United States was making more than 7.15 million tons of steel per year, an output that was more than double the combined production of both Germany and Great Britain, America's biggest economic rivals. By 1900, the Carnegie Steel Company alone manufactured more steel than all of Great Britain.

Large-scale steel production had a ripple effect on the entire U.S. economy. It greatly increased the need for iron ore mining, rail transportation, coal and coke (a purified coal derivative) production, railcar and ship production, etc. It also fueled the need for hundreds of thousands of new laborers, many of whom were immigrants arriving by the millions to seek a better life in a new world.

Carnegie, an uncannily shrewd businessman, soon cornered the market on steel production. By 1882, he had joined forces with the H. C. Frick Company, which was the nation's largest supplier of coke, a key ingredient in steel production. With the merger of Carnegie Steel and Henry Clay Frick's coke company, the two men were able to vertically integrate their company and force competitors to either match their prices or go out of business. By the mid to late 1880s, Carnegie Steel was the world's largest producer of steel and steel products.

The ready availability of plentiful steel at reasonable prices served to radically transform the United States. In less than a generation, it leaped ahead of its economic competitors and took on the air of a completely modernized nation. Steel, for example, helped the building trades enormously. It gave architects, engi-

neers, and builders infinitely more choices in terms of design and functionality. Until the 1880s, for instance, building heights were limited to usually no more than five or six stories, as anything taller would have required massive masonry walls that were impractical. Steel beams, however, allowed the construction of the world's first skyscrapers, which theoretically had no limit on their size or height. At the same time, steel-framed buildings were stronger and less susceptible to fires. The impact on American cities was spectacular.

By the 1880s, railroads had begun using steel rails rather than wrought iron rails. Steel rails lasted far longer and were much less likely to break, crack, or bend, which increased the railroads' efficiency and allowed them to increase their scope. Indeed, in 1870 the United States had some 53,000 miles of railroad tracks, far more than any other nation. By 1898, this figure had skyrocketed to nearly 190,000 miles of tracks. America's extensive rail network helped keep the economy growing and also served it well during the Spanish-American War, when hundreds of thousands of troops had to be transported to camps and embarkation points and millions of tons of food, clothing, medicine, weapons, and ammunition had to be moved quickly and efficiently to seaports. Telegraph and long-distance phone lines also used the railroads' right-of-way. Before long, these lines had increased at nearly the same pace as the tracks themselves. During the war, railroads proved vitally important to the war effort and, all in all, worked exceedingly well.

It was the U.S. Navy, however, that perhaps benefited most tangibly and directly from the revolution in steel making. By the early 1880s, military and civilian planners decided to begin transforming the navy from a largely preindustrial fleet of wooden ships to an all-steel fleet that would eventually boast steel-hulled ships with steel-plated armor. The advent of relatively inexpensive steel made this an attainable goal, and the first all-steel naval ships had been launched by the mid-1880s. Congress was tight-fisted when it came to military spending, but by the time war broke out in 1898, the U.S. Navy nevertheless boasted an impressive array of thoroughly modern steel warships. The smashing success of U.S. naval forces against the Spanish fleet clearly demonstrated the many advantages of steel ships. Beyond that, steel ships were stronger, far more durable, and required less regular maintenance than wooden-hulled ships. Steel hulls allowed for much larger cargo areas. Steel propellers and other engine parts made them more efficient and reliable as well. In the end, steel transformed the U.S. Navy and in so doing changed the way in which war planners thought about war and war tactics.

It is no exaggeration to say that the American steel industry played a pivotal role in the execution of and quick victory in the Spanish-American War. From improved railroads to artillery guns, ammunition, armor, and ships, steel was the preponderant war material in the conflict with Spain. And as the first U.S. conflict in which steel was cheap and plentiful, the Spanish-American War would prove that industrial prowess, perhaps as much as soldiers in the field and sailors on the seas, wins wars. It is fitting, perhaps, that the world's first billion-dollar company was created in 1901

when the financier John Pierpont Morgan purchased and combined the Carnegie steel conglomeration with several other steel producers to form U.S. Steel, which was valued at \$1.4 billion. By comparison, the federal government's revenues in that year amounted to just \$586 million.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Carnegie, Andrew; Frick, Henry Clay; Gilded Age; Homestead Steel Strike; Morgan, John Pierpont, Sr.; Railroads; Robber Barons; Telephone and Telegraph; United States Navy

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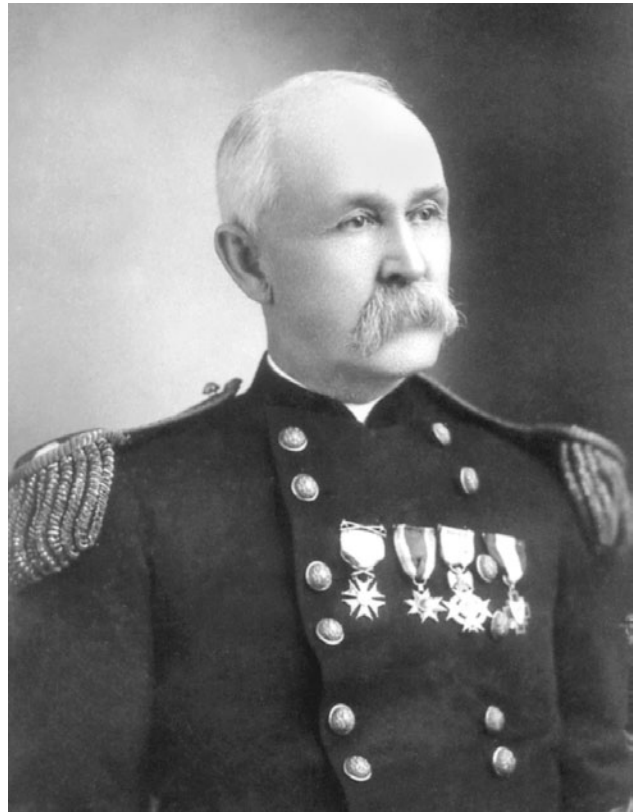
Sternberg, George Miller

Birth Date: June 8, 1838

Death Date: November 3, 1915

U.S. Army physician, pioneering medical researcher, and surgeon general of the U.S. Army from 1893 to 1902. Born on June 8, 1838, at Hartwick Seminary in Orange County, New York, George Miller Sternberg graduated from the Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1860 and entered the Army Medical Department in 1861. He then held appointments as a battlefield and post surgeon and engaged in considerable pathbreaking medical research. Among many things, he conducted exhaustive research into the pathology of yellow fever, a very serious public health threat at the time. He lectured extensively on his research and by the 1880s was recognized as one of the world's top bacteriologists. In consequence, he was appointed over several more-senior officers to the post of surgeon general on May 30, 1893, and was advanced in rank from lieutenant colonel to brigadier general.

Sternberg strongly advocated the new medicine rooted firmly in science. Over the years, he had witnessed firsthand the scourge of hospital gangrene, erysipelas (a potentially deadly communicable skin disease), and typhoid fever among soldiers at war and peace. Following early work on disinfectants, in 1880 he was the first researcher to identify the *pneumococcus* microbe that causes pneumonia and related diseases, for which he received considerable recognition. Upon taking charge of the Army Medical Department in 1893, he opened the Army Medical School, one of the nation's first postgraduate medical schools, with a dual emphasis on military sanitation and hygiene and microbiology.



George Miller Sternberg, known as the “father of bacteriology,” was surgeon general of the U.S. Army during 1893–1902. (Office of Medical History, U.S. Army)

From the onset of the Spanish-American War, Sternberg sought to impose some order on the rapid mobilization of volunteers and the political rush for a speedy decision in Cuba. Both Sternberg and commanding general of the army Major General Nelson A. Miles opposed an early invasion of Cuba, preferring to wait for the passing of the rainy season (April to September). Their reservations were overcome by the testimony of Cuban physician Juan M. Guiteras, who opined that careful sanitation preparation by an invading army would keep yellow fever and malaria infections at a minimum. Sternberg next pressed for careful sanitary guidelines with special regard to garbage, latrines, drinking water, and cleanliness in camps.

Despite his efforts to promote higher standards and readiness in the Medical Department, Sternberg remained stubbornly defiant on several issues, particularly on the subject of female nurses and physicians in military service. He outright refused to appoint female physicians as contract surgeons. Before the camp fever crisis exploded in September 1898, he also resisted calls to allow female nurses into the camps. Female nurses, he believed, would present a needless distraction in camp hospitals and were only capable of providing menial support. The typhoid epidemic caused him to reassess this view, and he then took a personal interest in building up a cadre of trained uniformed female nurses to assist in

the camps. Ultimately, 1,563 women were selected as contract nurses. Sternberg later gave full support to the permanent establishment of the female Army Nurse Corps on February 2, 1901.

The war revealed that Sternberg's chief failing as a department head came in organization. Reluctant to delegate authority, he spent long hours micromanaging supply shortages, interviewing volunteers for new positions, and making personal recommendations on the conduct of troops in the tropics. As reports of growing chaos reached his office, he issued new circulars to his medical officers. Pleading overwork, he failed to conduct personal inspections of the camps as the crisis unfolded, instead dispatching subordinates who had limited authority to intervene. By September 1898, Sternberg was moved to quick action in authorizing new hospital camps and routing supplies, food, and personnel where needed, but by then the worst was over.

Nevertheless, Sternberg claimed that the overall experience in the war was a triumph for his model of scientific-based medicine, despite the typhoid fever outbreaks. Comparing death rates from disease in the recent conflict with the first year of the American Civil War in 1861, he concluded that the mortality rate from disease during the war (May 1, 1898–April 30, 1899) was half that of the first year of the earlier conflict. However credible Sternberg's efforts were to point out the successes of his department, the fact remained that in the midst of the much-heralded new scientific revolution in medicine, more than five times as many men died of disease than wounds.

In defending his Medical Department, Sternberg garnered criticism for shifting the blame to the volunteer establishment. Civilian physicians in volunteer service frequently owed their appointments to political favors rather than military necessity, he complained, and generally had little if any instruction in hygiene and sanitation. He also noted that the overwhelming preponderance of National Guard and volunteer militia officers had little respect for regimental surgeons. Hence, all essential hygiene recommendations—including those elaborated upon in three different circulars issued by his own office—were generally ignored.

Sternberg's influence on the postwar Medical Department, which he would direct until 1902, was greater than the sum of the criticism against him. His example of scientific medicine and leadership by example also dramatically affected the overall progress of medicine. In the midst of the camp fever crisis, he convened the Typhoid Fever Board, under the leadership of Majors Walter Reed, Edward Shakespeare, and Victor Vaughan. In 1900, Sternberg authorized the formation of the now-famous Yellow Fever Board under Reed's direction. Both boards brought about significant advances in the state of disease etiology and prevention by establishing beyond question the significance of mosquitoes as the vector of yellow fever and the presence of healthy carriers in typhoid fever and disproving once and for all the fomite theory of disease transmission in yellow fever.

Sternberg continued as surgeon general until he retired in June 1902. After his retirement, he lent his name to numerous humani-

tarian causes. Sternberg died in Washington, D.C., on November 3, 1915.

BOB A. WINTERMUTE

See also

Malaria; Medicine, Military; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Reed, Walter; Typhoid Fever; Yellow Fever

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Storey, Moorfield

Birth Date: March 19, 1845

Death Date: October 24, 1929

Lawyer, writer, publicist, civil rights advocate, and anti-imperialist. Moorfield Storey was born on March 19, 1845, in Roxbury, Massachusetts, to a well-to-do family that traced its origins to the earliest Puritan settlers of Massachusetts. Several family members were active in the abolitionist movement before the American Civil War, and from an early age Storey learned about and appreciated the work of the abolitionists. He was educated at Harvard University, earning an undergraduate degree there in 1866. From 1867 to 1869, he served as the private secretary to U.S. senator Charles Sumner, a hero of Storey's from Massachusetts who was an ardent abolitionist. This gave Storey the opportunity to view closeup the impeachment proceedings brought against President Andrew Johnson in 1867 and again in 1868. Initially, Storey championed Johnson's impeachment but came to realize that the entire affair was based not on law but rather on politics of the basest kind. Storey went on to study law at Harvard University, receiving his law degree in 1869. That same year, he was admitted to the bar.

Although Storey was not a champion of interventionist government, particularly on matters of business or the economy, over the years he developed a worldview that was quite extraordinary for a man of his time. Indeed, his views were suffused with racial equality, pacifism, and anti-imperialism. The two years working for Sumner also left Storey angry over the amount of greed and corruption in Washington, D.C. Whenever he could, he advocated a return to morally sound government.

In early 1870, Storey established a law practice in Boston that became quite successful over time. He used his stature and wealth to take every opportunity to champion equal rights for African Americans, Native Americans, and immigrants, and he decried congressional attempts to slow the influx of immigrants to the United States.

Long a political maverick, Storey demonstrated his independent streak by defecting from the Republican Party in 1884. This was in



Anti-imperialist and civil rights activist Moorfield Storey investigated war crimes committed by the U.S. military during the Philippine-American War. (Library of Congress)

response to the party's nomination of James G. Blaine as its presidential candidate that year. Storey then threw his support behind Democratic nominee Grover Cleveland. Thus, Storey for a time became a mugwump, a Republican who left the party over the 1884 election. Storey ended up being an avid supporter of Cleveland during his two nonconsecutive presidential terms.

In the 1890s, Storey became more and more disgruntled with the Republican Party's support of imperialism and territorial expansionism. However, when William Jennings Bryan ran for president as the candidate of the Democratic and Populist parties, Storey refused to support him because of Bryan's advocacy of the silver standard. In short, Storey believed that the gold standard was the best currency plan for the nation and that a silver standard would wreck the economy. Not wanting to aid and abet the expansionist Republicans, he supported the National Democratic Party, also known as the Gold Democrats, in 1896.

Storey was appalled with the Spanish-American War and feared that it would lead to the acquisition of an American overseas empire. He became involved in the Anti-Imperialist League at the start of the war and spoke at its first large meeting, which took place in Boston in June 1898. He served for a time as vice president of the Anti-Imperialist League of New England and in 1905 became its national president, a position he held until the organization folded in 1921. Most notably, he investigated alleged war crimes commit-

ted by U.S. troops during the Philippine-American War and in 1902 wrote a briefing book about them that was used by the Senate Committee on the Philippines (Lodge Committee). The Lodge Committee, chaired by Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (an imperialist), had been tasked with investigating allegations of abuses and war crimes committed in the Philippines.

Storey continued to work on issues of social justice well into the latter days of his life. From 1909 to 1915, he served as the head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), a civil rights organization conceptualized by W. E. B. Du Bois. On numerous occasions, Storey used his legal acumen to advance the cause of civil rights. In 1917, he was the lead counsel for the NAACP in the Supreme Court case *Buchanan v. Warley*, which dealt with racial discrimination in housing, and ultimately won the case. Storey also chaired the Haiti-Santo Domingo Independence Society in the 1920s. He died in Cranberry Isles, Maine, on October 24, 1929.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Anti-Imperialist League; Atrocities; Bryan, William Jennings; Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Committee on the Philippines; Imperialism; Silver Standard

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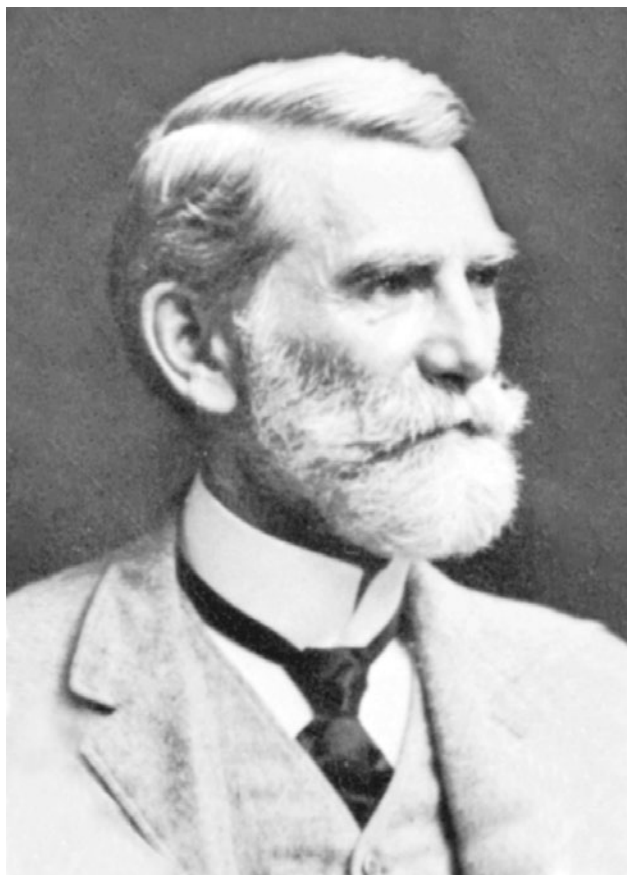
Strong, Josiah

Birth Date: 1847

Death Date: April 28, 1916

Congregational minister, Protestant evangelist, ardent supporter of American imperialism and overseas expansion, and the acknowledged leader of the Social Gospel movement. Josiah Strong was born in 1847 in Illinois and moved with his family at the age of five to Hudson, Ohio. In 1869, he graduated from Western Reserve College in Ohio. He then attended the Lane Theological Seminary and was ordained a minister in the Congregational Church in 1871. He served as a pastor in Wyoming for two years before returning to Western Reserve, where he taught and served as college chaplain. Between 1872 and 1884, he held a number of pastorships, including the Central Congregational Church. There he wrote his seminal work *Our Country* (1885), which began as a manual to be used by the Congregational Missionary Society.

The treatise created a considerable stir and was read widely, far beyond the confines of Congregationalists and missionaries. In the book, Strong developed ideas that would in essence give birth to the Social Gospel movement. He also expounded on U.S. imperialism, of which he was already an ardent proponent. What made Strong's book so influential was that he neatly and eloquently harnessed the power



Congregational minister and Protestant evangelist Josiah Strong led the Social Gospel Movement. He strongly supported U.S. imperialism and overseas expansion. (New York Historical Society)

of religion and religious dogma to the social and economic ills of late 19th-century America. Indeed, he prescribed religiously based solutions for economic and societal problems. He focused on the problems afflicting America's large cities, including slums, crime, and overcrowding, and also proposed that the nation's millions of mostly poor immigrants be attended to via educational opportunities, access to health care, and job training. Indeed, his ideas greatly influenced social reformers such as Jane Addams, who created the nation's first full-service settlement house in Chicago to administer to the city's teeming immigrant population.

Strong did not stop there. A potent part of his message was the concept that the United States, as a nation of white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, was a morally superior nation endowed with a unique God-given mandate to uplift the members of uncivilized and unruly societies. In this regard, his philosophy was squarely in the vanguard of social Darwinism and the idea of the white man's burden, which would later be immortalized by the British poet Rudyard Kipling. What Strong had done was to attach religious overtones to what had been a largely secular call for American overseas imperialism.

Our Country made Strong a celebrity of his era. In 1893, he published *The New Era*, which was also wildly popular. In this book, he elaborated on his earlier work. More specifically, it was to become the blueprint of the Social Gospel movement, which had begun to

gain momentum in the mid-1890s. Strong believed that through social, political, and economic reform, human beings could create a kingdom of God on earth. He subsequently wrote a number of other books, none of which was as successful as his first two.

Nevertheless, Strong was in the vanguard of the Social Gospel movement, which lent an imposing religious and moral force to Progressivism, which blossomed as a national reform movement after 1900. He also sought to unify the various Protestant denominations under the guise of universal social outreach, but his ecumenical vision did not pan out because of the deep and long-standing divisions within the Protestant tradition. All along, he maintained a grueling speaking and writing schedule by which he sought to evangelize non-believers and spread the mission of the Social Gospel.

Strong served as the secretary of the American Evangelical Alliance, founded the League for Social Service (after 1902 called the American Institute for Social Service), and was a charter member of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ. In 1904, he created the British Institute of Social Service, and in the early 1900s, he spearheaded a number of efforts to curb industrial accidents in Central and South America. Throughout his storied career, he remained a staunch supporter of expansionism (he was a close friend of President Theodore Roosevelt) and expounded on what he believed were America's great Gilded Age hazards: socialism, intemperance, Mormonism, Catholicism, poverty, immigration, and urbanization. Strong died in New York City on April 28, 1916.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Addams, Jane; Churches and the War; Expansionism; Gilded Age; Immigration; Imperialism; Missionaries; Slums; Social Darwinism; Social Gospel Movement; White Man's Burden

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Subic Bay

An inlet with a relatively narrow harbor located on the western coast of Luzon in the Philippines and about 60 miles northwest of Manila. Subic (Subig) Bay is surrounded by Zambales Province. A small islet, known as Grande Island, is located in the bay, while two towns—Subic and Olongapo City—lie along its shores. At one time, Spanish authorities considered Subic Bay a suitable site for a military installation.

With the commencement of hostilities in the Spanish-American War in April 1898, Commodore George Dewey received informa-

tion leading him to believe that the Spaniards intended to meet his Asiatic Squadron at Subic Bay. Steaming from Chinese waters, Dewey's squadron made landfall at Cape Bolineau, Luzon, at daybreak on April 30. Dewey detached the cruiser *Boston* and the gunboat *Concord*, later reinforced by the cruiser *Baltimore*, to make a quick reconnaissance of Subic Bay. The Americans did not discover any Spanish warships. Indeed, the commander of the Spanish Philippine Squadron, Rear Admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón, had abandoned Subic Bay because of limited maneuvering space and insufficient defenses. His plan of berthing ships behind a string of mines proved impractical, and there were no shore batteries to aid his warships. He therefore moved his ships to Manila Bay, where he was nonetheless roundly defeated by U.S. naval forces on May 1, 1898.

The Americans seized weapons at the town of Subic, and in June, Dewey arranged for their transfer to Filipino rebel leader Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy to aid his insurgency against Spain. The next month, when a German warship stopped Aguinaldo's forces from occupying Grande Island in the bay, Dewey dispatched warships to the scene. They secured the island, and the Germans retired.

During the Philippine-American War, Brigadier General Arthur MacArthur ordered U.S. forces to pursue elements of Aguinaldo's Army of Liberation, withdrawing into the southwestern provinces of Pampanga, Bataan, and Zambales. A U.S. column took Iba in western Luzon and advanced southward, reaching the town of Subic on January 12, 1900. Another column marched to Balanga, Bataan's capital, and then approached the bay. Encountering slight opposition and worried about logistics, U.S. commanders split the southern force into three units. Arriving two days earlier than the northern column, the southern force chased Filipino troops out of Olongapo City by the bay, seizing that place and some weapons.

Dewey wanted the United States to retain Luzon after the war. In the meantime, the United States held Manila and Subic, the latter an excellent site for a coal depot or a military base. Following the U.S. decision to retain the Philippines, in 1901 Henry C. Taylor, a member of the General Board of the Navy, requested an anchorage in the Philippines. Dewey endorsed Subic. He liked its deep harbor, situated between hills and behind an island that provided shelter from seaward assault. Possession of Subic, he believed, guaranteed control of Manila, Luzon, and the entire archipelago. On his urging, the General Board and Secretary of the Navy John D. Long were persuaded to build a naval station at Olongapo City. Olongapo, the panel believed, would be vital in a potential contest with Germany over control of the islands. President Theodore Roosevelt likewise favored a base at Subic and issued an executive order that established the Subic Bay Naval Reservation in November 1901. Soon Subic Bay boasted a significant U.S. Navy and U.S. Marine Corps base and was one of the largest such installations in Asia. Well after the Philippines were granted independence in 1946, the United States maintained its base at Subic Bay, which became home to the U.S. Seventh Fleet. In 1992, however, the United States re-

linquished control of Subic to the Philippine government. The end of the Cold War, the devastating June 1991 eruption of Mount Pinatubo that caused major damage to the base, and the Philippines' desire to be rid of the U.S. presence in the region all conspired to close the base permanently.

RODNEY J. ROSS

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Asiatic Squadron; Dewey, George; Long, John Davis; MacArthur, Arthur; Montojo y Pasarón, Patricio; Philippine-American War; Philippine Islands; Roosevelt, Theodore; Taylor, Henry Clay; Wood, Leonard

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Sugar

See Cuban Sugar

Sumner, Samuel Storrow

Birth Date: February 16, 1842

Death Date: July 26, 1937

U.S. Army officer. Samuel Storrow Sumner was born in Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, on February 16, 1842. His father, Edwin Vose Sumner, also a career army officer, was the oldest corps field commander during the American Civil War. When the Civil War began, the younger Sumner eagerly enlisted and saw action in a number of campaigns. For much of the conflict, he served on his father's staff. Sumner remained in the army after the Civil War. He served in the cavalry during the Indian Wars in the American West, eventually rising to the rank of colonel.

When the Spanish-American War began in April 1898, Sumner was advanced to brigadier general of volunteers. He initially led the 1st Brigade of the Dismounted Cavalry Division in V Corps, the U.S. expeditionary forces sent to Cuba. In Cuba, he fought in the June 24, 1898, Battle of Las Guásimas, considered to be the first true land engagement of the war. In the battle, the Americans suffered fairly heavy casualties of nearly 10 percent in what was a minor Spanish victory.

When Major General Joseph Wheeler was stricken by what is believed to have been yellow fever, command of the entire cavalry division fell to Sumner. Sumner distinguished himself during the Santiago Campaign, especially during the Battle of San Juan Hill on July 1, 1898, when his division performed admirably. In the meantime, Wheeler, who reportedly heard the fighting from his sickbed, mustered all of his strength to assume command of the division



Major General Samuel Storrow Sumner distinguished himself in fighting in Cuba, in the international relief expedition to Beijing, and in the Philippine-American War. (Library of Congress)

before the battle was over. For his own leadership under fire in the battle, Sumner was awarded the Silver Star. He then participated in the siege of Santiago (July 3–17, 1898), the end of which marked the conclusion of the hostilities in Cuba.

For his excellent record, Sumner was advanced to major general of volunteers on September 7, 1898. He then was dispatched to London, where he served as military attaché. After the Boxer Rebellion erupted in China in November 1899, Sumner led a brigade as part of the China Relief Expedition, which had been charged with rescuing and protecting foreign nationalists trapped in the legations in Beijing.

In early 1901, Colonel Sumner arrived in the Philippines to help with American pacification efforts and campaigns against Filipino insurgents. While in the Philippines, he commanded the 1st District, Department of Southern Luzon. He achieved impressive results, carrying out highly successful operations in both Cavite and western Batangas in early 1901. In recognition of his accomplishments, he was advanced to brigadier general in the regular army and entrusted with command of the combined 1st and 2nd Districts of Cavite, Batangas, Laguna, and Tayabas. His efforts helped stamp out resistance in southern Luzon and bring an end to the major fighting by 1902. Nonetheless, the new commander of the Department of Southern Luzon, Major General James P. Wade, refused Sumner the resources he requested, and Sumner's efforts to secure creation of a department of military intelligence met with rejection. The military governor of the Philippines, Major General Adna Chaffee, also appeared to have been predisposed to distrust him and did little to provide assistance.

Sumner retired from the army as a major general in 1906. He died in Brookline, Massachusetts, on July 26, 1937.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Boxer Rebellion; Chaffee, Adna Romanza, Sr.; V Corps; Las Guásimas, Battle of; Luzon; Luzon Campaigns; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Wade, James Franklin; Wheeler, Joseph

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T

Taft, William Howard

Birth Date: September 15, 1857

Death Date: March 8, 1930

Republican politician, jurist, governor-general of the Philippines (1901–1903), secretary of war (1904–1908), president of the United States (1909–1913), and chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1921–1930). The son of future secretary of war Alphonso Taft, William Howard Taft was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on September 15, 1857. He graduated from Yale University in 1878 and earned his law degree at Cincinnati Law School in 1880 while helping in his father's unsuccessful campaign for governor of Ohio.

President Chester A. Arthur named the younger Taft district collector of internal revenue in 1882. Opposed to the appointment of new people in his department for purely political reasons, he resigned from the office the next year but remained active in local Republican politics. In 1887, at age 30, he was named to fill a vacancy on the Ohio State Superior Court and then won election for a full term the next year.

In 1890, President Benjamin Harrison appointed Taft U.S. solicitor general, the federal government's attorney before the U.S. Supreme Court. The following year, he was appointed a federal superior court judge. As a federal judge, he strengthened the 1890 Sherman Antitrust Act by becoming the first federal judge to state that laborers had a right to strike, which was a radical departure from past court opinions on the matter.

President William McKinley, elected in 1896, knew that Taft coveted a seat on the U.S. Supreme Court and promised to appoint him if he would serve as the first civilian governor of the newly annexed Philippine Islands. The ambitious Taft agreed and arrived in the Philippines in 1901, planning to leave as soon as possible. In-

stead, he ended up enjoying the job and declined two nomination offers to the Supreme Court by President Theodore Roosevelt.

In the Philippines, Taft soon clashed with Major General Arthur MacArthur, commander of the Division of the Philippines and, until Taft's arrival, military governor of the islands. Taft believed strongly in civilian control. He thought, and with considerable justification, that a reforming civilian administration that would win the support of the Filipino people was more likely to bring about law and order than an autocratic military administration. Nonetheless, he supported strong military action when required. Following disagreements between MacArthur and Taft, MacArthur departed the islands.

In 1902, Taft visited Rome to negotiate with Pope Leo XIII the purchase of Catholic Church lands in the Philippines. Taft then worked to secure a congressional appropriation of \$7.239 million to purchase the lands, which were then sold to Filipinos on easy terms. Taft remained as governor-general of the Philippines until 1903 and in the process endeared himself to both Americans and Filipinos.

Roosevelt, a close friend since Taft's days as solicitor general, finally managed to get him to return to Washington by appointing him secretary of war in 1904. In Washington, Taft quickly became Roosevelt's most trusted confidant and adviser. Although Roosevelt secured the nomination of Taft as his political successor at the Republican National Convention in 1908, Taft had reluctantly accepted the honor because he could not be appointed chief justice of the Supreme Court. In truth, he did not aspire to the presidency and hated campaigning. Running on a platform that promised to preserve Roosevelt's progressive programs, Taft beat his Democratic rival, William Jennings Bryan, by more than a million votes. Taft was sworn in as president in March 1909.

Having to serve in the shadow of the immensely popular Roosevelt was perhaps Taft's greatest handicap as president. He knew



William Howard Taft was governor-general of the Philippines during 1901–1903 and a strong advocate of civilian control. He went on to become president of the United States during 1909–1913 and chief justice of the Supreme Court during 1921–1930. (Library of Congress)

that the standard to which he was going to be compared was too high for him to match. Indeed, he wrote to Roosevelt shortly after taking office, “I fear that a large part of the public will feel as if I had fallen away from your ideals. . . . I have not the facility for educating the public as you had through talks with correspondents.” Taft spoke the truth. He was awkward in public appearances, was supremely uncomfortable with the press, and, to Roosevelt’s horror, seemed far too inclined to kowtow to the interests of the big business establishment.

During his four years in office, Taft managed to obtain a slight lowering of tariff rates with the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, although not as low as Progressive Republicans wanted. He vigorously enforced the Sherman Antitrust Act, initiating 80 antitrusts compared to just 25 in Roosevelt’s administration. Taft backed the Mann-Elkins Act, which gave the Interstate Commerce Commission jurisdiction over the communications industry and increased railroad rate-setting powers. In the area of government reform, Taft instituted efficiency measures in the federal government; sponsored the Publicity Act, which opened the lists of campaign contributions in races for the U.S. House of Representatives; brought 9,000 assistant postmasters into the civil service; advocated the 16th Amendment, which authorized a federal income tax; and sup-

ported the 17th Amendment, which provided for the direct popular election of U.S. senators.

Taft’s problems with the Progressives in his own party began when he developed a close working relationship with their enemy, the conservative and dictatorial Speaker of the House, Joseph G. Cannon. Taft angered conservationists because he believed that the manner in which Roosevelt had conserved huge tracts of land from development in the West—by placing them in the public domain under the guise of water-power or irrigation sites—had been unconstitutional.

In the foreign policy arena, Taft’s secretary of state, Philander Chase Knox, is remembered for creating dollar diplomacy as a policy to further American business interests abroad. This policy was designed to replace Theodore Roosevelt’s Big Stick with an equally big U.S. dollar. Knox’s efforts to secure a reciprocity treaty with Canada were stymied by Canadian fears of annexation, and opposition in the Senate doomed U.S. agreement to settling international disputes through arbitration at The Hague.

Tired of the burdens of the presidency, Taft agreed to run for a second term in 1912 only to prevent the election of his former friend and now rival for the nomination, Roosevelt. Taft was certain that if elected again, Roosevelt would undermine constitutional government. Needless to say, the two men were now avowed enemies. Roosevelt was deeply offended that Taft had not followed in his progressive footsteps. The split in the Republican Party that resulted when Taft won the nomination along with Roosevelt’s decision to run on the Progressive Party ticket ensured the victory of Democrat Woodrow Wilson in 1912.

Thoroughly miserable during his last year as president, Taft had added considerable bulk to his already portly figure, and his health suffered accordingly. He happily returned to private life in 1913 at age 53. During World War I, President Wilson named Taft cochairman of the National War Labor Board. In 1921, President Warren G. Harding appointed Taft to the position he had always wanted more than any other, chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

As chief justice, Taft won congressional support for reforms in the federal judiciary that allowed the Supreme Court to have more discretion in selecting which cases it would hear. He wrote the majority opinion in *Myers v. United States* (1926), a decision that asserted the president’s right to remove executive appointees without the advice and consent of the Senate. He was part of a majority that denied Congress the right to use taxes as a weapon to restrict practices it disapproved of, and he helped to limit the powers of states in the regulation of commerce and to enlarge federal powers in the same sphere.

The nine years that Taft spent as chief justice were certainly the happiest of his political career. He died in Washington, D.C., on March 8, 1930, just a month after retiring from the Supreme Court.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Bryan, William Jennings; MacArthur, Arthur; McKinley, William; Roosevelt, Theodore

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Tagalogs

Distinct indigenous population within the Philippine Islands primarily inhabiting the island of Luzon. The Tagalogs comprised one of the five major linguistic groups within the Philippine Islands. Many American military commanders during the Philippine-American War (1899–1902) perceived the Tagalogs to be at the center of leadership of the rebellion against American control of the archipelago. The foremost figure of the insurrection, Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, was a Tagalog, as were many of the inhabitants of the provinces of Luzon, Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, and Tayabas, the sites of much of the fighting in the early years of the war.

In the 19th century, the Tagalogs derived their livelihood almost entirely from sugar and coffee production, but by the 1880s, prices for both commodities had sharply fallen, devastating the local economy. When U.S. forces arrived in the Philippines in 1898, the Tagalogs were already in rebellion against Spain. Then, following the end of the Spanish-American War in 1898, Aguinaldo and his followers refused to accept rule by a new colonial power and began a war against the United States.

During the Second Battle of Manila (February 4–23, 1899), Filipino nationalists skirmished with American occupation forces. Despite their numerical superiority, Aguinaldo's army, composed almost entirely of Tagalogs, proved powerless to stop American advances into the provinces of Laguna and Cavite. After securing the immediate vicinity of Manila, American troops began a campaign north along the major rail line leading into Manila, moving toward Malolos, the capital of Aguinaldo's Philippine Republic. Following six days of heavy fighting particularly at river crossings and at the cost of 500 American casualties, the insurgent capital fell under U.S. control. Another eight months of harsh fighting occurred during which more than 10,000 Tagalogs died in combat.

On November 13, 1899, Aguinaldo announced a shift to guerrilla war in a vain attempt to prevent American occupation of the islands. He was assisted by Mariano Trias, who commanded guerrillas south of Manila, and Miguel Malvar, who established himself as provincial warlord of Batangas. Aguinaldo's personal resistance ended on March 23, 1901, when he was captured by a small party of Macabebe Scouts led by U.S. Army colonel Frederick Funston. Luzon was pacified by troops under the command of Brigadier General J. Franklin Bell, who employed harsh tactics including crop destruction and so-called protected zones, a euphemism for concentration camps, to contain the Filipinos. Over the course of the conventional war and subsequent guerrilla resistance, more

than 20,000 Tagalogs died. The Tagalog economy, already in tatters by 1898, was virtually destroyed by the fighting.

PAUL J. SPRINGER

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Bell, James Franklin; Funston, Frederick; Pacification Program, Philippine Islands; Philippine-American War

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Tampa, Florida

City located on the west-central coast of Florida and the principal mobilization and embarkation point for U.S. troops destined for Cuba. Tampa, strategically located in Hillsborough County along the Gulf of Mexico coast, boasts ample deep-water access for large ships and is bordered by Old Tampa Bay and Hillsborough Bay, which converge to form Tampa Bay. The Hillsborough River flows through the city and into Tampa Bay, offering more deep-water access to the city proper and providing the area with much of its drinking water.

Tampa experienced a major population boom beginning in the 1880s, and by 1898 the city's population numbered some 17,000 people, making it the third largest city in Florida at the time. Enhancing its strategic importance was excellent rail service both into and out of the city courtesy of Henry B. Plant's railroad, which had been completed in 1885. The combination of Tampa's abundant deep-water access, excellent rail lines, and relative proximity to Cuba and Puerto Rico made it a natural embarkation point for U.S. soldiers bound for the Caribbean.

As soon as the United States had declared war on Spain on April 24, 1898, the War Department made preparations to transform Tampa into a huge makeshift U.S. Army base. The influx of what would be some 30,000 troops into the city during the late spring and summer of 1898 proved to be a major boon to the local economy and almost overnight transformed the still-sleepy town into a much larger and more cosmopolitan community.

At the time of the war, Tampa's major industry was the manufacture of cigars. Indeed, it boasted one of the largest outputs of fine cigars of any place in the world. The proximity of Cuban tobacco and the large Cuban émigré community in Tampa virtually ensured the success of this lucrative enterprise. A large Italian émigré community in Tampa also provided many workers for the cigar factories. By 1890, an estimated 150 factories produced a staggering 90 million cigars per year for export.

Long before the war broke out, Tampa had been one of the epicenters of support for the Cuban independence movement. Indeed,

Cuban revolutionary José Martí y Pérez visited the area and in 1891 gave a famous speech there concerning the Cuban revolutionary movement. He also drafted the resolutions that would form the basis of the Cuban Revolutionary Party in Tampa.

To accommodate the mass influx of U.S. soldiers, army officials created seven camps in and around Tampa that would serve as temporary housing for the troops. The camps were set up in DeSoto Park, Fort Brooke, Palmetto Beach, Port Tampa, Tampa Heights, Ybor City, and West Tampa. The Tampa Bay Hotel, a fine and modern facility, served as the headquarters for the Cuban expeditionary force commanders. Among those who stayed at the hotel was Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, whose Rough Riders unit passed through Tampa on its way to Cuba. The hotel also served as a makeshift headquarters for journalists covering the war. Most of the soldiers departed Tampa for Cuba on June 7, 1898, but the ships then anchored in Tampa Bay under a hot June sun for several days before the U.S. Navy received word that it was safe for the ships to proceed.

By war's end, a total of 66,000 U.S. troops had moved through Tampa, while 13,000 railcars carrying ammunition, food, and medical supplies had been unloaded in the city. It is estimated that in less than a year, the U.S. government expended \$4 million in Florida to support the war effort, the majority of which was spent in Tampa. This massive amount of economic activity transformed Tampa from a relatively small and unimportant town to a large city with considerable importance in Florida and the southeastern United States. The Spanish-American War also marked the beginning of a huge population increase in the area. Tampa's population mushroomed from some 17,000 in 1900 to 37,700 in 1910.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cuban Revolutionary Party; Martí y Pérez, José Julián; Roosevelt, Theodore; Rough Riders

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Taussig, Edward David

Birth Date: November 10, 1847

Death Date: January 29, 1921

U.S. Navy officer. Edward David Taussig was born in St. Louis, Missouri, on November 10, 1847. Appointed to the United States Naval Academy as a midshipman on July 24, 1863, he graduated in June 1867 and was commissioned an ensign on December 18, 1868. He saw service at sea in Latin American waters in the gunboat *Wateree*. He was decorated for his actions aboard that ship when it was



Rear Admiral Edward David Taussig. During the Spanish-American War, Commander Taussig claimed Wake Island for the United States. In 1899 he also served as governor of Guam. (Naval Historical Center)

driven some distance on land as a consequence of an earthquake and tidal wave at Arica, then part of Peru, on August 13, 1868.

Taussig was promoted to master on March 21, 1870, and to lieutenant on January 1, 1872. He then saw service aboard the receiving ship *Relief* and then on the screw frigate *Trenton*, flagship of the European Squadron. He was next assigned to survey duty and was promoted to lieutenant commander on June 19, 1892. In 1895, he assumed command of the receiving ship *Richmond*. He then served in the Hydrographic Office and the U.S. Coast Survey.

Promoted to commander on August 10, 1898, Taussig assumed command of the gunboat *Bennington*. In December, he received orders to steam to Wake Island, between Midway Island and Guam, and claim it for the United States. He arrived there on January 17, 1899. The island, which was then uninhabited, had also been claimed by the German government as part of the Marshall Island chain, but Taussig established U.S. control. The island proved useful as a cable station between Hawaii and the Philippines.

On February 1, 1899, Taussig retook the island of Guam for the United States. He set up a local government on the island and served as its governor for some months. On September 1, 1899, he was relieved of command for his criticism of Admiral John C. Watson. Assigned to the Lighthouse Bureau, in 1902 Taussig again received command of a ship, the school ship *Enterprise* at Boston, and subsequently commanded the battleship *Indiana*. He also attended the Naval War College and commanded the Norfolk

Navy Yard and the Fifth Naval District. In May 1908, he was advanced to rear admiral.

Taussig retired in November 1909. He was recalled to active duty during World War I as commandant of the Naval Unit at Columbia University, New York. Taussig died in Newport, Rhode Island, on January 29, 1921. The destroyer *Taussig* (DD 746) was named for him. Taussig's son, Joseph Taussig, was also a U.S. Navy officer who earned distinction in World War I and retired as a vice admiral.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also
Guam

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Taussig, Joseph Knefler

Birth Date: August 30, 1877

Death Date: October 29, 1947

U.S. Navy officer. Joseph Knefler Taussig was born in Dresden, Germany, on August 30, 1877. His father was a U.S. Navy officer serving in the European Squadron who rose to rear admiral and took possession of Wake Island during the Spanish-American War. The younger Taussig graduated from Western High School in Washington, D.C., and from the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, in 1899. Midshipman Taussig served the required two years at sea during the Spanish-American War and took part in the July 3, 1898, Battle of Santiago de Cuba aboard the flagship, the battleship *New York*.

Taussig served in the Philippines during the Philippine-American War and in China during the Boxer Rebellion (1899–1901), where he was seriously wounded in fighting in June 1900 as the Allied Expeditionary Force ended the siege of the foreign legations in Beijing. He also served in Cuba.

In July 1916, Commander Taussig took command of Division 8, and on April 13, 1917, shortly after the U.S. declaration of war against Germany, he was ordered to prepare his ships for special service. The destroyers departed from Boston for Ireland on April 24 with the mission of assisting naval operations of Entente powers in whatever way possible. They were the first U.S. warships sent to Europe in the war. The destroyers were warmly received at Queenstown following a difficult nine-day Atlantic crossing in gale conditions. The event was immortalized in a painting by Bernard Gribble titled *The Return of the Mayflower*. British commander in chief of the coasts of Ireland Vice Admiral Sir Lewis Bayly asked when the American ships would again be ready for sea. Taussig's

reply entered U.S. Navy lore: "We are ready now, sir, that is as soon as we finish refueling."

Many in the navy marked Taussig as destined for high command. It was not to be, in large part because of a sharp quarrel with Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt over the latter's desire to improve conditions in naval prisons and for naval trainees. The dispute surfaced in 1920 when Captain Taussig was director of enlisted personnel. Taussig, who disagreed with the planned changes, was relieved of his assignment at his own request and sent to the Naval War College at Newport, Rhode Island. There he read an unsigned article in the *Army and Navy Journal* approving the reforms, and he penned a scathing rebuttal. It turned out that Roosevelt had written the article. Correctly believing his career to be in jeopardy and following unsuccessful efforts to resolve the dispute, Taussig requested but did not receive a court of inquiry.

Taussig remained at the Naval War College after graduation in 1920 except for three years in sea commands. In 1922, his ship, the cruiser *Cleveland*, rendered assistance to victims of an earthquake in Chile. Promoted to rear admiral in 1931, he commanded the battleship *Maryland* and then became chief of staff to the commander of the Battle Fleet and to the commander in chief of the United States Fleet. From 1933 to 1936, Taussig was assistant chief of naval operations. Roosevelt was then president, and after 1936 Taussig did not hold major posts.

From 1938 to 1941, Taussig was commandant of the Fifth Naval District at Norfolk, Virginia. Always outspoken, on April 22, 1940, he testified before a joint House-Senate committee hearing on Pacific fortifications and predicted that events in the Far East would bring war with Japan. His testimony created a considerable stir and led the navy to repudiate his remarks and issue a letter of reprimand, which was rescinded by presidential order on December 8, 1941.

Taussig left the navy at the end of August 1941 at the mandatory retirement age of 64. He was promoted to vice admiral simultaneous with retirement. Recalled to active duty in 1943, he was chairman of the Clemency and Prison Inspection Board during 1943–1946. Although he never made it to the top of the naval hierarchy, he was influential, especially through numerous articles he wrote in *The United States Naval Institute Proceedings*. One of these articles, a 1939 prize essay, recommended the creation of task fleets, a practice adopted by the navy in World War II. Taussig died on October 29, 1947, at the U.S. Naval Hospital in Bethesda, Maryland.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also
United States Navy

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Taylor, Henry Clay

Birth Date: March 4, 1845

Death Date: July 26, 1904

U.S. naval officer. Henry Clay Taylor was born on March 4, 1845, in Washington, D.C. In September 1860, at age 15, he enrolled at the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis. Because of the great demand for naval officers during the American Civil War (1861–1865), Taylor's class was accelerated, and he graduated in 1863. On May 25, he was commissioned an ensign and assigned to the steam sloop *Shenandoah* in the North Atlantic Blockade Squadron. The following year, he transferred to the sloop-of-war *Iroquois*. His tour on the *Iroquois* included duty in the Mediterranean Sea and featured a hunt for Confederate commerce raiders. Taylor continued in the navy after the end of the Civil War in 1865.

During 1866–1867, Taylor served aboard the side-wheel steamer *Rhode Island*, attached to the North Atlantic Squadron. During 1867–1868, he served on the side-wheel frigate *Susquehanna* before he was transferred to the European Squadron aboard the storeship *Guard* until 1869. Over the next decade, he served in a variety of capacities, some at sea and some on shore. From 1869 to 1871, he was an instructor at Annapolis. During 1872, he was the executive officer aboard the side-wheel frigate *Saranac*, which saw duty in the Pacific Squadron. During 1874–1877, Taylor, now a lieutenant commander, commanded the *Hassler*, a steamer attached to the Coast Survey. He then served a short time at the Hydrographic Office in early 1878 before being transferred to Washington Navy Yard, where he was promoted to commander in late 1879. The next year, he commanded the sailing sloop *Saratoga*. He served in several other capacities until 1888, at which time he took a leave of absence.

In 1890, Taylor returned to active duty as commanding officer of the wooden screw sloop *Alliance*, part of the Asiatic Squadron. In September 1891, he took another leave of absence but returned to active duty 15 months later. In 1893, he assumed the presidency of the Navy War College in Newport, Rhode Island. While he was at Newport, the cerebral Taylor developed a war plan in the event of a war with Spain. The plan featured a preemptive move against the Spanish in the Philippines.

In April 1894, Taylor was promoted to captain and was later given command of the *Indianapolis* (also known as Battleship 1), the U.S. Navy's first modern battleship, commissioned in 1895 and first commanded by Taylor's brother-in-law, Captain Robley D. Evans. The battleship was assigned to Rear Admiral William T. Sampson's North American Squadron and took part in the May 1898 bombardment of San Juan, Puerto Rico, at the beginning of the Spanish-American War. The following month, Taylor oversaw the naval convoy that transported V Corps from Tampa, Florida, to Santiago de Cuba. On July 3, 1898, the *Indianapolis* participated in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba and the destruction of Spanish rear admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's Caribbean Squadron.

Taylor continued in command of the *Indianapolis* through the end of the war and was transferred to shore duty in early 1900. That



Rear Admiral Henry Clay Taylor. As a captain during the Spanish-American War, Taylor commanded the first true modern U.S. battleship, the *Indiana*. (Library of Congress)

March, he was appointed to the navy's General Board, designed to serve as an advisory body to the secretary of the navy. In February 1901, Taylor was advanced to rear admiral, and in April 1902, he became chief of the Bureau of Navigation, a post he held until his death on July 26, 1904, in Ontario, Canada.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Evans, Robley Dunglison; V Corps; San Juan, Puerto Rico, Naval Bombardment of; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; United States Navy

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Telephone and Telegraph

The telegraph and telephone played prominent roles in the Spanish-American War. The U.S. Army's Signal Corps was responsible for the telegraph and telephone wire lines utilized by the military dur-

ing the war. Eventually, the Signal Corps set up a nationalized telegraph system, improved field telegraphs, and new telephones to provide rapid communication between the War Department and field telephone stations on the front lines in Cuba.

Beginning with the invention of the telegraph in 1844 by Samuel Morse, messages traveled at near-instantaneous speeds over incredible distances. Presidents and government officials alike were quick to take advantage of this new invention. By the beginning of the American Civil War in 1861, President Abraham Lincoln, utilizing the telegraph, could communicate with his army commanders in St. Louis within an hour. Communications with troops in the field were less swift, however, because they were often away from telegraph lines or because the lines were cut by raiders. However, Lincoln was able to exert far more immediate influence over the conduct of his armies than he otherwise could have.

The telegraph also revolutionized international relations. In 1865, a transatlantic telegraph cable was laid that allowed instant communications between New York and London. Other cables carried messages to the rest of Europe.

After the invention of the telephone in 1876, that instrument supplemented and soon began to replace the telegraph. The telephone's popularity was almost immediate, and by December 1878 a telephone had been installed in the White House. The first telephone in the White House, using the single-digit phone number "1," had been installed on the orders of President Rutherford B. Hayes. As with messages sent by telegraph, telephone communications were limited to those areas connected by communications lines to them.

By 1898 and the Spanish-American War, much of the United States was crisscrossed by telephone lines. While only a few homes had telephones, many businesses and government offices used them daily. Direct conversations at a distance between leaders often impacted how decisions were made and carried out.

As commander in chief, President William McKinley also enjoyed unprecedented communication from the White House with commanders in the field as well as American diplomats abroad. For the first time in U.S. history, the White House rather than the War Department served as the key communications hub in wartime. Indeed, McKinley's effective and extensive use of the telephone and telegraph made him the first modern president in terms of communication.

McKinley greatly expanded the telegraph and telephone system in the White House during his presidency. After taking office in March 1897, he had 15 telephone lines installed in the White House, connecting him to the House of Representatives, the Senate, and eight executive departments. Unlike his successor, Theodore Roosevelt, McKinley preferred to give oral rather than written orders and made maximum use of the telephone to communicate his orders.

When the *Maine* exploded in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, McKinley was quickly informed, receiving a call at 3:00 a.m. thanks to an underwater telegraph cable from Cuba. The explosion

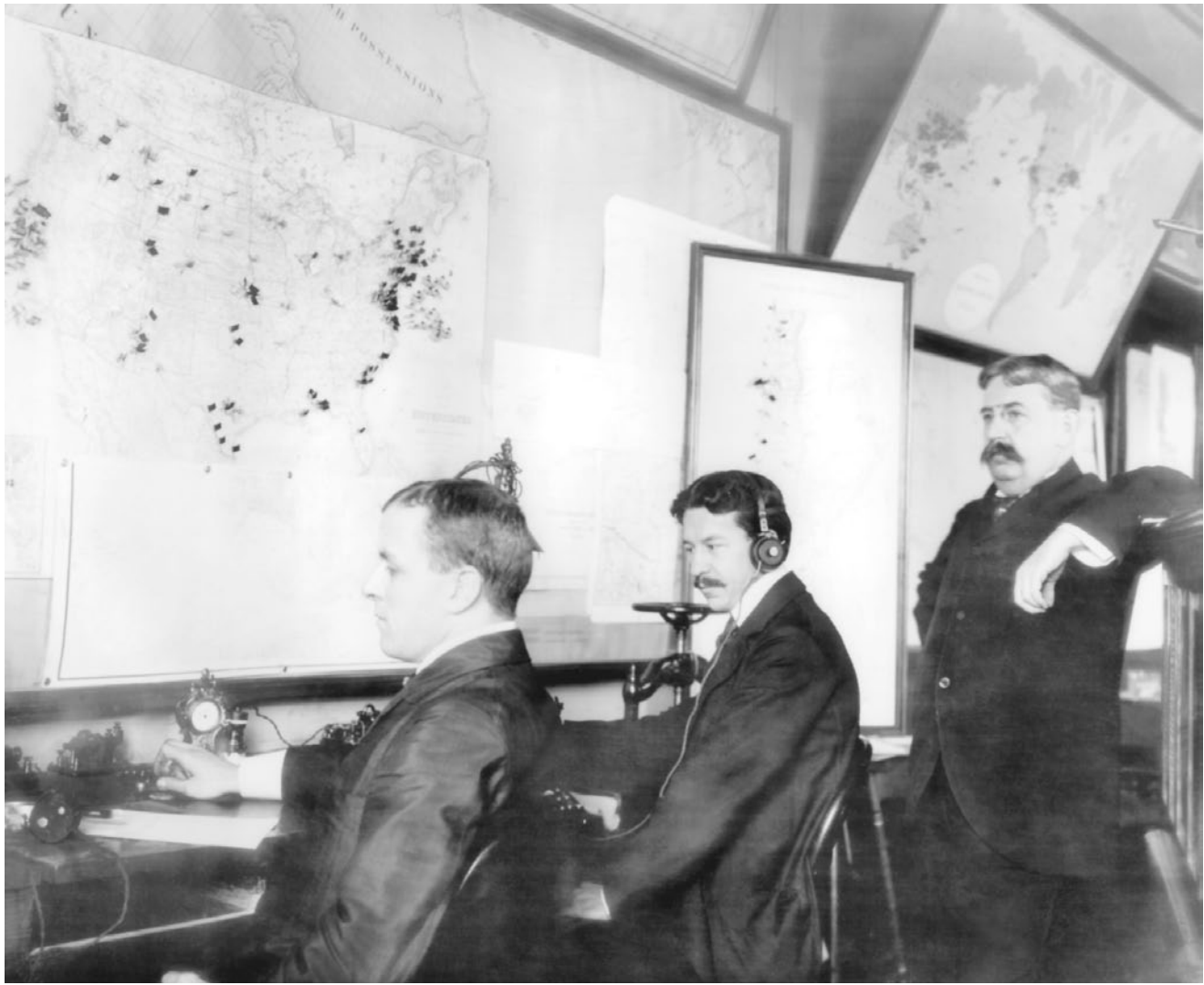


Men of the U.S. Army Signal Corps setting up telegraph poles in the Philippines, 1898. (Library of Congress)

escalated tensions between the United States and Spain, and during the next two months McKinley used the telegraph and telephone to search for a peaceful solution to the crisis. Ambassadors in Europe received coded telegrams from Washington and could reply within a few hours. When considering war or further negotiations with Spain, McKinley no longer had to wait for ships to bring the latest information.

When war was declared against Spain on April 25, 1898, McKinley immediately recognized the need for a central clearinghouse for intelligence and operational matters. During the American Civil War, Lincoln often walked next door to the War Department and read the telegrams being sent to the secretary of war and the commanding general. This procedure was inconvenient and left the president out of the decision-making loop. The army and navy had their own intelligence units, but the methods of sharing information with the president remained primitive. When coupled with the fact that the strategy for fighting the Spanish was still developing, McKinley became determined to establish his own center for keeping up on the war.

The first telegraph office in the White House had been installed in 1866 during the presidency of Andrew Johnson. By 1898, there were 20 telegraph wires in the White House connecting the United States to the Caribbean. At the beginning of the Spanish-American War in April 1898, McKinley established a telegraph office on the second floor of the White House to be used solely for war-related communications. The room housing the telegraph office was quickly dubbed the War Room by McKinley's assistants and was the precursor to the current White House Situation Room. The War



Personnel in the White House war room, Washington, D.C., 1898. (Library of Congress)

Room was constantly monitored, and McKinley frequently went there to obtain the most current information on the development of the war against Spain. In constant contact with army and navy officials, McKinley was able to direct the war and chart the war's progress on wall maps in the War Room.

In April 1898, McKinley gave orders to convert a room in the southeast corner of the White House, on the second floor, into a war room or, as McKinley called it, the Operating Room. Formerly known as the Lincoln Sitting Room, the room was part of the family living quarters in the White House. By McKinley's orders, 15 telephone lines were installed, which allowed him to talk to congressmen and department heads in Washington to coordinate policies and invite suggestions. He also ordered 26 telegraph lines installed in the room. The telegraphs permitted McKinley to communicate with virtually any part of the United States. They also brought in information from overseas thanks to transoceanic cables.

To help McKinley function as commander in chief, other equipment was also provided for his war room. Maps were installed on

the walls because for the first time since the Mexican-American War (1846–1848), the United States was fighting a foreign enemy. And because Spanish possessions stretched from the Caribbean to the eastern Pacific, McKinley was directing a two-ocean war. The maps indicated the current situation in each theater, with pins representing ships and troops. Movements were immediately noted on the maps thanks to the information provided by the telephones and telegraphs. McKinley could query commanders about developments or order certain actions with a degree of confidence. The other equipment in the room included desks, typewriters for correspondence, and an early version of a dictating machine. McKinley sometimes used the latter to send orders to nearby departments. A former executive clerk in the White House who was now a lieutenant colonel in the volunteers, Benjamin F. Montgomery, supervised the war room. He recorded all messages in a diary and brought urgent ones to the president's immediate attention. The room was constantly staffed, but its activities remained cloaked in secrecy.

The Operating Room worked well. When American forces landed in Cuba outside Santiago, engineers located the Anglo-French underwater cable between Cuba and Florida. They tied into it and ran a line directly to Major General William Rufus Shafter's headquarters. When all worked as it should, McKinley's messages to his general would be received within 20 minutes. Later when a truce was negotiated in Cuba, the president and Secretary of War Russell Alger could let their military leaders know what was acceptable as they negotiated the particulars with Spanish generals in the field. Other moves, such as ordering occupation troops to the Philippines, were also made possible by the improved communications of the war room.

The war did reveal the danger of wire-based signal systems, however. Commodore George Dewey's decision to cut the Spanish cable between Manila and Hong Kong had the unintended consequence of delaying the arrival of news of the cease-fire protocol that might have rendered unnecessary the First Battle of Manila (August 13, 1898).

Shortly after the war, the Signal Corps implemented the Washington-Alaska Military Cable and Telegraph System, which became the first wireless telegraph in the Western Hemisphere. At a time when telephones were still considered a luxury, the federal government imposed a 1 percent tax, eventually raised to 3 percent, on all long-distance phone calls to help fund the war. Although the war ended in 1898, the federal tax on long distance calls remained in effect until 2006.

MICHAEL R. HALL AND TIM J. WATTS

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; *Maine*, USS; McKinley, William; War Department, U.S.

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Teller, Henry Moore

Birth Date: May 23, 1830

Death Date: February 23, 1914

Influential Colorado politician, U.S. senator (1876–1882, 1885–1909), secretary of the interior (1882–1885), and author of the 1898 Teller Amendment. Henry Moore Teller was born on his family's farm in Allegany County, New York, on May 23, 1830. He attended school only intermittently between farming chores and thus received only a limited education. He later attended academies at Rushford and Alfred, New York. After completing his studies and working for a short period as a teacher, he moved to Angelica, New



U.S. senator Henry Moore Teller was the sponsor of the Teller Amendment of April 19, 1898. The amendment stated that while the United States was willing to use force to end Spanish rule in Cuba, it disclaimed any intent to exercise sovereignty over the island. (Library of Congress)

York, where he read law and was admitted to the New York bar in 1858.

Looking for new opportunities, Teller headed west, first settling in Morrison, Illinois, for three years and finally in Central City, Colorado, in 1861. There he learned the complexities of mining law and served for a time as a major general commanding the Colorado militia, defending Denver from potential Native American attacks. He became one of the leading politicians in Colorado after the American Civil War. He was also a key player in the fight for Colorado statehood following the war and served as president of the Colorado Central Railroad during 1872–1876.

When Colorado was admitted to the Union in 1876, Teller was elected by the state legislature as one of the state's first two U.S. senators. A Republican, he served until 1882, speaking on behalf of western interests and advocating the free coinage of silver. In April 1882, President Chester Arthur named Teller secretary of the interior, replacing the outgoing Samuel Kirkwood. While secretary, Teller established a Court of Indian Offenses to have Native American magistrates judge other Native Americans, urged repeal of the ineffective Timber Culture Act and other related laws, and became embroiled in a scandal involving a railroad land claim that he attempted to grant. His tenure was considered a

successful one, however, and he left the post in 1885 with the change in administrations.

The Colorado legislature returned Teller to the U.S. Senate in 1885. He joined with fellow Colorado legislators John C. Bell, John Shafroth, and Edward Wolcott to stymie President Grover Cleveland's attempt to create forestry reserves in 1893. Teller was also a firm supporter of the Pettigrew Act that arose out of the controversy.

Although a conservative Republican, Teller bolted the party in 1896 over the issue of the free coinage of silver and became a founding member of the short-lived Silver Republican Party. Following that group's demise, he switched party affiliation and became a Democrat and remained such for the rest of his political career. During his tenure in the Senate, he served on such committees as Mining and Mines, Public Lands, and Patents.

Teller is most remembered for the landmark Teller Amendment. The amendment was successfully added to the April 19, 1898, Joint Resolution of Congress that authorized President William McKinley to take military action against Spain. Teller's amendment made it clear that the United States supported Cuban independence and would maintain a presence on the island until it was entirely pacified. But the amendment specifically declared that the United States had no long-term claims of sovereignty or jurisdiction over Cuba. The Teller Amendment was subsequently superseded by the 1901 Platt Amendment.

Teller's last years in the Senate were spent on the problems of land distribution, reclamation, and Indian affairs. He retired from the Senate in 1909, served until 1912 as a member of the National Monetary Commission, and then retired to Colorado. Teller died in Denver, Colorado, on February 23, 1914.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cuba, U.S. Occupation of; Platt Amendment; Silver Standard; Teller Amendment

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Teller Amendment

Sponsored by Democratic senator Henry Moore Teller of Colorado, the Teller Amendment was passed on April 19, 1898, as part of the joint congressional resolution authorizing President William McKinley to take military action against Spanish forces in Cuba and in the other Spanish possessions. McKinley signed the resolution the following day.

The Teller Amendment was a manifestation of both American idealism and ambivalence concerning expansion outside the continental United States on the eve of the Spanish-American War, es-

pecially in regard to Cuba. With the authority to take military action in hand, McKinley forwarded an ultimatum to Spain threatening war if Spain did not yield to American demands concerning the unrest in Cuba.

Essentially, the Teller Amendment gave a veneer of altruism to American military endeavors on the island. The amendment stated that the United States was willing to use force to settle the crisis and end Spanish rule on the island but disclaimed any intent to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over Cuba "except for the pacification thereof." It also asserted sole U.S. determination as to when that pacification was accomplished so as to "leave the government and control of the island to its people." True to the letter of the amendment, American troops occupied Cuba until 1902, four years after Spain's withdrawal.

Senator Teller's measure grew out of a fierce debate in both the Senate and the House of Representatives over how far the United States should go in supporting Cuban independence following McKinley's April 11 war message to Congress. The amendment represented a compromise between the president, who opposed granting immediate independence, and elements in Congress who wanted immediate recognition of Cuban independence and support of the Cuban insurgents as the governing authority on the island (as voiced in an amendment sponsored by Democratic senator David Turpie of Indiana and Republican senator Joseph Foraker of Ohio). Many congressmen and senators feared that without recognition of some governing authority in Cuba, McKinley was simply priming the island for outright annexation. The president, on the other hand, sought to keep control of Cuban policy in his own hands. He was unsure of the form that an insurgent government might take and strongly believed that the Cuban rebels were incapable of governing the island on their own.

Senator Teller had been a longtime supporter of Cuban independence, but his previous efforts to gain congressional and presidential support for the Cuban insurgents had repeatedly failed. Congressional adoption of his amendment therefore reflected the contradictory currents in American thinking about Cuba. Although public opinion and most leading politicians wished to see Cuba free from Spain's control, no consensus existed on how far the United States should go in asserting its control over the island. Some support for outright annexation of Cuba as a U.S. territory had existed throughout the 19th century, but this had been based mainly on economic considerations. In 1898, opposition to Cuban annexation was widespread for a variety of reasons, racial, cultural, and economic.

By what it did not say, the Teller Amendment also illustrated the limits of American altruism. Its provisions did not apply to other Spanish possessions, such as Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. And although the amendment precluded direct annexation of Cuba, it did not prevent the establishment of an American protectorate over the island, the acquisition of a naval base at Guantánamo Bay, or the economic domination of the island by American corporations. Indeed, these came to fruition, and until

the Communist Revolution in Cuba in 1959, the United States exercised great economic influence in the island nation.

Nor did the amendment prevent further American intervention in Cuban politics. In 1901, the Platt Amendment sponsored by Republican senator Orville Platt of Connecticut superseded the Teller Amendment. Passed in February 1901 as part of the U.S. Army appropriations bill, Platt's measure allowed the United States the right to intervene in Cuba "for the preservation of Cuban independence" and "the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty." Taken together, the Teller Amendment and the Platt Amendment cleared the way for continuing American interference in Cuban politics that left a legacy of resentment among the island's people, which had far-reaching consequences when Fidel Castro seized power in 1959.

WALTER F. BELL

See also

Colonial Policies, U.S.; Cuba; Cuba, Spanish Colonial Policies toward; Cuba, U.S. Occupation of; Expansionism; Foraker Amendment; Imperialism; Legacy of the War; McKinley, William; Platt Amendment; Teller, Henry Moore

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Ten Years' War

Start Date: October 10, 1868

End Date: May 28, 1878

The first in a series of three wars of Cuban independence during the 19th century. The Ten Years' War set the stage for the Little War (1879–1880) and the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898) that directly contributed to U.S. intervention in Cuba's internal affairs and the Spanish-American War in 1898.

Following the overthrow of Spain's Queen Isabella II in September 1868, Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, a wealthy plantation owner in eastern Cuba, became belligerent over Spanish rule and especially increased taxes and the lack of local autonomy. On October 8, the Spanish governor-general of Cuba, learning that Céspedes was plotting rebellion, sent a telegram to the provincial governor ordering Céspedes's arrest. The telegraph clerk was a member of Céspedes's extended family, however, and warned the would-be revolutionary, who then launched a preemptive strike against the Spanish authorities. The Ten Years' War began on October 10, 1868, when Céspedes rang the slave bell on his plantation

in eastern Cuba. Once the slaves were assembled, he announced their freedom (and conscription into his revolutionary army) and proclaimed Cuban independence from Spain.

On October 11, Céspedes and a small band of supporters attacked the nearby town of Yara. Although the attack was a failure, the event, commonly known as the Grito de Yara (Shout of Yara), unleashed a war of independence and a slave revolt. The revolutionary spirit quickly spread throughout the eastern half of Cuba. By the end of the year, the rebellion counted more than 10,000 revolutionaries, many of them former slaves. Indeed, for many revolutionaries, emancipation was as important as the liberation of the island. Hoping to win the support of plantation owners in the western half of the island, Céspedes, who preferred gradual emancipation, proclaimed the death penalty for any revolutionary who attacked sugar estates or slave property. In addition, Céspedes favored independence as a prelude to annexation to the United States, a concept that many nationalists found repulsive.

Following the Grito de Yara, Céspedes organized a provisional government. On October 20, 1868, the revolutionaries captured Bayamo, which became the seat of the new government. They held that city until January 11, 1869, when, faced with a superior Spanish force, the revolutionaries burned Bayamo to the ground rather than surrender. Although the revolutionary forces enjoyed moderate success in the countryside, they were unable to capture many cities and towns in the eastern half of the island.

On April 10, 1869, a constitutional assembly convened in Guáimaro. Céspedes was elected president, while Ignacio Agramonte and Antonio Zambrana were elected its secretaries and charged with writing the constitution. Two days later, the assembly transformed itself into the Congress of Representatives. Céspedes was elected president, and his brother-in-law Manuel de Quesada was named the first chief of the armed forces.

In May 1869, Céspedes petitioned the U.S. government for diplomatic recognition. Washington, however, refused to recognize the Céspedes government. The Ulysses S. Grant administration, which was primarily focusing on Reconstruction, feared that recognition of the Cuban rebels would undermine its legal case seeking economic damages from the United Kingdom, which had recognized the belligerency of the Confederate States of America in 1861. In addition, U.S. recognition of the Cuban rebels would absolve Spain from responsibility for damages to American property in Cuba inflicted by Cuban revolutionaries.

Regardless of the official position, many U.S. citizens and officials were openly sympathetic toward the revolutionary cause. In 1870, Quesada, with the collusion of American John Patterson, who was sympathetic to the Cuban rebels, purchased the *Virginius*. This former Confederate blockade runner had been captured by Union forces at the end of the American Civil War.

Flying an American flag and nominally owned by Patterson, the *Virginius* was employed to supply the Cuban revolutionaries with weapons and other matériel. On October 31, 1873, however, the Spanish warship *Tornado* captured the *Virginius* off the coast of

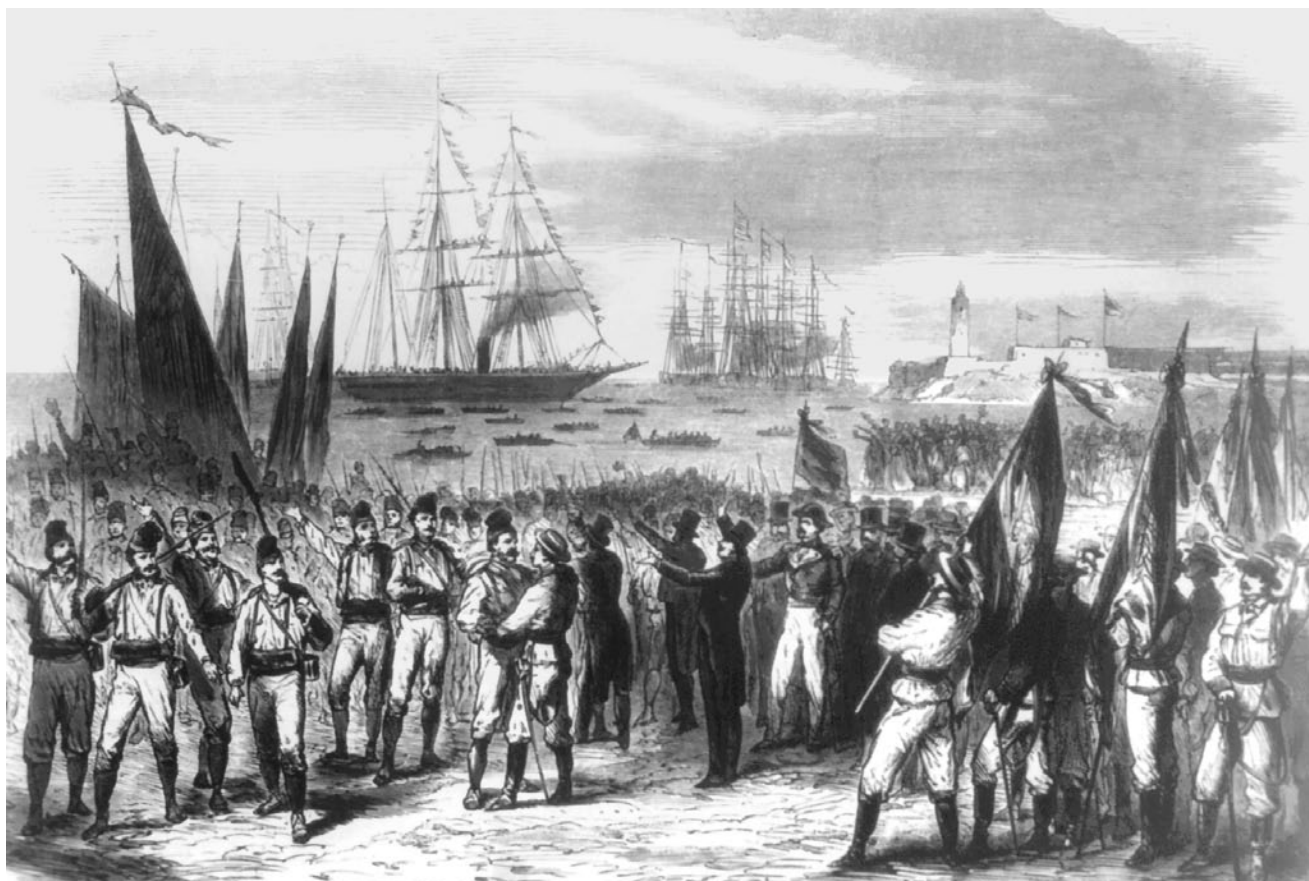


Illustration depicting Spanish volunteers landing in Havana, Cuba, in 1869 during the Ten Years' War of 1868–1878. (Library of Congress)

Jamaica and took the ship to Santiago, Cuba. In early November, following Spanish legal proceedings, 53 men from the *Virginus*, many of them Americans, were executed as pirates. The event, which was well publicized in American newspapers, brought the United States and Spain to the brink of war. Tensions were reduced, however, after the Spanish government promised to pay an indemnity to the families of the executed Americans.

During the revolutionary struggle, Dominican-born Máximo Gómez taught the revolutionary forces, known as Mambi warriors, how to employ the machete against Spanish troops. Although this weapon proved to be quite useful against the Spanish troops, more Spanish soldiers died of disease, primarily yellow fever, than in battle. Nevertheless, by 1873, neither the Spanish nor the revolutionary forces were able to achieve any notable victories. The Spanish had constructed fortifications across the province of Camagüey, which effectively divided the island in half. Céspedes's inability to expand the war into the prosperous western half of the island cost him support. On October 27, 1873, the Congress of Representatives removed Céspedes from power, and Salvador Cisneros became president.

In 1875, Gómez launched an unsuccessful invasion of the western half of the island. The majority of the plantation owners in western Cuba refused to support the revolution. Most of the fighting

during the war was therefore confined to the eastern half of the island. Rebels destroyed loyalist plantations, and Spanish troops destroyed insurgent plantations.

Meanwhile, the end of the Third Carlist War (1872–1876) in Spain and the restoration of the Bourbons to the Spanish Crown allowed the Spanish government to dedicate greater resources to fighting the Cuban rebellion. By the end of 1876, King Alfonso XII had sent 100,000 troops to Cuba. On October 19, 1877, Spanish troops captured Cuban president Tomás Estrada Palma. In February 1878 as a result of repeated military misfortunes, the Congress of Representatives opened peace negotiations with Spain. On February 10, 1878, the Cuban revolutionaries signed the Pact of Zanjón, which effectively ended the Ten Years' War.

Spain promised numerous administrative and political reforms in Cuba. All revolutionaries were granted amnesty, and former slaves who served in the revolutionary army were granted their unconditional freedom. Revolutionary general Antonio Maceo Grajales, however, demanded complete emancipation and continued fighting for 10 more weeks, until May 28, 1878. Ultimately, the failure of the Spanish government to fulfill its promise of reform eventually led to the Little War in 1879.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Alfonso XII, King of Spain; Céspedes y del Castillo, Carlos Manuel de; Cuba, Spanish Colonial Policies toward; Estrada Palma, Tomás; Gómez y Báez, Máximo; Spain; *Virginius* Affair

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Tenerife, Marqués de

See Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano

Thompson, John Taliaferro

Birth Date: December 31, 1860

Death Date: June 21, 1940

U.S. Army officer and weapons and ordnance designer who is perhaps best known for his development of the Thompson submachine gun. John Taliaferro Thompson was born in Newport, Kentucky, on December 31, 1860, the son of a career army officer. Thompson attended Indiana University during 1876–1877. He then entered the United States Military Academy, West Point, and graduated 11th in his class in 1882 and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the artillery.

Almost immediately, Thompson took a keen interest in weapons, ordnance, and ballistics. He held a number of routine assignments throughout the 1880s. Promoted to first lieutenant in 1889, he graduated from the Artillery School in 1890 and was posted to the U.S. Army Ordnance Department, where he remained for the rest of his military career. Within a year, he had begun research efforts in the area of small arms and ammunition. From 1896 to 1898, he was posted to West Point as senior assistant instructor of ordnance and gunnery. He was promoted to captain in 1898.

During the Spanish-American War, Thompson first earned high praise for his supervision of munitions supplies to U.S. forces in Cuba. When war was declared in April 1898, he was advanced to the rank of lieutenant colonel of volunteers and ordered to Tampa, Florida, the main embarkation point for U.S. troops and supplies bound for the Caribbean. Once there, he was immediately named chief ordnance officer for V Corps, commanded by Major General William R. Shafter and the invasion force destined for Cuba. At a time in which the army was experiencing significant supply problems, Thompson helped ensure the flow of ordnance to Cuba. Indeed, nearly 18,000 tons of weapons and ordnance were dispatched to Cuba with virtually no delays or other problems. During the brief



John Taliaferro Thompson, prominent American arms designer, who invented the Thompson submachine gun. The term “tommy gun” originated with this weapon. (Bettmann/Corbis)

war, Thompson also helped to establish an informal Gatling gun unit. Equipped with 15 Gatling guns, the unit played a key role in the July 1, 1898, Battle of San Juan Hill. For his effective service, Thompson was promoted to colonel of volunteers in the late summer of 1898.

In 1899, Thompson was named chief of small arms in the Ordnance Department, where he was to play a key role in the development of the M1903 Springfield rifle, which replaced the Krag-Jørgenson as the army’s small-arms weapon of choice in the early years of the 20th century. The M1903 and its successors would be used well into midcentury and was based on the German-designed Mauser bolt-action rifle employed by many Spanish regulars during the Spanish-American War.

Thompson was promoted to major in 1906. From 1907 to 1914, he was chief assistant to the chief of Army Ordnance. Promoted to lieutenant colonel in January 1909 and to colonel in October 1913, Thompson was then assigned as a lecturer at the Army War College.

Thompson was also instrumental in the adoption of the M1911 Colt pistol, a single-action semiautomatic hand-held weapon that saw service through the Vietnam War. While preparing the army for the adoption of this weapon, Thompson employed animal carcasses and even human cadavers to study the effects of various

ammunition and firing patterns and rates on would-be targets. Although they raised eyebrows at the time, Thompson's tests became standard operating procedure whenever new weapons were being developed.

In November 1914, Thompson retired from active duty to take a position with the Remington Arms Company as chief engineer. There he oversaw the construction of the world's newest and most efficient small-arms factory in Chester, Pennsylvania, which produced Enfield rifles for the British and Moisin-Nagant rifles for Russia. By 1916 or so, with the devastating effects of trench warfare fully evident, Thompson began development of various automatic and semiautomatic small arms that would quickly and easily clear an enemy trench. Eventually, he teamed up with John Blish, a navy commander who had designed a prototype automatic weapon that had impressed Thompson.

Thompson and Blish borrowed sufficient capital to begin their own firm, Auto Ordnance Company, in late 1916. Here the two men eventually developed what would become known as the Thompson submachine gun. When the United States entered World War I in April 1917, Thompson was recalled to active duty and in August 1918 was advanced to temporary brigadier general. The army charged him with supervising all its small-arms manufacturing. In December 1918, Thompson was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal and again retired from the army.

Returning to the Auto Ordnance Company, Thompson worked with Blish to secure a patent for what became known as the Thompson submachine gun, or simply the tommy gun, in 1920. A fully automatic shoulder weapon, it fired the same .45-caliber round as in the pistol and was renowned for its rugged construction, ease of use, and absence of malfunctions. At the time, military demand for the new weapon was very low. The U.S. Marine Corps did purchase the weapon for operations in Nicaragua in 1925, while the U.S. Army adopted it for its mechanized cavalry in 1938. The U.S. Navy also purchased it. Much of the sales, however, went to law enforcement, where the Thompson submachine gun became the weapon of choice of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It was also much used by gangsters of the period.

In 1928, low sales forced Thompson to leave his post with the Auto Ordnance Company. Subsequently, Thompson Automatic Arms Company, headed by his son, took over manufacture of the Thompson submachine gun. In 1930, Thompson was advanced to brigadier general, retired, by an extraordinary act of the U.S. Congress. He died on June 21, 1940, in Great Neck, New York, just prior to the placing of huge orders for the Thompson submachine gun by the U.S. military as it prepared for World War II. A number of militaries subsequently adopted the Thompson gun, and it was still in use among both military establishments and law enforcement agencies well into the 1980s.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

V Corps; Machine Guns; Rifles; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Shafter, William Rufus

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Tinio, Manuel

Birth Date: June 17, 1877

Death Date: February 22, 1924

Filipino revolutionary nationalist and general who fought U.S. forces in northern Luzon during the Philippine-American War (1899–1902). Born in Aliaga, Nueva Ecija Province, on June 17, 1877, Manuel Tinio never completed high school, cutting short his studies in April 1896 to join the Katipunan, the secret insurgent organization in support of the revolt against Spain. He entered combat in 1897, engaged the enemy in the provinces of Nueva Ecija and Bulacan, and gained recognition for this leadership. At a revolutionary council in June 1897, he was appointed colonel. Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, the rebel leader, later commissioned him a brigadier general.

Tinio commanded military operations under Lieutenant General Mamertito Natividad and participated in major engagements at San Rafael in Bulacan, Aliaga in Nueva Ecija, and Tayug in Pangasinan Province. In November 1897, he signed the provisional constitution of the soon-to-be First Philippine Republic and accompanied Aguinaldo to Hong Kong following the December 1897 Pact of Biak-na-Bato, a truce temporarily ending the revolt. With the beginning of the Spanish-American War, Tinio returned with Aguinaldo and other exiles to the Philippines in May 1898 under the orders of Commodore George Dewey.

Once back in the Philippines, Tinio attacked Spanish strong points in his native province. His insurgents captured San Isidro first and then captured Nueva Ecija in July. The next month, he marched northwest and seized San Fernando in La Union Province north of Lingayen Gulf. Aided by the inhabitants of the provinces of Ilocos Sur, Ilocos Norte, Lepanto, Abra, and La Union, Tinio liberated the Ilocan area and placed it under rebel control. He so inspired the residents of one Ilocos Norte community that they took his family name as their place name.

When the Philippine-American War began in February 1899, Tinio commanded Filipino forces in the Ilocano region. He advanced southward to Pangasinan and installed his main base at San Jacinto. He succeeded in ambushing American troops there, but elements of Major Peyton C. March's 33rd Infantry outflanked Tinio's troops, forced their retreat, and seized the village. The Tinio Brigade suffered 134 killed. Incapable of halting the American offensive,

Tinio evacuated San Fernando; withdrew to Tagudin, Ilocos Sur; and then marched north to hold the Tangadan Pass and to protect the Abra Valley in Abra Province.

After setbacks at Vigan, Ilocos Sur, and Tangadan Pass, Tinio retreated into the mountains of Ilocos Norte and resorted to guerrilla operations. Throughout what became known as the American First District, Department of Northern Luzon, unconventional warfare ensued against the American-installed native administrations. Tinio's underground rallied the local home guard and mobilized guerrilla regulars. His troops ambushed small U.S. combat units, seized supplies, severed American communications, and abducted or murdered collaborators. To escape capture, Tinio moved freely, living in various towns.

On October 24, 1900, Tinio's troops won a victory over the Americans at Cosucos in Ilocos Sur. Yet by 1901, Tinio faced failure in the Ilocos region. A strong American military presence and differences among the revolutionaries coupled with supply difficulties and a populace ready to capitulate led to his surrender on April 30, 1901, a little more than a month after Aguinaldo had been captured. Like Aguinaldo, Tinio would in time become loyal to the United States. Later he served as governor of Nueva Ecija. Tinio died in Manila on February 22, 1924.

RODNEY J. ROSS

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Biak-na-Bato, Pact of; Dewey, George; Katipunan; Philippine-American War; Philippine Islands

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Tirad Pass, Battle of

Event Date: December 2, 1899

An engagement fought on December 2, 1899, during the Philippine-American War (1899–1902) between Filipino rebel forces led by Brigadier General Gregorio del Pilar and the U.S. 33rd Infantry Regiment. The battle occurred at Tirad Pass in northern Luzon, and although the Filipinos incurred heavy casualties, they stalled the U.S. advance long enough for General Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy to evade capture.

After securing Manila in late February 1899, U.S. forces pushed northward in Luzon and seized Malolos, capital of the Philippine Republic, on March 31. U.S. forces continued their northern drive in hopes of capturing Aguinaldo, leader of the rebellion and the republic's president, and his Army of Liberation. Evading U.S. forces, on November 17 Aguinaldo reached Naguilian in La Union Province on the eastern coast of the Lingayen

Gulf. That same day, U.S. brigadier general Samuel B. M. Young, commander of the Cavalry Brigade, mounting an unauthorized dash up the Ilocos coast, set out from Pozorrubio in Pangasinan Province. Down to only about 80 troopers of the 3rd Cavalry Regiment and a few members of Lieutenant Matthew A. Batson's Filipino Macabebe Scouts, Young requested the addition of a battalion of infantry. Reaching the coast on November 19 and making contact with the U.S. gunboat *Samar*, Young took the provincial capital of San Fernando de la Union on November 20. By now, Young's force was at the end of its tether. Difficult terrain, casualties, and the general fatigue of the campaign had all taken their toll. Aguinaldo was then moving up the coast road, his presumed destination the Cagayan Valley.

The additional battalion requested by Young—500 men commanded by Major Peyton C. March of the 33rd Infantry Regiment—arrived at Namacpacan on November 26. March immediately placed his battalion under Young's command. The general then sent March toward Camdon to block Tirad Pass. At Tirad Pass, General Pilar and 60 handpicked men prepared to fight a rearguard action against the advancing Americans so that Aguinaldo would have time to fall back. The Filipinos hastily built a series of fences and dug trenches along the narrow path that ascended toward the Tirad Pass.

On December 2, as March's men proceeded along the zigzag trek over the pass, they encountered a barrier erected by Pilar's men that was blocking the trail. The Filipino riflemen waited to fire until March's troops were within range, then let loose a volley of rifle fire that brought several U.S. casualties. The American vanguard immediately went to the ground. March then assigned a second company to charge ahead, but it too was turned back. March then wisely decided against a full frontal assault and elected to outflank the Filipinos. March deployed sharpshooters to a neighboring hill, where they were positioned behind Pilar's force. He also ordered Company H on a lengthy hike up a gorge to locate a pathway ascending the bluff parallel to the pass, while the rest of his battalion remained on the trail to fix the Filipino defenders in place.

Later in the morning, March's Company H moved up the precipitous cliffs. Close to noon, the unit appeared above Pilar's defenses, attacking down simultaneously as another part of the battalion assaulted the barrier from the front. Pilar's men began to withdraw but were felled in large numbers by the American riflemen on the elevation.

In five hours of fighting, 51 of the Filipino defenders, including young General Pilar, died. U.S. forces suffered 2 dead and 9 wounded in the Battle of Tirad Pass. Nevertheless, this delaying action gave Aguinaldo ample time to escape. The next day, March continued the pursuit, but weariness and illness took a toll. Nevertheless, he drove a great distance into the highlands until his men became too exhausted to continue. He then broke off the chase.

Filipinos consider the Battle of Tirad Pass, or the Filipino Thermopylae as it is also known, as one of the most celebrated engagements of the Philippine-American War. Pilar is celebrated as one of

war's great heroes, famed for the courage and sacrifice in this rear-guard action.

RODNEY J. ROSS AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; MacArthur, Arthur; Malolos, Philippines, Capture of; Philippine-American War; Pilar, Gregorio del; Young, Samuel Baldwin Marks

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Toral y Vázquez, José

Birth Date: 1834

Death Date: July 10, 1904

Spanish general in Cuba during the Spanish-American War who was later court-martialed for his role in the surrender of Santiago. José Toral y Vázquez was born in Spain in 1834. He entered Spanish military service as a young man and rose steadily through the ranks. He was eventually sent to Cuba and held the rank of brigadier general when the Spanish-American War began in April 1898. He served on the commission that oversaw strengthening of the defenses of Santiago. Toral and Brigadier General Joaquín Vara del Rey y Rubio each received command of a division of the two-division Spanish garrison at Santiago on the commencement of hostilities.

On July 1, 1898, when Lieutenant General Arsenio Linares y Pombo was wounded, Toral took command of IV Corps. By then, most of the Spanish troops had fallen back into redoubts located just outside the city of Santiago. Toral ordered Brigadier General Félix Pareja Mesa at Guantánamo, Cuba, to dispatch reinforcements, but Pareja never received the message.

On July 3, 1898, Major General William R. Shafter, commanding V Corps, called on Toral to surrender Santiago. This demand came several hours prior to the defeat of the Spanish Squadron in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba, and Toral ignored the surrender demand. However, the destruction of Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron completely changed the strategic situation to the advantage of the Americans. Shafter then again demanded that Toral surrender, this time on the threat of a bombardment of Santiago beginning on July 5. Toral stalled for time, engaging the Americans in further negotiations.

On July 8, Toral offered to quit Santiago but only if Shafter allowed the Spanish IV Corps to retreat to Holguín, some distance from Santiago. After consulting with Washington, Shafter rejected the Spanish offer and threatened to begin shelling Santiago on July 10 if a surrender had not been tendered. Toral rejected the demand, and Shafter called upon U.S. naval vessels to begin

shelling the western quadrant of Santiago. The bombardment commenced at about 4:00 p.m. on July 10. Shelling was suspended at 1:00 p.m. the next day.

Under incredible pressure, Toral continued to engage the Americans in negotiations when the bombardment stopped. Shafter now offered to return all Spanish prisoners of war to Spain at American expense in return for Toral's unconditional surrender and evacuation of the city. To further pressure the Spanish, Shafter ordered the water supply to Santiago severed. In the meantime, Toral was under increasing pressure from General Ramón Blanco y Erenas, the captain-general of Cuba, to resolve the situation. Blanco believed that Santiago should be surrendered to spare it further bombardment. Even after the Spanish government in Madrid had entered into negotiations with the Americans, Toral stubbornly refused to surrender. Meanwhile, conditions for civilians in the city were rapidly deteriorating. Madrid finally prevailed, and Toral was thus compelled to enter serious negotiations that would bring about the surrender of Santiago.

During the final negotiations with the Americans, Toral appeared more concerned about his personal reputation than the disposition of his troops. Indeed, he insisted that the word "capitulation" be used in lieu of "surrender" and that Spanish troops be permitted to keep their weapons. Finally, with the support of Blanco, Toral signed the surrender papers on July 17, 1898. Effective that day, Santiago was turned over to U.S. forces, and remaining Spanish troops evacuated the city's fortifications.

On September 15, Toral returned to Spain under the terms of the Protocol of Peace of August 12, only to be met there by demonstrations. He was jailed in Madrid and then court-martialed but was acquitted on August 9, 1899. The war and the court-martial proved too much for him, however. Bedeviled by recurring public animosity toward him, Toral soon became mentally unstable, left the army, and spent the last months of his life in a mental hospital in Madrid, where he died on July 10, 1904.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Blanco y Erenas, Ramón; V Corps; Linares y Pombo, Arsenio; Santiago de Cuba, Capitulation Agreement; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Shafter, William Rufus; Vara del Rey y Rubio, Joaquín

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Torpedo Boat Destroyers

During the late 19th century, great improvements were registered in both the range and destructiveness of the automotive torpedo. This and construction of large numbers of high-speed torpedo

boats to deliver the torpedoes prompted development of a larger but similar vessel, first called the torpedo boat destroyer and later known simply as the destroyer. The first attempt at a counter to the torpedo boat was the Royal Navy *Polyphemus* of 1881. Known as a torpedo ram, it weighed 2,640 tons, was 240 feet in length, and was capable of 18 knots. It mounted a 2-pounder gun as well as 18 torpedoes for the five torpedo tubes in its largely submerged hull. The chief problem was that the *Polyphemus* had a slow speed.

Initially, the countertorpedo boats were simply larger and faster torpedo boats, mounting guns as well as torpedoes. In 1885, the Royal Navy commissioned the *Swift* (renamed *Torpedo Boat No. 81*) of 125 tons and 157 feet. Although somewhat slower than the torpedo boats, its greater beam allowed it to carry more armament: six quick-firing 3-pounders and three torpedo tubes. The *Swift* soon inspired similar types of torpedo boat catchers or torpedo gunboats.

HMS *Havock*, completed in October 1893, was the first modern torpedo boat destroyer. It displaced 275 tons, was 180 feet long, and was capable of nearly 27 knots. It behaved well in a seaway, had good maneuverability, and in the 1894 fleet maneuvers caught two torpedo boats. It also caught and circled around one of the Swift-class torpedo boat "catchers." The *Havock's* sister ship, the *Hornet*, was fitted with a new water-tube boiler and could travel at up to 27.3 knots, which made it the fastest ship in the world. At such speeds, the new torpedo boat destroyers were indeed a match for the torpedo boats. Both the *Havock* and *Hornet* were armed with a 12-pounder and three 6-pounder guns as well as three 18-inch torpedo tubes. During 1893–1895, the Royal Navy ordered some 33 destroyers of this type, all capable of 27 knots and later designated Class A and Class B. They were followed by 43 Class C and Class D destroyers built through 1900, all capable of 30 knots. Each was armed with a 12-pounder gun, five 6-pounders, and two 18-inch torpedo tubes.

High speed and the ability to inflict significant damage were the hallmarks of both the torpedo boat and the torpedo boat destroyer. Each new design registered improvements. The French Navy then followed the British lead. The *Forban* of 1895 achieved 31 knots. This was accomplished with a reciprocating engine; speeds with the turbine engine were higher. Generally speaking, the British led this race, laying down vessels that were both larger and faster than those built by the French.

Larger torpedo boats and torpedo boat destroyers could accompany and provide perimeter protection for the battleships. The first of these light ships were subject to hull strain, excessive vibration, wet conditions, and excessive rolling while at sea. They were thus difficult ships for their crews. Some of this was mitigated in later designs that altered the superstructure and weight displacement.

In 1898, the U.S. Navy had yet to commission a torpedo boat destroyer. Spain, however, possessed six: two *Furor* class (*Furor* and *Terror*) and four improved *Audaz* class (*Audaz*, *Osado*, *Pluton*, and *Prosperpine*). All were built in a British yard during 1896–1897. The first two were 220 feet and displaced 370 tons. The last four were somewhat larger, at 225 feet and 400 tons. Speeds were 28 and

30 knots, respectively. Each was armed with two 14-pounder and two 6-pounder rapid-fire guns, two 1-pounder Maxim guns, and two 14-inch torpedo tubes.

Only three Spanish torpedo boat destroyers saw action in the war. These were the *Furor*, *Terror*, and *Pluton*, all of which were attached to Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's Cape Verde Squadron. Mechanical problems, however, obliged Cervera to leave the *Terror* behind at Martinique when he departed with his squadron for Cuba at the beginning of the war.

Repairs completed, the *Terror* sailed on its own for Puerto Rico. There on June 22, 1898, it sortied from San Juan to engage the blockading U.S. auxiliary cruiser *St. Paul*. Severely damaged by gunfire from the *St. Paul*, the *Terror* was beached. Repaired at San Juan, it returned to Spain in September after the end of the war.

Both the *Furor* and *Pluton* participated in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3, 1898. The last two ships to exit the harbor, they came under heavy attack. The *Furor* was sunk, and the *Pluton* was run ashore and later blew up. The crews of both Spanish torpedo boat destroyers reportedly fought with great valor.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Mines; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Torpedo Boats; Torpedoes, Automotive

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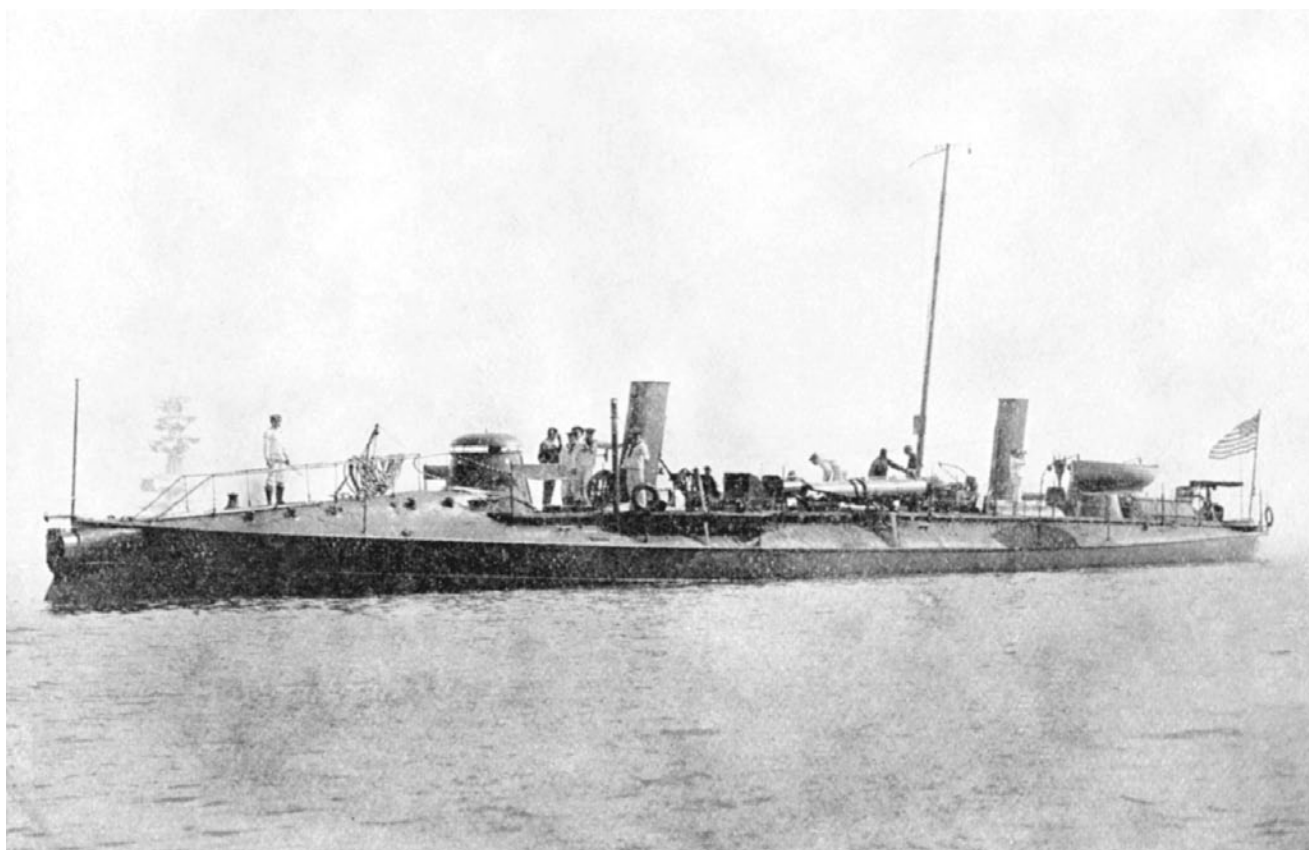
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Torpedo Boats

Small, narrow, lightly built, fast warships designed to operate against an enemy battle fleet. Development of the automotive torpedo beginning in 1865 meant that for the first time in naval history, small vessels could threaten large ships. Successes with the torpedoes led to the development of new warships to deliver them. Such vessels had to be fast and nimble, for they launched their weapons at relatively close range, well within range of an opposing ship's guns. All naval powers built large numbers of torpedo boats. Indeed, the late 19th century was very much the era of the torpedo boat, and some naval strategists believed that it and the torpedo had rendered the battleship obsolete.

The first purpose-built warship to carry the torpedo was the Royal Navy *Lightning* of 1877. Displacing 27 tons, it was 84.5 feet in length. Powered by a 478-horsepower engine, it could make 19 knots and was fitted with a bow-launching tube for a single 14-inch torpedo. At launch, the torpedo boat would be bow-on to its target and present the smallest silhouette to enemy fire. Impressed by the *Lightning's* early performance, in 1878 the Admiralty ordered 19 similar boats.



The first U.S. Navy torpedo boat, the *Cushing*, commissioned in 1890. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

The French were almost first with a torpedo boat. Their *Torpilleur No. 1* was ordered in 1875 but not completed until 1878. By 1880, the French Navy had 30 torpedo boats built and another 30 under construction. France built the largest number of torpedo boats. By 1890, France had 220 torpedo boats, Britain had 186, Russia had 152, Germany had 143, and Italy had 129.

Although all major naval powers constructed torpedo boats, the early vessels never reached their potential. An essentially offensive weapon was being carried by what amounted to small coastal defensive craft. The early torpedo boats were sharply limited in their capabilities, and their failure as scouting vessels and their poor performance during maneuvers led to the construction of larger vessels of that type. Torpedo boats were made about 50 percent longer while at the same time preserving their slim, narrow lines. These lengthened craft were technically capable of ocean work, although their crews often did not think that to be the case. Nonetheless, torpedo boats came to be regarded as a serious threat to blockading ships.

The initial French torpedo boats were 114.9 feet long and weighed 58 tons, but the failure of such boats led the navy to decide not to build any smaller than 80 tons, even for coastal defense. In 1889, France also decided to build larger boats of about 125 tons each to accompany a squadron at sea. All boats built after 1890 fell into those two categories. In 1892–1893, the French successfully

tried out No. 147, an 80-ton boat that made 24 knots. In 1895, their 136-ton 144.4-foot *Forban* achieved 31 knots, setting a world record.

The first U.S. Navy torpedo boat was the *Cushing* (TB-1), commissioned in 1890. It was 116 feet in length. By the time of the war with Spain in 1898, the U.S. Navy operated 10 torpedo boats. In addition to the *Cushing*, the others, all launched during 1896–1898, were the *Ericsson*, *Foote*, *Rodgers*, *Winslow*, *Porter*, *Du Pont*, *Talbot*, *Gwin*, and *McKee*. During the war, all served in the Atlantic, and many of them saw service off Cuba at some point in the conflict, although primarily in dispatch and scouting roles. The *Winslow* sustained some damage in the engagement at Cárdenas, Cuba, on May 11, 1898, and the *Ericsson* participated in the July 3, 1898, Battle of Santiago de Cuba. In 1898, the Spanish Navy operated 19 torpedo craft of all types but did not send any of them to Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the Philippines for fear of leaving Spain itself unprotected.

Navies partially countered the threat posed by torpedo boats by the development of quick-firing Nordenfelt and Gatling machine guns, which now became part of the standard armament of even the largest warships. At night they were used in conjunction with the newly developed searchlight. In a close action with other ships, quick-firing guns might be used to fire at the gunports of an opposing vessel and to repel boarders. Finally, the world's

navies developed a new warship type, known first as the torpedo boat destroyer and later as the destroyer.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Mines; Torpedo Boat Destroyers; Torpedoes, Automotive

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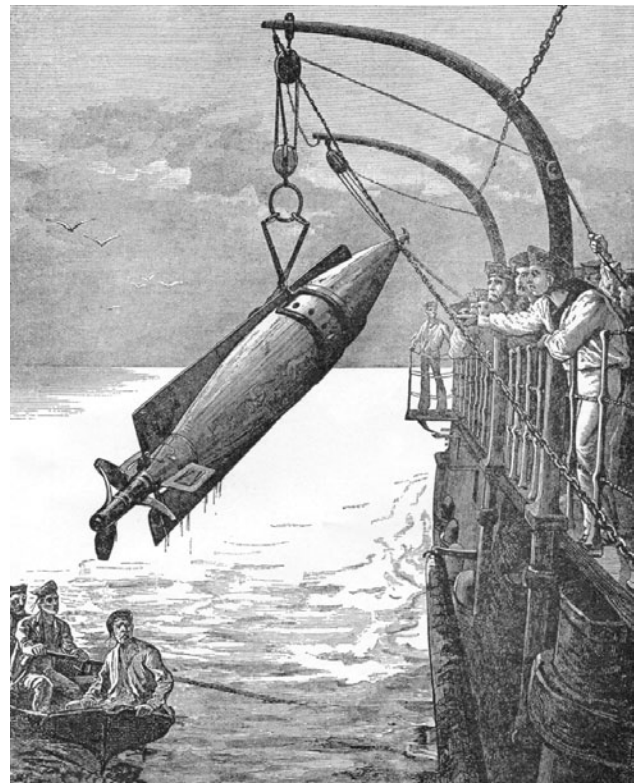
Torpedoes, Automotive

A self-propelled explosive projectile weapon, launched either above or below the water's surface and designed to explode on or near a target. The word "torpedo" was first used to describe stationary mines and comes from the torpedo, a genus of electric ray that stuns its prey.

The demonstrated success of stationary mines in the Crimean War (1853–1856) and especially in the American Civil War (1861–1865) led to efforts to develop a propelled mine. The first modern automotive mine or torpedo was developed by Captain Giovanni Luppis of the Austrian Navy in 1865. It was perfected two years later by Scottish engineer Robert Whitehead, who managed an engine works in Fiume. The Luppis-Whitehead torpedo was a long cylinder-shaped weapon, streamlined for movement through the water. Armed with an 18-pound dynamite warhead, it was powered by an engine that ran on compressed air and propelled the torpedo just below the surface of the water at a speed of 6–8 knots. It had an effective range of only several hundred yards. The torpedo's secret was a balance chamber that enabled it to remain at a constant depth beneath the surface.

Whitehead traveled to Britain to demonstrate the new weapon. In September–October 1870 trials, the Admiralty was sufficiently impressed with some 1,000 test firings that it purchased rights to his invention for £15,000. In 1872, Whitehead opened a torpedo factory in England. The British concentrated on a 16-inch, 1,000-yard-range version driven by contra-rotating screws at a speed of 7 knots, or 300 yards at 12 knots. The Whitehead torpedo came to be called the "Devil's device." The British first employed the new torpedo in combat in 1877 when the Royal Navy armored frigate *Shah* attacked the Peruvian monitor *Huascar*. The *Shah* launched its torpedo within 600 yards, but the *Huascar* easily avoided it and escaped.

The torpedo meant that for the first time in naval history, small vessels could threaten large ships. This was very much the age of the torpedo boat, and there was even talk in the 1880s that the battleship was obsolete. Such vessels had to be fast and nimble, for they launched their weapons well within range of the opposing ship's guns. All major naval powers built large numbers of small, fast torpedo boats.



Engraving of sailors hoisting a torpedo on board a warship during the Spanish-American War. (James Rankin Young and J. Hampton Moore, *History of Our War with Spain*, 1898)

Whitehead made other improvements in his torpedo, further streamlining it and fitting it with fins to stabilize its movement toward the target. He also increased the explosive charge threefold by replacing gunpowder with guncotton. A three-cylinder gas-powered engine developed by Brotherhood improved torpedo speed to 18 knots, making it more difficult for a targeted vessel to escape. The addition of a gyroscope, adapted for torpedo use by the Austrian Ludwig Obry, was an important advance that made the torpedo more accurate. Range also increased, so that by 1877 torpedoes could reach 800 yards.

The first successful torpedo attack occurred during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878. On January 26, 1878, off Batum on the Black Sea, the Russian torpedo boat *Constantine* fired two torpedoes at a range of some 80 yards to sink the Turkish patrol boat *Intikbah* in Batum Harbor.

Torpedoes had a more spectacular result in 1884 during the Indo-China Black Flag/Tonkin Wars (1882–1885) when France conducted naval operations against China. On August 23, 1884, two small French torpedo craft, motorboats Nos. 45 and 46, torpedoed and sank the Chinese flagship and damaged a second Chinese warship at the Fuzhou (Foo Chow) naval base on the Minh River.

By the start of the Spanish-American War in April 1898, the Spanish Navy operated as many as 19 torpedo craft of all types, and the U.S. Navy had 10 torpedo boats. During the war, Spain did not

send any of its torpedo boats to Cuba, Puerto Rico, or the Philippines, choosing instead to keep them in Spanish waters for home defense. Only 5 of the U.S. torpedo boats saw action. One, the *Ericsson*, participated in the July 3, 1898, Battle of Santiago de Cuba.

Torpedoes became standard armament on all classes of warships. Indeed, all Royal Navy ships launched after 1872 carried them, and in 1876 the Royal Navy established a Torpedo School aboard HMS *Vernon*. Improvements continued to be registered after the war in the range, accuracy, and lethality of torpedoes. With the parallel development of the modern submarine, a unique combination in warfare came into being that would achieve devastating results in both world wars.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Mines; Torpedo Boat Destroyers; Torpedo Boats; Warships

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See Paris, Treaty of

Trocha

A defensive line system employed by the Spanish in their efforts to defeat the insurgents in Cuba. It was used in Cuba during the Ten Years' War (1868–1878) and then again during the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898). The first trocha was built to contain the anti-Spanish insurrection to the two most eastern provinces of the island. Beginning in 1895, trochas were also utilized to separate Cuban revolutionaries and insurrectionists from the general civilian population. The Spanish word *trocha* means “trench,” but the trochas employed in Cuba were far more than mere trenches. The first trocha was about 200 yards wide and featured fortified blockhouses located approximately every half mile along the line. Most trochas had a row of trees lining both sides. Between the blockhouses were stout barbed-wire fencing and smaller fortified redoubts. Where rebels were most likely to attack, the Spanish rigged

the trocha with small explosives designed to go off when individuals tried to breach the line.

As originally constructed, the principal Spanish trocha bifurcated Cuba from north to south and ran for about 50 miles. It began at Morón on the northern coast of Cuba and ended at Jucaro on the southern coast. Running roughly parallel to it was an already-existing railroad track. In 1895, when Spanish general Arsenio Martínez de Campos arrived in Cuba to contain the latest rebellion, he once again employed the trocha, ordering it additionally fortified. However, he was unable to quell the insurrection, so Madrid dispatched General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau to the island in February 1896. Weyler ordered a new line constructed from Mariel to Majana as a means to confine the Cuban insurgents to the western part of the island. Manned by some 14,000 men, it incorporated both electric lights and artillery and proved reasonably effective. He also used the trochas as part of his infamous *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) policy, whereby he rounded up civilians and placed them in concentration centers in an attempt to keep them separated from the rebels. The defensive line was also, at least in theory, supposed to prevent the rebels from moving about the island freely.

During the Ten Years' War, many rebels circumvented the trocha using clever tactics and ploys. During the period of Weyler's command, the trochas were much more effective, and circumvention occurred chiefly by water, as rebels frequently bypassed trochas in small boats at night near the port city of Mariel. Many villages and towns were also surrounded by small trochas, little more than fortified rifle pits to deter rebels from entering the area. Most included a thick stand of barbed-wire fencing.

In the end, the trocha system did little to help the Spanish crush the revolt that began in 1895. Indeed, its presence and its link to Weyler's much-maligned *reconcentrado* policy created more problems for the Spanish as the insurrection endured. Pictures and illustrations in the U.S. press frequently focused on the barbed-wire fencing of the trochas.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cuba; Cuban War of Independence; Martínez de Campos, Arsenio; *Reconcentrado* System; Ten Years' War; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano

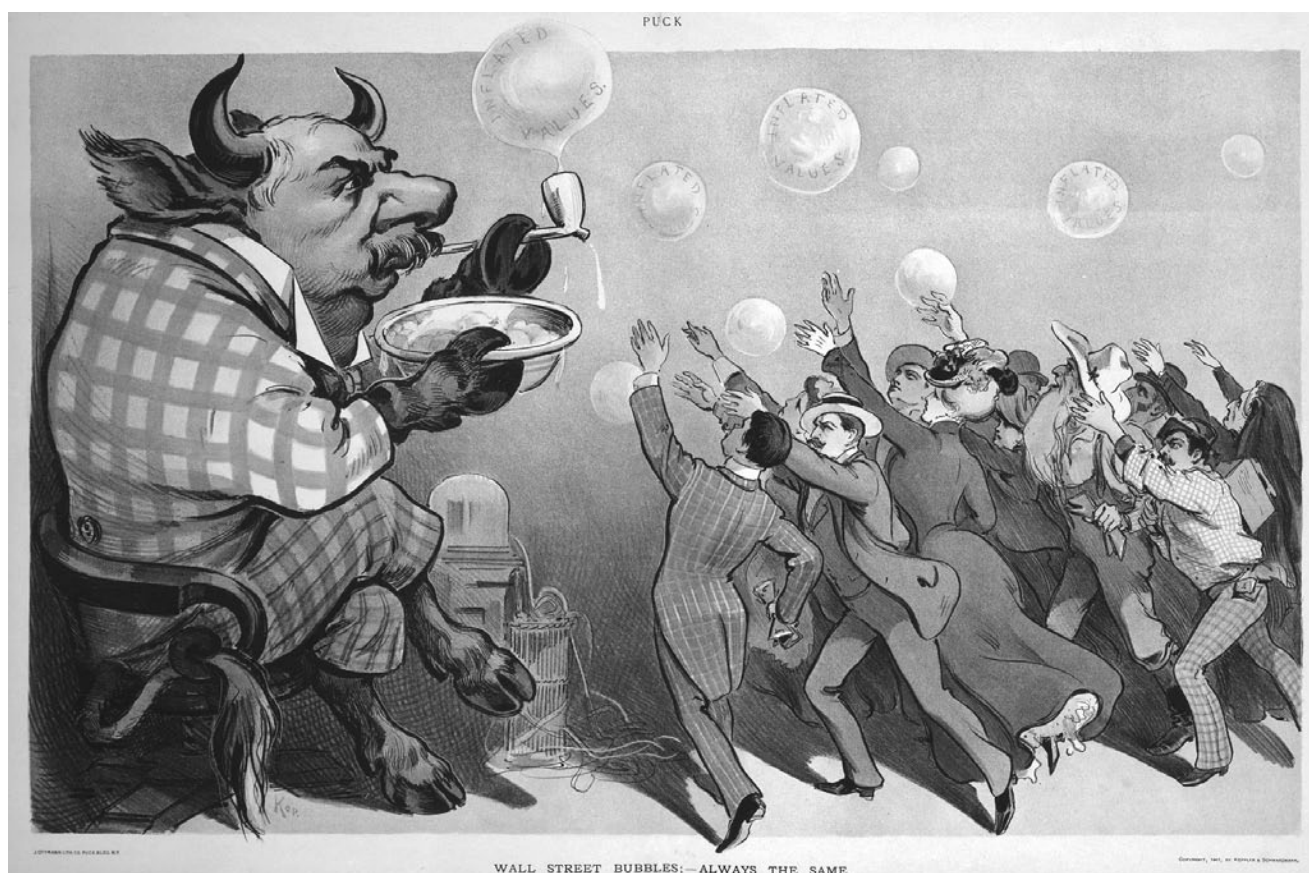
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Trusts

A term that came into use in the late 19th century to describe business and financial arrangements that sought to create a monopoly in a given industry or service sector. Not all trusts of the 1890s were



Caricature from a 1901 issue of *Puck* of the financier J. P. Morgan as a bull blowing bubbles labeled “inflated values” for which people are reaching. Morgan helped to create some of the largest trusts and monopolies, which exercised great control over prices and competition. (Library of Congress)

monopolies, but the public nevertheless equated the two, and the term “trust” thus took on a pejorative meaning. Most trusts were established when a business leader in a given industry either convinced or pressured the heads of other businesses in the same industry to entrust the shares of their company to a single board of trustees, thus giving the board power over all of the businesses. Sometimes the companies involved would receive periodic dividends from their trust shares, but many times the formation of a trust was a legal maneuver to skirt antimonopoly laws. The board of trustees would manage all of the companies involved simultaneously and in so doing would exercise *de facto* control over the entire industry.

Many industrialists of the late 19th century turned to trusts as a way to control competition, fix prices, corner a market, or combine their business empires horizontally. Horizontal combination, which was perhaps best practiced by John D. Rockefeller of Standard Oil, enabled many of the so-called robber barons of the era to grow their businesses by either buying or controlling their competition, thereby creating a monopoly. U.S. Steel, created in 1901 by John Pierpont Morgan and Elbert H. Gary by combining Andrew Carnegie’s steel works with the Federal Steel Company, was another example of a trust. The 1901 merger also resulted in the first U.S. business to be valued at \$1 billion or more. At its zenith, U.S. Steel

controlled almost 68 percent of the nation’s steel production. Rockefeller’s oil empire had captured 88 percent of the nation’s total oil refining capacity by 1890.

Standard Oil was, by most accounts, the best example of a big business trust. Begun in 1870, Rockefeller’s Standard Oil set out to quickly destroy, subdue, or buy much of the competition in the oil refining industry. Operating refineries in many midwestern and northeastern states, Rockefeller was ruthless in his pursuit of monopoly, often resorting to price wars and other questionable practices to gain the upper hand. As with most companies that were large enough to form trusts, Standard Oil was a vertically integrated company as well, meaning that it controlled almost all aspects of production, distribution, and sales. Indeed, Rockefeller owned his own rail lines, railcars, steamships, etc. In so doing, he made it virtually impossible for a smaller company that did not have such resources to compete.

Soon, however, a number of states in which Standard Oil was operating began to pass laws that attempted to limit the size and scope of industries to stave off monopoly. In reaction to this pressure, Rockefeller and his managers created what is usually conceded to be the first true trust in 1882 by combining all their companies under the direction of a single board of trustees. Not surprisingly, other companies in other industries began to emulate

Rockefeller's trust. Before long, however, both state governments and the federal government sought ways to break the big business trusts and deter their formation. In 1892, for instance, the State of Ohio brought suit against Standard Oil on the grounds that it had created an illegal monopoly. Undeterred, Standard Oil created a holding company—a legal loophole around antitrust laws—that established a hybrid of a trust, named Standard Oil Company of New Jersey.

Ultimately, the U.S. Justice Department sued Standard Oil of New Jersey using the 1890 Sherman Antitrust Act, alleging that its holding company was a violation of federal law. In 1911, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on the issue and found that the company had engaged in illegal combination. This forced the mighty corporation to break itself into 34 different companies, each controlled by its own autonomous board of directors.

In 1898, President William McKinley, under pressure from the public and Congress to rein in big business, convened the Industrial Commission. The Industrial Commission was tasked with investigating industry combination, holding companies, trusts, and railroad pricing guidelines, among other things. The commission issued periodic reports to the president and Congress and was operational until 1902. When Theodore Roosevelt became president upon McKinley's assassination in 1901, he used the findings of the Industrial Commission to begin a new push toward business regulation and trust busting, including the dissolution of Morgan's Northern Securities Company.

In 1890s' America, the public—egged on by the sensationalist journalism of the day—seemed at once fascinated and revolted by big business trusts. Many Americans admired, albeit grudgingly, the stratospheric successes of Rockefeller, Carnegie, Morgan, and other business tycoons. At the same time, however, they were alarmed at the unbridled growth and power of their empires and were especially leery of anything that smacked of monopoly. Anti-monopoly sentiments have a long history in the United States, and while Americans do not seem to mind large businesses that are vertically integrated, they do view warily those that seek to snuff out competition. Perhaps as an extension of the American pioneering spirit and a long-held belief in healthy economic competition, Americans tend to view any institution that is big and too powerful—be it the government or a private corporation—with great suspicion.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Carnegie, Andrew; McKinley, William; Morgan, John Pierpont, Sr.; Progressivism; Robber Barons; Rockefeller, John Davison; Roosevelt, Theodore

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Turbine Propulsion

Turbine propulsion is the most efficient use of steam power to propel ships at sea. American Robert Fulton's *Clermont* of 1807 was the world's first steam-powered ship to prove an economic success. It was followed by other steam-powered vessels, but the new technology was plagued by breakdowns. Steam vessels initially used paddlewheels at the rear or side, but these were inefficient. When these were replaced by screw propellers below the waterline, ocean-going ships powered only by steam and sail became a reality.

The first steam engines were inefficient. At first, the steam drove only one piston. The compound engine introduced in 1854 had the advantage of multiple pistons driving a single crankshaft. Advances in metallurgy permitted boilers that could handle higher steam pressures. Other innovations such as condensers and double-expansion engines extended engine lifetime and conserved fuel. Steam engines grew larger and reached the limit of their capabilities by the 1890s.

In the 1890s, Sir Charles Algernon Parsons achieved a significant breakthrough in steam power propulsion. Parsons had always been fascinated by technology and had invented an epicycloidal engine during the 1870s. He became a junior partner in the firm of Clarke, Chapman and Parsons, heading its electrical department. One of Parsons's projects was the development of a small steam-driven electric lighting unit. He decided to use a steam-driven axial-flow turbine that rotated up to 40,000 revolutions per minute (rpm) to drive a DC generator at 18,000 rpm. He took out patents on both pieces of equipment on April 23, 1884. In 1888, he dissolved his partnership with Clarke, Chapman and Parsons and formed his own engineering firm. He bought back his original patent from his former firm and began his experiments with using a steam turbine as a means of maritime propulsion.

Parsons's turbine used a jet of high-pressure steam directed against blades set at an angle in a drum connected to a propeller shaft. Compared to a reciprocating steam engine, a turbine was simple and had a very favorable power-to-weight ratio. Fewer moving parts made the turbine less likely to break down, but the high speeds at which the turbine turned required a very high degree of precision in all its components.

After experimenting with 2-foot and 6-foot models, Parsons installed steam turbine engines in the *Turbina*, a yacht he built in 1894. The 103-foot *Turbina* was intended to demonstrate the advantage of turbine propulsion to potential customers. Between 1894 and 1897, the yacht was fitted with a number of different steam turbines. The first trials were disappointing, as the *Turbina* could not make more than about 20 knots, comparable to that reached by ships with reciprocating engines. The problem was with cavitation

(the creation of voids in the fluid around the propeller), which was little understood at the time. Cavitation prevented the propellers from pushing *Turbina* through the water as rapidly as possible. Parsons studied the problem and ways of making his turbine system more efficient. He redesigned the propellers and shafts, and he installed a three-stage axial steam turbine engine. Three shafts each drove a propeller.

Parsons unveiled the results of his experiments on June 26, 1897, during the British Naval Review at Spithead. The *Turbina* was among the ships passing in review, with Parsons at the wheel. He suddenly rang for full speed and pulled out of line. As thousands watched, the *Turbina* sped down the review line, reaching a speed of 34.5 knots. Guard boats sent to stop the ship were unable to catch it.

Parsons's stunt gained him fame as an engineer and also spurred international interest in turbine propulsion. The Admiralty forgave the embarrassment caused and placed an order for the *Viper* in 1898. Torpedo boats had been built for years, but this ship was a qualitative leap forward. The *Viper* was small and fast and, powered by Parsons's turbines, became the prototype torpedo boat destroyer. Armed with several light guns and torpedoes, the fast turbine-powered destroyer could shield its own battleships from torpedo boats and yet deliver a devastating attack on an opposing enemy battle line. Other countries quickly followed. The first U.S. turbine-propelled destroyer was the *Bainbridge*, laid down in 1899.

Turbines were soon installed in larger ships as well. The first battleship to use turbines was the revolutionary British *Dreadnought*, laid down in 1905. Builders adopted turbines for other ships, including merchant vessels. Turbines were lighter and smaller than the reciprocating steam engines used previously and were also simpler and less prone to breakdowns. The increased speed and efficiency of turbine propulsion outweighed the additional costs.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Torpedo Boat Destroyers

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Turner, Frederick Jackson

Birth Date: November 14, 1861

Death Date: March 14, 1932

Eminent U.S. historian and writer whose provocative essay “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” (1893) opened



U.S. historian Frederick Jackson Turner's provocative essay “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” of 1893 opened a new period in interpretation of American history and, some say, helped justify U.S. imperialism. (Library of Congress)

up a new period in the interpretation of American history and, some argue, helped justify U.S. overseas expansionism in the 1890s. Frederick Jackson Turner was born on November 14, 1861, in Portage, Wisconsin, and grew up in a family that stressed learning and culture. Educated at local schools, he earned both his bachelor's degree (1884) and master's degree (1888) at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. He received his PhD from Johns Hopkins University, where he studied under Herbert Baxter Adams. Adams was one of a group of American historians who applied social Darwinism to the study of history. Turner retained the evolutionary thrust of Adams's thinking while significantly modifying it.

In 1893, as a young professor at the University of Wisconsin, Turner presented his famous paper “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” at a meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago. In Turner's view, American democracy had begun in American rather than German forests, as his mentor Adams had postulated. American history, Turner maintained, was to a great extent the history of the conquest of the West, the relentless move westward that had begun when the first English colonists

arrived in the New World at the beginning of the 17th century. The availability of free land had drawn settlers farther and farther westward, and as each successive wave of immigrants struggled with the primitive conditions of the frontier, they were transformed by the experience. Thus, if America's national character was to be identified, it was to be found in the individual and shared experiences of the western pioneers. This meant, Turner claimed, that Americans were continually moving away from their European roots and instead moving toward a unique and independent American mind-set. To ignore this powerful movement would be to ignore the very basis of American history.

Turner believed that the frontier had molded the American character. From it stemmed the Americans' toughness, resourcefulness, resiliency, and individualism as well as American democracy itself. He also believed that the frontier had served as a kind of safety valve for Americans, allowing upward mobility and the promise of new opportunities. "So long as free land exists," he wrote, "the opportunity for a competency exists, and economic power secures political power." Turner did not, however, analyze how this westward-looking pioneering spirit affected Native Americans, whose populations were decimated during Anglo America's love affair with Manifest Destiny.

Yet citing a recent bulletin from the superintendent of the census, as of 1893 the western frontier was officially gone, Turner noted. He therefore fretted what the future held in store for Americans without a western frontier, but he hoped that because of their frontier heritage and ingenuity, Americans would avoid many of the social ills that had beset Europeans.

More recent historians have pointed to Turner's so-called Frontier Thesis to argue that while he had announced the end of the frontier, many Americans were looking toward new frontiers to conquer. They included industrialism and economic expansion, inventions and technology, and overseas expansion. While it is not possible to conclude that Turner's thesis prodded America into the Spanish-American War and extraterritorial expansion, it certainly is an instructive way of looking at U.S. expansionism, which Turner might have argued has been part of its character from the very beginning.

Turner's essay catapulted him to instant celebrity. By focusing on an area that until then had been neglected, he brought about a major shift in the interpretation of American history. While previous American historians had concentrated on the nation's European origins, Turner was the first to look for what was unique about the American experience. He was also among the first to apply interdisciplinary techniques and scientific techniques to the study of history in the seminars he taught at the University of Wisconsin.

Turner's dedication to teaching combined with the painstaking process by which he gathered and verified facts meant that his output was relatively slight. In 1906, he published *The Rise of the New West*, covering the period from 1819 to 1829. One other book, a collection of essays titled *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (1920), appeared during Turner's lifetime. Two additional

books were published posthumously: *The Significance of Sections in American History* (1932), which was awarded a Pulitzer Prize, and *The United States, 1830–1850* (1935).

Turner remained at the University of Wisconsin until 1910, when he became a professor at Harvard University. From 1909 to 1910, he served as president of the American Historical Association and from 1910 to 1915 was on the board of the *American Historical Review*. Upon his retirement from Harvard in 1924, he worked as a research associate at the Huntington Library in Pasadena, California. There, he devoted himself to an analysis of such problems as the depletion of natural resources, population explosions, and the prospect of another world war more terrible than the first. Turner died in San Marino, California, on March 14, 1932.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Imperialism; Manifest Destiny

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Twain, Mark

Birth Date: November 30, 1835

Death Date: April 21, 1910

Iconic American writer, journalist, humorist, social critic, prominent anti-imperialist, and author of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884), a book that many critics consider to be the first truly American novel. Mark Twain was the pseudonym adopted by Samuel Langhorne Clemens at the age of 27. The name derives from a phrase called out on Mississippi riverboats to denote that a channel was two fathoms deep and thus safe for travel. Born on November 30, 1835, in Florida, Missouri, Twain grew up in the small town of Hannibal on the west bank of the Mississippi River. His father, an inveterate dreamer with notions of finding his fortune on the frontier, had wandered west from Virginia. John Marshall Clemens died when his son was just 12, and Twain was apprenticed to a local printer. At age 18 he began selling humorous sketches to newspapers, and at age 21, he began to pursue his childhood dream of becoming a riverboat pilot.

The American Civil War (1861–1865) shut down riverboat service on the Mississippi, and Twain enlisted briefly as a Confederate soldier. He deserted after three weeks, however, and traveled west with his brother Orion Clemens, an abolitionist who had been appointed by President Abraham Lincoln to serve as secretary to the governor of the Nevada Territory. Twain worked briefly for his brother and even tried his hand at mining for gold before taking up



American novelist and humorist Mark Twain (born Samuel Clemens) is best remembered as the author of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. (Library of Congress)

a succession of reporting jobs, first at the Virginia City, Nevada, *Territorial Enterprise*, where in 1863 he first used the name Mark Twain on a story, and later at the San Francisco *Morning Call*.

Twain's first real success as a writer came with the publication of "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County" in the New York *Saturday Press* in 1865. A folktale current among the miners he knew, the story concerned a bet by Jim Smiley that his frog, Dan'l Webster, could outjump a frog picked by a stranger, a bet that the stranger wins by loading Dan'l Webster with buckshot while Smiley's back is turned. Twain made the tale the title story for his first book, published in 1867.

In 1866, Twain made his debut as a humorous travel writer with a trip to Hawaii for the Sacramento, California, *Union*. The following year, he signed on for a voyage on the steamship *Quaker City* to Europe and the Holy Land. His dispatches for the San Francisco *Alta California* were later rewritten and published as *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), the book that won him an international reputation and made his fortune. Twain's lengthy, energetic parody of the life of the traveler and his irreverence toward the hallowed landmarks of European culture endeared him to American readers, who wished both to be traveling and to feel a sense of their own worth and identity on the international scene. For their part, Europeans

loved Twain's portrayal of Americans and his subtle wit and ribald humor.

In 1870, Twain married Olivia Langdon of Elmira, New York, the daughter of a millionaire who had made his fortune in the coal industry. Twain soon began sharing the drafts of his work with his wife; her role as a censor attuned to the sensibilities of the book-buying classes has been questioned by some critics, although others insist that it has been overstated. The couple settled first in Buffalo, New York, where Twain set himself up as the editor of a local paper, and then in Hartford, Connecticut, where he built an elaborate mansion that drew comparison to a riverboat.

Twain wrote a series of books in quick succession, including *Roughing It* (1872), an account of his adventures in California and Hawaii; *The Gilded Age* (1873), a wonderfully satiric novel of the hectic post-American Civil War big business boom coauthored with Charles Dudley Warner; and *The Prince and the Pauper* (1882), a novel set in Tudor England about two boys who change places in the days before one of them is to be crowned King Edward VI.

During this period, Twain also wrote the three books for which he is most remembered, all of which hearken back to his boyhood in Hannibal, Missouri. *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876) concerns a mischievous boy and his experiences growing up in St. Petersburg, Missouri, a little town based on Hannibal. The novel recounts Tom's clever pranks on his schoolmates; his wearying effect on his proper Aunt Polly; his infatuation with his first sweetheart, Becky Thatcher; and his misadventures with Huck Finn, with whom Tom both witnesses a murder and eventually finds hidden treasure. *Life on the Mississippi* (1883) is an autobiographical reminiscence of Twain's years training to become a riverboat pilot mingled with an account of his month-long travels along the river as he researched the book.

Twain's acknowledged masterpiece is *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. In this rambling tale, Huck escapes from his father, a violent drunkard who has kidnapped him to gain control of Huck's share of the treasure found at the conclusion of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. Huck teams up with Jim, an escaped slave, and the two head downriver on a raft. The raft becomes a sort of pastoral ideal in which the two find companionship and freedom outside the strictures and racial divisions of Southern society. Their utopian world, however, is invaded by a pair of traveling con men, and the adventure reaches a climax when one of the pair sells Jim into slavery behind Huck's back. Tom Sawyer concocts an elaborate plot to rescue Jim that fails and then reveals that Jim had been freed under the terms of the will of his first owner. At the end of the novel, Huck announces his intention to depart civilization despite his now secure claim to the treasure.

While the novel's apparent moral ambiguity has stirred debate, critics agree that the story remains true to Huck as a character and that Twain's achievement in narrating the tale in Huck's voice was to fully define for the first time an American literary vernacular.

When *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* was published, Twain was at the peak of his literary career, but his fortunes reversed soon

thereafter. He had invested heavily in the prototype of a new type-setting machine, but its inventor, James Paige, never completed it. Twain wrote furiously in an attempt to stave off bankruptcy, but the project soaked up all the profits from such books as *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889), *Tom Sawyer Abroad* (1894), and *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894). Twain was thus forced into bankruptcy, although fortunately he managed to transfer his copyrights to his wife and thus protected his most valuable assets.

Determined to pay off his debts, Twain began a lecture tour around the world. The death of his daughter Susy of meningitis during his absence depressed him greatly. He continued writing but mostly in fragments. *Following the Equator* (1897) is a record of his tour, and publishing it successfully paid off his debts. This emotional turmoil was compounded by the death of his wife in 1904.

In June 1898, Twain became a prominent member of the Anti-Imperialist League, which served as an outspoken voice against American expansionism both before and after the Spanish-American War. The chief creative works of Twain's twilight years were his short stories and his autobiography, dictated to his secretary, Albert Bigelow Paine, and published posthumously in 1924. Twain died in Redding, Connecticut, on April 21, 1910.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Anti-Imperialist League; Expansionism; Imperialism

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Typewriter

Device used to print letters, forms, orders, etc. in a standardized manner using a standardized font. The typewriter virtually eliminated the need for hand-written documents. The first commercially successful typewriter was invented by Christopher Latham Sholes, Carlos Gliddon, and Samuel W. Soule in 1867 and patented on June 23, 1868. Sholes was encouraged to continue to refine the typewriter over the next five years.

The patent was then sold to George Washington Newton Yost and James Densmore. They introduced the typewriter to Eliphalet Remington, a gunmaker, who had the precision machinery and capacity to mass produce it. The first typewriter, known as the Sholes-Gliddon-Soule Typewriter, was produced on March 1, 1873 in Ilion, New York and had a list price of \$125, then a considerable sum. Sholes and Densmore ultimately sold their interest in the typewriter to Remington, who a year later also sold the typewriter business, which became Remington Rand.

The QWERTY keyboard, based on the first row of letters, produced only capital letters, the numbers 2–9, and 10 special characters using two to four fingers and was designed to reduce jamming, having no scientific basis such as the frequency of the letter or ergonomics. The Remington 2, introduced in 1878, included Byron A. Brooks's improvements such as uppercase and lowercase letters on each bar and additional special characters, produced by using the shift key and bringing the total to 78 characters. Although keyboard training was at first provided for free to increase sales, the 10-finger method of keyboarding was not conceived until 1882 and did not become widely adopted until 1888. Other inventors attempted to introduce alternative keyboards designs, but the QWERTY keyboard had already gained widespread acceptance, and typing speed was an important measure in hiring secretaries and clerks.

The intended users of the typewriter were authors, clergy, and telegraph operators; instead, the profession of the typist, or typewriter as they were called in the early days, emerged and was filled largely by women. The position of typist augmented the all-male office staff of secretary, stenographer, copyists, file clerk, and office boys while providing women with an opportunity to work outside the home in a respectable field of commerce. When men did fill the role of typist, however, they made more than their female counterparts. Some women served as public typists, offering their services to traveling businessmen while retaining mobile employment, but the majority of women settled into commercial firms.

Although not originally intended for journalists, the well-worn typewriter did become a status symbol within that profession. Some reporters during the Spanish-American War used a typewriter while on assignment. Mark Twain (Samuel Langhorne Clemens) quickly became enamored with the typewriter in 1876 but lost interest and refused to have his name associated with the machine. He would, however, produce the first typewritten book manuscript. Other communications professionals, such as telegraphers, also abandoned handwritten telegrams by the end of the 19th century in favor of those that had been typed.

Over the course of a quarter of a century, the Remington brand and design all but cornered the typewriter market, thereby setting the standard for design and technique. Its shortcomings, however, would eventually allow the Underwood typewriter, invented in 1898 by Franz X. Wagner, to introduce a front-stroke, full keyboard, visible type design that allowed the typist to see what he or she was writing. These improvements endured, and all competitors followed suit as the Underwood design remained static throughout the 20th century.

The typewriter had immense military applications. In addition to aiding in telegraph and telegram transmission, the typewriter allowed orders to be written in clear, standardized text, thereby eliminating the potential of miscommunication because of handwriting peculiarities. By the 1890s, carbon paper had also become widely used, and in this way military clerks and typists could make copies of official orders and documents simply by inserting carbon paper and extra blank sheets into the typewriter. The military was fairly

quick to adopt the new machine because of its efficiency and uniformity. By 1898, the typewriter was used widely in offices and even in the field. Some historians have pointed to the invention and usage of the typewriter as a means by which American society became more impersonalized, a process that began in the 19th century and accelerated rapidly in the 20th and 21st centuries.

MARCEL A. DEROSIER

See also

Journalism; Telephone and Telegraph; Twain, Mark

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Typhoid Board

Commission created by Surgeon General George Sternberg on August 18, 1898, to investigate the typhoid epidemic ravaging military training camps and recommend sanitary measures to alleviate the crisis. The commission comprised Major Walter Reed of the Army Medical Corps and Majors Victor C. Vaughan and Edward O. Shakespeare, both surgeons in the U.S. Volunteers.

The Department of the Army and the American public had been shocked at the morbidity and mortality from fevers in training camps late in the summer of 1898. Losses from febrile disease were greater even than those in the first year of the American Civil War, even though the fact that typhoid was bacterial in origin and that the exact organism responsible for the disease had recently become known.

Reed had been professor of bacteriology and clinical microscopy at the Army Medical School and was a recognized authority on typhoid. Shakespeare had studied the 1885 typhoid epidemic in Plymouth, Pennsylvania, and Vaughan was the founder of formal bacteriologic training in the United States. Between August 20 and September 30, 1898, the three visited every major military training camp in the United States and all of the secondary camps to which men had been moved to escape the disease. They then personally reviewed the sick reports of 107,973 officers and men who had become ill prior to leaving the United States. By the time the work was finished in June of 1900, Shakespeare had died, and Reed had been transferred to Havana, where he was in charge of the Yellow Fever Board.

Although Reed wrote a major essay on the subject, completion of the two-volume *Report on the Origin and Spread of Typhoid Fever in U.S. Military Camps during the Spanish War of 1898* was left to Vaughan. By the time the final report—which remains the most complete study of epidemic typhoid—was published in 1904, Reed had also died, the victim of peritonitis caused by a ruptured appendix.

The Typhoid Board suspected that the disease could be transmitted by asymptomatic carriers, although this would not be definitively demonstrated until 1907. They believed that the disease was transmitted by contaminated water and suspected (incorrectly) that flies played a major role in that spread. They decried the common diagnosis of typho-malarial fever since the serological Widal test could identify typhoid with certainty and since microscopic examination of the blood could do the same for malaria. The board insisted that every camp have a laboratory capable of making the differentiation. They also placed the blame for the epidemic squarely at the feet of line officers who refused to follow the sanitary recommendations of their medical officers.

JACK MCCALLUM

See also

Medicine, Military; Reed, Walter; Sternberg, George Miller; Typhoid Fever

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Typhoid Fever

An enteric fever caused by *Salmonella typhi* (formerly *Bacillus typhosus*). The disease is characterized by fever, headache, abdominal pain, diarrhea, and a rose-colored rash sometimes followed by delirium, vascular collapse, and death. There are still 21 million cases of typhoid and 200,000 deaths each year, mostly in developing countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Typhoid was one of the earliest diseases shown to be caused by a specific microorganism, having been cultured by Georg Gaff in 1884 only two years after his mentor Robert Koch elucidated his four postulates for proving infectious causation of an illness. In 1896, Felix Widal demonstrated that serum from a typhoid patient would cause clumping in broth cultures of the causative organism, giving physicians a reliable way to differentiate typhoid from other febrile illnesses. By the beginning of the Spanish-American War, military physicians had access to enough information about the disease that they should have been able to diagnose it accurately and should probably have been able to deploy effective means of prevention. They did neither, and typhoid was by far the major cause of death during the war.

The majority of typhoid cases occurred in training camps among volunteers who never left the United States and was the direct result of abysmal sanitation practices. Sixty thousand men—the number assigned to the I and III Corps at Camp George H. Thomas in Chickamauga Park, Georgia—produce 21,000 gallons of urine and 9.4 tons of feces a day. The dense clay around Camp Thomas could not begin to absorb that volume of waste. The sinks (latrines) quickly overflowed and emanated a nauseating stink. In addition, many of the recruits had come from cities and had no experience with outdoor sanitation. They deposited their waste directly on open ground and



Hospital camp for military victims of typhoid fever in Minnesota, 1898. (Minnesota Historical Society/Corbis)

ignored pleas from medical officers to bury it. A person could not walk anywhere in the surrounding woods without tramping through piles of feces. With the arrival of heavy rains in July and August, the mess spread and was washed into streams that supplied the camp's water.

Camp Alger in Virginia had most of the same problems and, by early September 1898, the entire camp had to be abandoned and the men moved to Camp Meade in Pennsylvania. Camp Cuba Libre in Jacksonville had better soil but no better sanitation and a high water table, and it ultimately had to be abandoned as well.

Because typhoid was endemic in the late 19th-century United States, because the disease can reside in asymptomatic carriers, and because the War Department had opted to congregate its new volunteer regiments in a few camps, an outbreak was virtually inevitable. Typhoid in the camps was not a problem as long as the inhabitants had been members of the regular army, but the story changed when the volunteers came. Within three weeks of their arrival, 82 percent of the volunteer regiments had typhoid, and that number reached 90 percent after eight weeks. Every regiment of the I, II, III, IV, V, and VII Corps eventually had typhoid—a total

of 20,738 cases, of whom 1,590 died (a 7.7 percent mortality rate). In retrospect, 86.8 percent of all deaths from disease during the Spanish-American War were probably from typhoid.

Responsibility for those deaths lies with both line officers and the medical corps. The regimental surgeons had no operational authority outside direct treatment of the sick and wounded. To the extent that they made recommendations on camp sanitation, those suggestions were generally ignored by officers who had little interest in and less understanding of infectious disease. The line officers almost universally viewed sanitary measures as a waste of time. The physicians, however, also contributed to the problem. Because many of them were ancillary to the volunteer regiments, their training and ability were far from uniform. Many had only a sketchy idea of how infectious diseases were transmitted, and a number were still unable to differentiate among various febrile illnesses, with the most obvious result being the widespread use of the diagnosis typho-malarial fever even though William Osler had discredited that diagnosis in 1896 and laboratory tests were readily available to separate the two. Thermometers had been available in the United States since 1866, but many physicians continued to diagnose fever

by feeling the patient and had yet to make the connection between febrile illness and body temperature, much less the connection between the amount of temperature elevation and the severity of the disease and the risk of death.

Even the best of physicians in 1898 did not fully understand that typhoid was generally transmitted by contaminating food and water with infected feces. The least educated thought that the disease was transmitted by bad air. The better educated thought that it was primarily waterborne. Even the postwar Typhoid Board persisted in the belief that flies were the main culprit. In fact, most disease came from camp kitchens but not—as line officers and men suspected—from deteriorated food. The disease really came from cooks who failed to wash their hands, and it would be almost a decade before physicians learned that asymptomatic carriers were a primary source of typhoid epidemics.

If diagnosis was bad, treatment was nearly nonexistent. Calomel, strychnine, alcohol, and sedatives were all tried, but none were actually of any use. It was somewhat helpful to treat the fever since the rate of death approached 100 percent in those whose temperature surpassed 107 degrees. Aspirin and cold baths were used to that end but had minimal impact on overall mortality. Fortunately, the disease ran its course as the camps emptied. The incidence peaked in September and was virtually gone by December.

Distress over the unnecessary loss of life was, however, not gone by the end of 1898. Surgeon General George Sternberg had created a special commission—the Typhoid Board chaired by Major Walter Reed—in August 1898. The board personally inspected the camps and reviewed records of those who had suffered from the disease. Its work culminated in a two-volume report released in June 1900. Although the report mistakenly attributed typhoid's spread to flies, it firmly placed responsibility for the debacle on poor sanitation and the blame for that on the line officers who failed to listen to their surgeons' recommendations. At any event, the Spanish-American War was the last American conflict in which the loss of life from disease outweighed that from trauma.

JACK MCCALLUM

See also

Medicine, Military; Reed, Walter; Sternberg, George Miller; Typhoid Board

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U

Uniforms

When the Spanish-American War began in April 1898, the American armed forces were in the midst of a transition from the uniforms worn in the later Indian Wars in the West to the khaki-colored uniforms worn by the American Expeditionary Force during World War I. Perhaps nothing better exemplified the Americans' ill preparation for war than the uniform situation in the spring and summer of 1898. Cloth shortages, procurement difficulties, production bottlenecks, and shoddy workmanship all resulted in thousands of soldiers deploying to a tropical climate in the middle of summer in what were essentially winter uniforms. The Spanish, on the other hand, who had been ruling over lands in tropical climates for several centuries, were well clothed for battle in a hot, humid climate.

The standard U.S. infantry uniform included light-blue pants and a dark-blue shirt, with rank indicated in white markings. Light-brown leggings were sometimes worn along with darker-brown shoes. Tan suspenders were also sometimes worn. A tan, gray, or brown slouch hat creased at the front and rear capped off the infantry uniform. Although attempts were made to do away with the blue pants in favor of khaki, shortages of the material and procurement problems prevented this from becoming widespread until the end of the war in August 1898. Those in the artillery dressed in much the same fashion as those in the infantry, but chevrons were in red rather than white. Some volunteer artillery units wore a khaki-colored jacket with a red collar, cuffs, and epaulets.

The U.S. cavalry, which had already begun to transition to khaki-colored uniforms, generally sported khaki trousers but the same dark-blue shirt worn by the infantry. Rank and chevrons were in yellow. Boots were black leather.

The U.S. Marine Corps wore the standard field uniform, which included a dark-blue jacket with red piping around the collar, at the cuffs, and vertically down the front. Trousers were light blue. Soon after hostilities began, the Marine Corps uniform was changed to more closely resemble that of the infantry. Dark-blue shirts were worn, as were gray-colored slouch hats. Khaki jackets were issued but were rarely used because of the hot battlefield conditions.

American officers had to purchase their own uniforms, which resulted in better uniforms but more variability in appearance. Most officers endeavored to dress in the same manner as the men under their command, but tended to employ more color (branch service color) around the collar and cuffs. The khaki-colored jacket was frequently worn, usually with shoulder straps.

In the spring of 1898, most soldiers in V Corps mustered in with a uniform featuring wool trousers and wool shirts. Commanding general of the army Major General Nelson A. Miles immediately urged the purchase and adoption of khaki uniforms; however, by the time the force deployed to Cuba in June 1898, just 5,000 of the new brown and khaki-colored tropical uniforms had been made available, mainly because of production problems. Indeed, it would not be until August, when the war drew to a close, that most soldiers were outfitted with appropriate tropical-weight uniforms. The uniform shortage resulted in much complaining on the part of American soldiers and most certainly contributed to the high number of heat-related deaths and illnesses in the first weeks of fighting.

By the end of August, the War Department was able to report that more than 80,000 tropical uniforms had been issued. They were not without their problems, however. Most were ill-fitting and poorly made and wore out quickly. Because of a shortage of true khaki material in the United States (khaki is traditionally made of

brown cotton), these new uniforms were made of a canvaslike material that was rough, coarse, and almost as hot as the wool uniforms. U.S. troops serving in the Philippines, however, fared considerably better. There, the U.S. Quartermaster Department was able to contract with excellent garment makers in India, Hong Kong, and Singapore who had for some time been making tropical-weight uniforms for the British.

The procurement of adequate numbers of uniforms in a properly weighted fabric proved to be one of the most vexing supply problems of the short-lived Spanish-American War. Indeed, not until after the August 12 Protocol of Peace had been signed did troops serving in the Caribbean begin wearing tropical uniforms en masse, many of which were as uncomfortable as the wool uniforms they replaced.

Spanish troops all wore a lightweight uniform made of a white cotton cloth known as *rayadillo* that was accented with blue pin-stripes. Straw hats with black headbands were worn, some featuring a cockade in red and yellow. Boots and shoes were made of black leather, although many outfits wore rope-soled sandals. Various branches of the service (e.g., cavalry, infantry, and artillery) wore this same basic uniform, the only variance being in accent colors reflecting branch colors. A few Spanish soldiers, recently arrived from Spain, sported the standard continental uniform, featuring billowy red trousers, white gaiters, and a long blue-gray coat. The hat was a low shako, higher in front than the back, and was covered in white cotton and worn with a neck cloth. The Spanish continental uniform was modeled closely after the French uniforms of the same era. Unlike the Americans, the Spanish had no significant issues with uniform procurement, and their standard-issue uniforms were well suited for tropical climates.

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See also

Miles, Nelson Appleton; Spain, Army; United States Army; United States Marine Corps

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United States

At the time of the Spanish-American War in 1898, the United States was poised to become a significant world power. An exploding population that was principally the result of massive immigration, a rapidly growing industrial economy, an expanding financial system, and a modernized navy had all ensured the United States a place among the world's great powers by the end of the 19th century. The war itself witnessed the United States acquiring a signif-

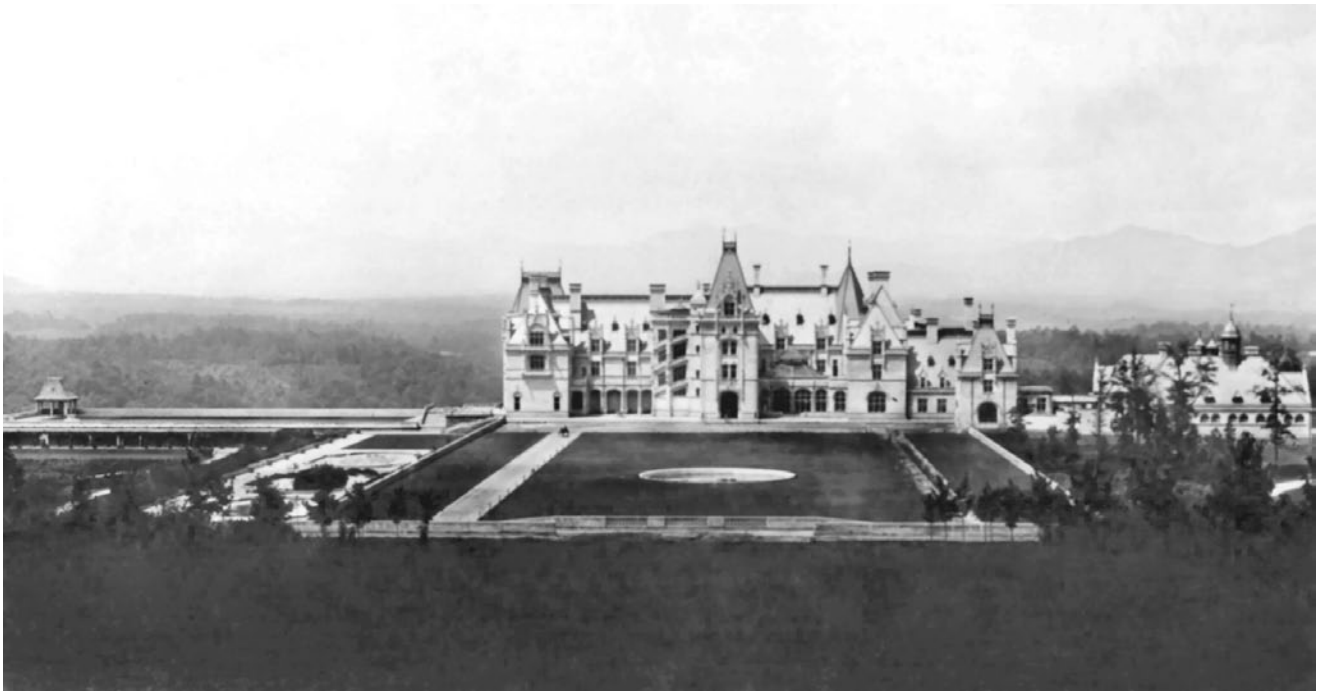
icant overseas empire that included the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico. The Hawaiian Islands had also been annexed in 1898.

Between 1865 and 1898, the United States experienced significant societal and economic transformation. The American Civil War (1861–1865) had resolved the long-standing debate over the relationship between the states and the federal government and had finally abolished slavery. With the end of the Civil War came Reconstruction, the process of rehabilitating the South and reuniting the former Confederacy to the Union, although at the expense of the civil rights of the newly freed slaves. Perhaps the biggest changes in American society came from the effects of heavy industrialization and its consequences. Indeed, by 1898, the United States embarked on a new foreign policy, partly in response to the pressures that industrialization had wrought.

Even though the process of modern industrialization began as early as 1820, it had mainly been limited to the North. After Reconstruction ended in 1877, the United States experienced large-scale industrialization, which impacted all sections of the country. By 1898, the United States had developed much of its economic potential practically unmolested and had woven together a truly national market, an effort that had been aided by its impressive railroad system, second to no other nation in the world. The United States had many advantages from which to draw: rich and vast agricultural land, bountiful raw materials, modern technology (railways, steam engines, mining equipment, telegraph, telephone), geographic isolation, an absence of foreign enemies, a steady labor force fueled by immigration, and an impressive flow of both foreign and domestic investment capital.

Between 1865 and 1898, the United States devoted most of its energies to internal economic development. During the 33 years between the end of the Civil War and the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, productivity in agriculture and industry increased exponentially. Wheat output increased 256 percent, while corn and sugar increased 222 percent and 460 percent, respectively. Coal production grew by 800 percent, while the production of crude petroleum rose from a mere 3 million barrels to 55 million barrels annually. Especially impressive was the increase in steel production, which is the backbone of a modern industrialized economy. In 1850, just 10,000 tons of steel were being produced per year in the United States; by 1898, more than 7.25 million tons were being produced yearly, greater than the output of Great Britain and Germany combined. Greatly aiding American economic growth in these years were the millions of immigrants who joined the labor force. These men and women provided a ready supply of relatively cheap labor, which American industrialists were all too eager to exploit.

American firms such as Singer, Du Pont, Bell, Carnegie Steel, and Standard Oil were leaders in technological innovation and the development of new management techniques and enjoyed a massive domestic market that they dominated without serious competition. American foreign trade proved to be more robust than that of either Britain or Germany, with U.S. exports increasing sevenfold between 1860 and 1914. Indeed, it was the quest for expanded



The Biltmore House in Asheville, North Carolina. Built by George Vanderbilt II, grandson of tycoon Cornelius Vanderbilt, it was modeled on a 16th-century French chateau and was completed in 1895. The largest private residence in America, it boasts 250 rooms, an indoor swimming pool, and a bowling alley. (Library of Congress)

overseas markets that led in part to the demand for extraterritorial possessions.

These admittedly impressive achievements did not tell the whole story, however, for America's enormous economic productivity came at a significant socioeconomic price. The United States experienced increasing social inequality as it moved toward heavy industrialization in the second half of the 19th century. In 1890, just 1 percent of families owned 51 percent of the national wealth, while the bottom 44 percent owned only 1.2 percent of the national wealth. Another 55 percent possessed about 14 percent of the wealth. The poorest one-half of American families received only one-fifth of the nation's wages and salaries, while the wealthiest 2 percent of families received nearly half the national income, often from rents and investments that precluded the need to find work. This growing economic disparity occurred during a time in which there were no federal- or state-sponsored welfare programs. Thus, impoverished individuals were either forced to rely on limited private charitable organizations or, more probably, fend for themselves.

Unfettered economic competition resulted in a wave of corporate mergers and the creation of trusts by which a few companies controlled entire industries. The Gilded Age, as the writer Mark Twain labeled this period in history, witnessed the rise of fantastically wealthy industrialists such as John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie and financiers such as John Pierpont Morgan. These men made their unprecedented millions by engaging their respective businesses in vertical integration and horizontal combination, enabling them to push out or buy out competitors and gain a virtual monopoly. Lack of government regulation meant low wages and unsafe working conditions

for many factory workers and virtually no oversight of corporate mergers or trusts. The periodic boom and bust cycles made life unpredictable for many working-class families.

With modern industrialization came the rise of the labor movement in the United States. The movement sought to redress the grievances of factory, railway, and mining workers and the like. The Knights of Labor (KoL) originated in 1869 as a fraternal organization of tailors and quickly branched out to embrace workers of all sorts. Uriah S. Stephens was the first leader of the KoL. He believed that it was possible for labor and management to cooperate collectively as producers. The Great Railway Strike of 1877 convinced the KoL to take on an even more prominent profile. Indeed, the KoL's 1878 constitution called for many of the goals that became part and parcel of the modern labor movement, including the establishment of the eight-hour workday, government ownership of railroads, the replacement of private banks with government postal savings banks, and paper currency rather than specie currency. Ultimately, the KoL's agenda was deemed too radical for the American system, and the organization was permanently tarnished for its alleged role in the 1886 Haymarket Riots in Chicago, which had evolved from an acrimonious labor strike there. In 1886, Samuel Gompers formed the American Federation of Labor (AFL), a confederation of unions representing only skilled workers. Eventually, the AFL broadened its appeal and became the leading labor union in the United States. Vestiges of it still exist today in the form of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO).

At the same time, major advances in technology, particularly in national transportation, meant that farmers were unable to maintain



A Jacob Riis portrait of an Italian immigrant mother and her child in a New York City tenement in 1890. (Library of Congress)

their livelihoods in the face of decreasing prices for their produce, increasing debts for supplies, and skyrocketing transportation costs for their goods. The Grange and Populist movements ultimately became a means for farmers to organize their interests against the exploitation of the railroads and eastern banking interests that had loaned them money at high interest rates. The Populist Party emerged in the 1890s as a significant third party. The Populists called for government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, government land grants to settlers rather than railroads, a currency based on the silver standard (Free Silver movement), the graduated income tax, postal savings banks instead of private banks, the direct election of U.S. senators, and the eight-hour workday for industrial workers. Though not initially successful in their efforts, the Populists would later see many of their goals gradually realized during the Progressive era (ca. 1900–1920).

By the end of the 19th century, the United States was an industrial giant in search of a new purpose. In 1890, the director of the U.S. Census Bureau had declared the vast western frontier closed. The frontier had served as a traditional safety valve for generations of Americans. This seemed to have had a psychological effect on some

Americans, who now saw their nation as settled from the Atlantic to the Pacific and who eyed the influx of millions of immigrants with considerable trepidation. Some historians have argued that the closing of the American frontier propelled the United States outward in an attempt to create a new frontier (along with new markets) abroad.

Although long a magnet for immigrants (indeed the nation was founded and built by immigrants and descendants of immigrants), the United States now faced the challenge of an entirely new wave of immigrants, most of whom were from Southern and Eastern Europe.

These new immigrants, who began arriving en masse around 1880, differed starkly from earlier immigrants from Northern and Western Europe. Most did not speak English, and they practiced Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, or Judaism, which made it harder for them to acculturate quickly to their adopted nation. These traits also made it easier for native-born Americans to discriminate against them. Nativists, no doubt the descendants of earlier immigrants, often disparaged these new arrivals and doubted their ability to assimilate into American culture. Ultimately, they were proven entirely wrong, and without the immigrants, American industrialization would have taken far longer to achieve.

Because of the general acceptance of Charles Darwin's theory of natural selection by the 1890s, race became a lens through which Americans viewed the world and understood their place in it. English theorist and political philosopher Herbert Spencer appropriated Darwin's theory and applied it in a sociological context, arguing that all humanity was ranked in a hierarchy ranging from superior to inferior races. By the late 19th century, Anglo-Saxonists used history and social Darwinism to justify the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon civilization of Britain and the United States. Anglo-Saxonist historians argued that the ancient Anglo-Saxon race had developed the free institutions of Britain and America by the 19th century and were therefore more fit to rule over so-called inferior peoples.

Theodore Roosevelt was one of the most prominent late 19th-century Anglo-Saxonists. During turn-of-the-century America, his personal charisma and unique rise to power pushed him into national prominence and provided a voice for vigorous American expansion. He belonged to a group of gentlemen historians, men from the East Coast born of privilege who devoted their lives to writing. In the field of Anglo-Saxonism, Roosevelt supported the Teutonic school of thought (i.e., the theory that the Anglo-Saxon race originated in Germany and spread to England and eventually the United States). He thus looked to the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic traditions for racial affinity. By the turn of the century, Anglo-Saxonism provided a seemingly plausible explanation for America's meteoric success as an industrial nation, setting the stage for a wider international role.

While the United States was indeed a leading economic power in the 1890s, it was not a potent military power. In 1900, the United States had just 96,000 military and naval personnel. In warship tonnage, the United States ranked fifth behind Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia. American foreign policy still generally held to the tradition of isolationism, thus steering it away from any formal alliances with other nations. Geographic isolation had rendered alliances unnecessary for most of its history. However, the conditions in international politics by the 1890s had forced U.S. policy makers to reappraise President George Washington's 1796 Farewell Address in which he urged the nation to eschew "entangling alliances" with other countries.

During the last third of the 19th century, much of the world was snatched up by the European powers, most notably Britain and France. With the exception of Liberia and Ethiopia, Africa had been partitioned among Britain, France, Germany, and Belgium by 1885. Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan had also begun to carve up China into spheres of influence. The United States had begun to establish an informal empire in Latin America and began its acquisition of islands in the Pacific, such as Midway, Samoa, and Hawaii, for use as coaling stations for its rapidly expanding navy. By the 1890s, the interests of the United States and Great Britain began to coincide, allowing both countries to shed old animosities and embark on a new and different relationship. The First Venezuela Crisis (1895–1897) convinced the leaders of both countries that a third Anglo-American war would have disastrous consequences.

The resulting rapprochement that emerged between America and Britain served as a foundation for the special relationship between both countries that would have powerful ramifications in the years to come.

Without a doubt, the Spanish-American War made the United States a world power with interests that spanned the globe. After the relatively quick and easy victory over the Spanish in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, the United States found itself mired in a bloody war of insurgency against Filipino rebels that lasted until 1902. Even then, sporadic hostilities between U.S. forces and Filipino insurgents continued, not ending until 1913. As a new Pacific power, the United States also dispatched troops to China during 1900 and 1901 to suppress the Boxer Rebellion. For good or ill, the United States now found itself bound to protect its interests far from the continental United States.

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See also

American Federation of Labor; Boxer Rebellion; Carnegie, Andrew; Chichester, Edward; Coaling Stations; Dewey, George; Gilded Age; Hawaiian Islands; Hong Kong; Immigration; Knights of Labor; Labor Union Movement; Morgan, John Pierpont, Sr.; Philippine-American War; Philippine Islands, U.S. Occupation of; Populist Party; Progressivism; Railroads; Rockefeller, John Davison; Roosevelt, Theodore; Silver Standard; Social Darwinism; Spencer, Herbert; Steel; Trusts

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United States Army

The U.S. Army on the eve of the Spanish-American War was minuscule by European standards, numbering just 2,143 officers and 26,040 enlisted men. Its largest unit was the infantry regiment, of which there were 25. Each regiment consisted of 3 battalions of 4

companies each. However, on active service, only 10 companies were fielded, and they generally fought as a single battalion with an average strength of about 530 men per regiment. The army was scattered in garrisons, most often at less than regimental strength, among a large number of posts across the United States.

The army's most recent combat experience was limited to small-scale clashes in the various Indian Wars of the preceding two decades. Generally well trained, it was also for the most part effectively led, its senior commanders having held responsible positions during the American Civil War. The army suffered from lack of larger-unit training and was also handicapped by the lack of either a general staff or agency for carrying out military planning. Authority was divided between the commanding general of the army, Major General Nelson A. Miles, and the civilian secretary of war, Russell Alger. Additional problems included shortfalls in modern equipment, inadequate medical support, the failure to anticipate the immense logistical problems that would come with the war, the lack of joint training with the navy, and the lack of sealift capacity to move substantial forces overseas.

In order to undertake the invasion of Cuba as well as carry out operations in Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands, the army would have to rely on large numbers of volunteers, most of whom were expected to come from the partially trained National Guard. On April 22, 1898, Congress divided the army into two separate organizations: the regular army and the volunteers. In a three-month span, the army would increase tenfold through the infusion of volunteers, but thanks to the influential National Guard lobby, Congress had limited the regular army to only 65,000 men. By August 1898, the regular army had grown to 59,600 men, selected from some 102,000 applicants. By May 1898, total regular and volunteer strength numbered 168,929 men, with that number rising to 274,717 by August. The volunteer units were organized in a similar way to the regular infantry, and many regular army officers were assigned to command them. Volunteer regiments tended to be larger than those of the regulars, each having an average strength of around 850 men.

On May 7, the War Department formed both the regular and volunteer forces into seven separate corps. On June 21, it created VIII Corps. However, only V Corps and VIII Corps served overseas during the war. V Corps served in Cuba and Puerto Rico, and VIII Corps served in the Philippines. The bulk of the regulars were assigned to V Corps. Each corps was projected to have a strength of about 30,000 men in three divisions of 10,000 men each.

Although the regulars were eventually issued tropical khaki uniforms, most of the volunteers received those of heavy wool, which were totally unsuitable for a tropical climate. The regulars were armed with the .30-caliber Krag-Jørgensen Model 1892 rifle, the army's first magazine rifle. The Krag was a bolt-action weapon with a five-shot magazine employing smokeless cartridges. The volunteers for the most part had to make do with the .45-caliber Springfield Model 1873. Not significantly improved from its American Civil War predecessor, its cartridges still employed black powder that immediately revealed the shooter's firing position.

Comparative Makeup of the U.S. and Spanish Armies on the Eve of the Spanish-American War

	Total Strength	Officers	Enlisted	Ratio of Officers to Enlisted
Spain	492,077	70,297	421,790	1:6
United States	28,183	2,143	26,040	1:12

V Corps took 15 .45-caliber Gatling guns with it to Cuba, and a detachment employing them under Captain John Parker played an important part in the Battle of San Juan Hill. The army had rejected the Colt Model 1895 Automatic Machine Gun, developed by John Browning, but this first automatic machine gun acquired by the U.S. military went to Cuba with the marines and aboard navy ships and provided useful support to marine operations ashore.

The artillery also underwent expansion during the war, from 5 regiments and 10 field batteries to 7 regiments along with 24 volunteer batteries (8 heavy artillery and 16 field artillery). Batteries usually numbered four guns each and 70 men. The basic artillery piece was the quick-firing 3.2-inch gun. These weapons were obsolete and still employed black powder cartridges, which immediately emitted telltale smoke that exposed the batteries to Spanish counterbattery fire.

During the war, African Americans served in segregated units. There were also a number of all-black volunteer regiments (with white officers). These units mostly gave a good account of themselves.

During the period May 1–September 30, 1898, the army suffered 2,910 deaths, a figure representing slightly more than 1 percent of the total force. Actual fighting claimed 23 officers and 257 enlisted men killed in action. Another 4 officers and 612 enlisted men died from their wounds. Most of the dead were from disease (80 officers and 2,485 enlisted men). A total of 113 officers and 1,464 enlisted men were wounded during this period.

The Spanish-American War had a tremendous impact on the U.S. Army and saw it largely transformed from a small frontier force to a far larger organization capable of meeting its new international duties, especially in the Philippines. The war also helped accelerate the acquisition of modern weapons and also brought dramatic changes in the army staff system and organization as well as greater army supervision of the National Guard and its closer identification with the regular army.

RALPH MARTIN BAKER AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; Artillery; Gatling Gun; Machine Guns; Medicine, Military; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Militia Act of 1903; National Guard, U.S.; Rifles

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United States Auxiliary Naval Force

A coast naval defense force initiated by Secretary of the Navy John Davis Long on March 23, 1898, and formalized by a congressional joint resolution on May 26, 1898, following the outbreak of war with Spain. The U.S. Auxiliary Naval Force was sometimes referred to as the Mosquito Flotilla or the Mosquito Squadron, particularly while under Commander Horace Elmer. The force was disbanded shortly after the cessation of hostilities in August 1898.

The U.S. Navy's first serious examination of a possible war with Spain took place at the Naval War College in 1894. Officers at the college developed contingency plans for attacking the Spanish homeland, blockading Cuba, seizing Spain's possessions in the Far East, and protecting America's eastern seaboard. Most U.S. naval officers considered a Spanish attack on American coastal cities unlikely, but as war approached, Secretary of the Navy Long was under pressure not to take any chances in that regard. Accordingly, on March 23, 1898, he ordered Commander Horace Elmer to prepare a scheme for a mosquito flotilla to guard and patrol the East Coast of the United States.

Long directed Elmer to undertake several tasks. First, Elmer was to identify ships that could be outfitted as improvised gun vessels, rams, or torpedo boats. Second, he was to indicate how and where armaments should be obtained and mounted. Third, he was to ascertain how captains and crews for these additional vessels might be secured. Fourth, he was to propose appointments for volunteer officers. And fifth, he was to prepare an organizational structure for the entire flotilla. Elmer immediately detached from duty in Philadelphia and proceeded to the New York Navy Yard, where he established headquarters and commenced his specified assignments.

Elmer, however, died suddenly on April 26, 1898. He left behind well-formulated strategic plans but a force that lacked officers and men. Congress had not yet activated the state naval militias, and the Navy Department hesitated to enlist personnel or appoint officers without proper legal authority. Elmer's successor, Rear Admiral Henry Erben, continued to oversee the acquisition and arming of suitable vessels, but budgetary constraints and the manpower shortage hindered his efforts. Finally, on May 26, 1898, President William McKinley signed into law a joint congressional resolution appropriating \$3 million for the purchase, lease, alteration, and repair of vessels. The act also authorized the regular navy to appoint officers and enlist men from the state naval militias and formally established the U.S. Auxiliary Naval Force.

On July 9, 1898, Captain John R. Bartlett relieved Erben as chief of the Auxiliary Naval Force. Bartlett's appointment coincided with two major changes: a transfer of Auxiliary Naval Force headquarters to Washington, D.C., and a reorganization that gave Bartlett command of the navy's coastal defense assets in the Pacific. Bartlett ran the Auxiliary Naval Force with the aid of just 10 junior officers, 9 of whom were in charge of designated coastal districts. Six of these districts were responsible for protecting the Atlantic seaboard, two covered the Gulf of Mexico, and one encompassed the entire Pacific Coast. At its height in August 1898, the Auxiliary Naval Force had 41 ships, including 12 monitors, 10 converted tugs, 9 converted yachts, 4 receiving ships, 4 revenue cutters, and 1 torpedo boat.

The Auxiliary Naval Force saw no combat action during the Spanish-American War. Its principal strategic functions were to deter the Spanish from attacking the North American coast and to give citizens of the states along the Atlantic, Gulf of Mexico, and Pacific coasts a measure of security. Daily operations consisted primarily of guard and patrol duties, the latter of which involved scouting, reconnoitering, and protecting the army's submarine minefields. Captain Bartlett gave high praise to the officers and men performing these patrols even while acknowledging the difficulty of guarding an extended coastline with monitors dating from the American Civil War. In all probability, the Auxiliary Naval Force could not have prevented a concerted Spanish effort to attack one of America's coastal cities.

The Navy Department disbanded the Auxiliary Naval Force after Spain and the United States signed the Protocol of Peace on August 12, 1898. Bartlett sent most of the monitors back to the League Island Navy Yard in Philadelphia, returned all revenue cutters to the Coast Guard, and released the converted yachts and tugs as soon as they were no longer needed to patrol the army's minefields. By September 26, 1898, all vessels of the force had been decommissioned and their crews discharged.

TIMOTHY S. WOLTERS

See also

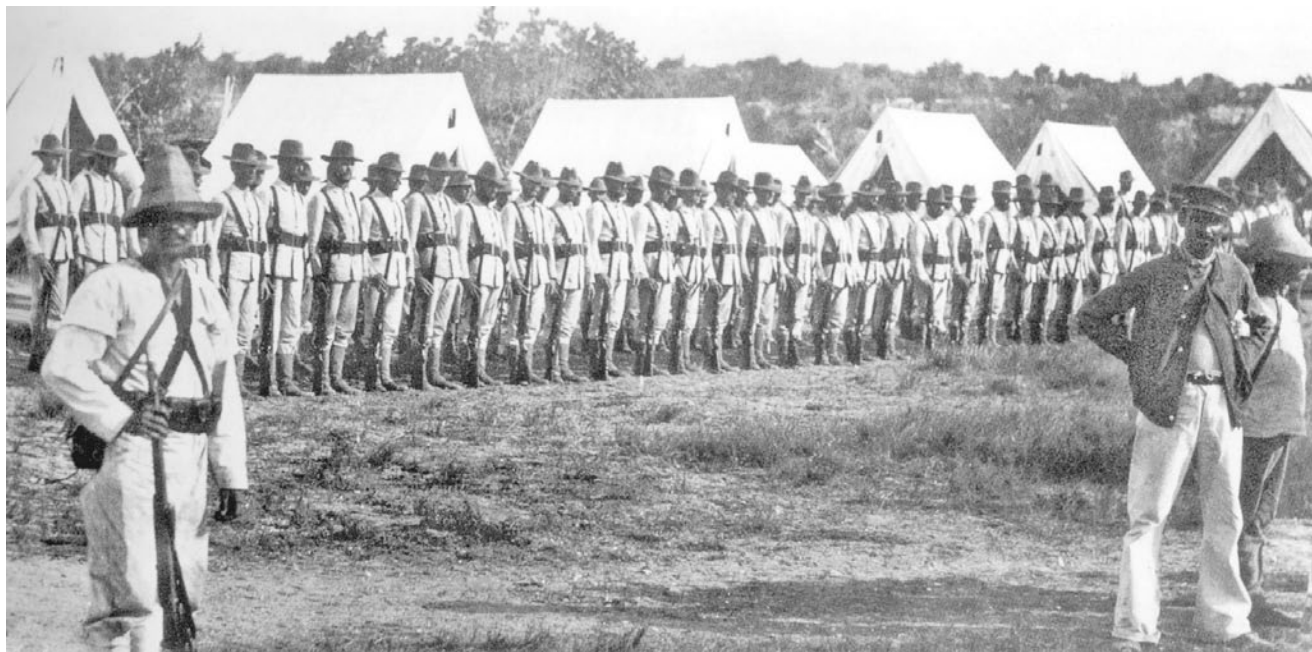
Coastal Defenses, U.S.; Long, John Davis; Militia, Naval; Naval Strategy, Spanish; Naval Strategy, U.S.; Naval Vessels, U.S. Auxiliary; Spain, Navy; United States Navy; United States Revenue Cutter Service

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United States Marine Corps

The U.S. Marine Corps had an active role in the Spanish-American War in Cuba and the Philippines. It was also involved in the subsequent Philippine-American War (1899–1902). In fact, the Spanish-American War and subsequent U.S. interventions in Latin America



U.S. Marines form up in their camp in Cuba in 1898. (Marine Corps Research Center)

helped the Marine Corps define its unique role among the American armed services.

When the United States declared war on Spain in April 1898, only the U.S. Navy was ready for war. Yet the Marine Corps numbered just 78 officers, many of whom were aged veterans of the American Civil War, and barely 2,600 enlisted men. However, with war looming, the corps was allowed to expand to its full authorized strength of 3,073 enlisted men. And when Congress dedicated \$50 million for national defense, the corps was able to add 43 second lieutenants and 1,640 enlisted men for the war only.

With an invasion of Cuba imminent, Colonel Charles Heywood, Marine Corps commandant, now raised to brigadier general, reshuffled the East Coast marine posts to create the 1st Marine Battalion at the Brooklyn Naval Yard. Formed on April 26, 1898, the battalion consisted of 23 officers and 623 enlisted men under the command of American Civil War veteran Lieutenant Colonel Robert W. Huntington. Huntington assumed the responsibility for preparing his men for expeditionary duty with the North Atlantic Squadron in Caribbean waters. On April 22, Rear Admiral William T. Sampson's North Atlantic Squadron moved into Cuban waters to establish a blockade. That same evening, Huntington's marines boarded the navy transport *Panther* with their equipment. On April 29, the 1st Battalion established a base camp at Key West, Florida, where Huntington drilled his men.

In the meantime, the first news of U.S. military success arrived from the Spanish colony of the Philippines. On May 1, 1898, Commodore George Dewey's Asiatic Squadron had defeated Rear Admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón's squadron in the Battle of Manila Bay. The action was decided at long range, but marines did help man secondary ship batteries and served as ammunition passers

and messengers. On May 3, Dewey sent marines from his ships to occupy the vacated arsenal at Cavite on Manila Bay and to maintain order there. At Cavite, the marines hoisted the first American flag on Spanish soil.

While the entire engagement was a resounding American victory, Dewey lacked the manpower to occupy Manila. Eventually, two additional marine battalions were sent to the Philippines and there organized as a regiment, the first time in U.S. history that the marines fielded a regimental-sized force. By August 1898, adequate American land forces, chiefly the army, were on hand, and they secured Manila.

At the same time that Americans were applauding Dewey's victory in the Philippines, other U.S. warships were carrying out a blockade of Cuba in preparation for an invasion of the island. The ships of Sampson's North Atlantic Squadron blockaded Spanish rear admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron in the harbor at Santiago de Cuba. Coaling the American ships was a problem, as the nearest coaling station was at Key West, Florida. The navy decided to establish such a facility ashore in Cuba on Guantánamo Bay. On June 7, 1898, the 1st Marine Battalion was ordered to seize Guantánamo and hold the harbor there as a base for the U.S. fleet. On June 10, Huntington and his men went ashore and established a position they named Camp McCalla for Commander Bowman McCalla, captain of the cruiser *Marblehead* and expedition commander. On the evening of June 11, Spanish sniper fire killed 2 marines, and firing continued on and off over the course of the next three days. With the help of Cuban insurgents, Huntington decided to take the offensive. On June 14, Captain George F. Elliot led a force of marines and Cuban insurgents, supported by naval gunfire from the gunboat *Dolphin*, to defeat the Spanish troops and take the fresh

water supply at Cuzco Well, two miles distant. In this operation, the attackers sustained casualties of 4 Cubans and 3 marines while inflicting some 160 casualties on the Spaniards, including 18 captured. This operation ended the attacks on Camp McCalla.

Following the U.S. land victory at San Juan Heights and the naval victory at Santiago Bay on July 3, the marines boarded the navy transport *Resolute* on August 5 and headed for Manzanillo, but before the marines could come ashore, the war was over. On August 12, Spain and the United States signed an armistice ending the conflict. The 1st Battalion then returned to the United States and was disbanded on September 19.

In the Philippines, the Marine Corps saw significantly more action, working alongside the army and navy in the Philippine-American War. Duties were wide ranging and included both seeking out insurgent forces and carrying out pacification assignments. This activity was not without controversy because of the reprisal actions taken by Major Littleton Waller following the infamous Balangiga Massacre on Samar of September 28, 1901.

In addition to the aforementioned actions, U.S. marines claimed Apra, Guam, and Ponce, Puerto Rico, as conquests of the United States. Marines also participated in cable-cutting operations in Cuba at the beginning of the Spanish-American War and took part in the naval bombardments of San Juan, Puerto Rico, and Santiago de Cuba.

Certainly the war with Spain and the increased U.S. commitments overseas that accompanied it greatly enhanced the roles of both the U.S. Navy and the U.S. Marine Corps. By 1899, Marine Corps strength was authorized at 211 officers and 6,062 enlisted men.

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See also

Balangiga Massacre; Camp McCalla; Cuzco Well, Battle of; 1st Marine Battalion; Guantánamo, Battle of; Huntington, Robert Watkinson; McCalla, Bowman Hendry; Philippine-American War; Samar Campaigns; Waller, Littleton Tazewell

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mounting 5,000 guns to the 12th-ranked naval power, with only 52 vessels in commission mounting fewer than 500 obsolete smooth-bore guns. This was in part the result of budgetary constraints but may be attributed to a reactionary attitude within the navy itself.

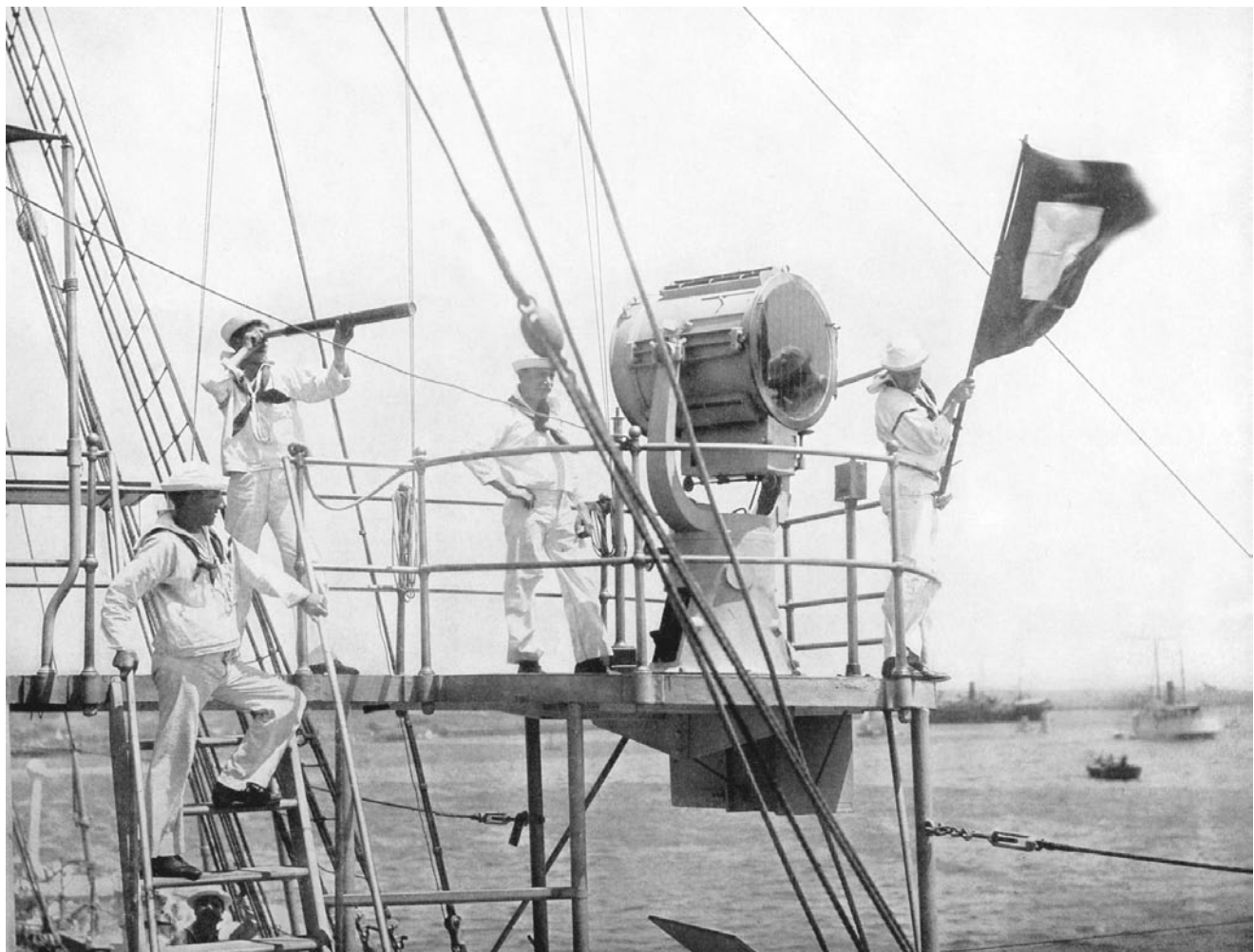
Gradually the reformers won out, and thanks to such proponents of a strong navy as Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, in 1883 the U.S. Congress authorized construction of three protected cruisers—the *Atlanta*, *Boston*, and *Chicago*—along with the gunboat *Dolphin*. The so-called ABCDs were the first ships of the new navy. Although unarmored, they had steel decks, were constructed of steel, were powered by compound steam engines or by sails, and were armed with breech-loading rifles firing 8-inch shells. Congress also continued to vote regular appropriations to expand the navy. During 1885–1897, Congress authorized the construction of 74 ships: 11 battleships, 6 monitors, 2 armored cruisers, 13 cruisers, 4 destroyers, 18 torpedo boats, 17 gunboats, and 3 other ships (an armored ram and 2 dynamite cruisers, 1 of which was never built, however). In 1898, the year of the war with Spain, Congress voted to build 36 more ships: 3 battleships, 4 monitors, 16 destroyers, 12 torpedo boats, and 1 gunboat. The Spanish-American War proved to be the first test of this modernization program. The war also signaled the emergence of the United States as a world power, which brought a far more significant role for the navy. This and the splendid record of the navy during the war led to further naval appropriations and additional increases in both the number and capabilities of its ships.

When the war with Spain began in April 1898, Secretary of the Navy John D. Long had charge of the navy. Naval forces were organized into the Northern Patrol Squadron under Commodore John A. Howell, the U.S. Auxiliary Naval Force, the Asiatic Squadron under Commodore George Dewey, the Pacific Squadron, the Flying Squadron under Commodore Winfield S. Schley, and the North Atlantic Squadron under Rear Admiral William T. Sampson. The U.S. Navy was then the world's sixth-largest navy, with 43 principal ships. The most powerful of these were 4 first-class battleships: the *Indiana*, *Iowa*, *Massachusetts*, and *Oregon* mounted a mixed battery to enable them to engage opposing ships at long, medium, and short range with their largest guns, 13-inchers. There were in addition 7 small battleships and monitors, 19 cruisers, and 13 torpedo boats. U.S. Navy ship strength continued to rise during the course of the war. By the end of 1898, the U.S. Navy had in commission 196 ships of all types: 73 warships plus 123 auxiliaries, including tugs, tenders, colliers, and even a hospital ship, most of which were acquired by purchase or charter. This sharp increase in the number of ships necessitated additional manpower. At the beginning of the war with Spain, U.S. Navy personnel strength totaled 1,232 officers and 11,750 enlisted men. During the war, personnel doubled to 2,008 officers and 24,123 enlisted men, including marines and the naval militia.

Although relatively small, the U.S. Navy proved entirely sufficient to deal with the Spanish Navy. Even before the start of hostilities, the U.S. Navy had undertaken a blockade of Cuba. Then in

United States Navy

At the close of the American Civil War in 1865, the U.S. Navy was second only to that of Great Britain in terms of size. Between 1866 and 1883, however, the U.S. Navy went from some 700 ships



A seaman on the U.S. Navy protected cruiser *Minneapolis* signals to the protected cruiser *Columbia*. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

two major engagements, it destroyed Spain's two overseas squadrons in the Battle of Manila Bay in the Philippine Islands (May 1, 1898) and in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba (July 3, 1898). These battles were far more important than any on land, for they cut off Cuba and the Philippines and induced Spain to make peace. The navy also convoyed the ships carrying the expeditionary forces to Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. The navy secured the island of Guam for the United States, and its ships cut underwater cables, disrupting Spanish communications while maintaining those of the United States. The navy also assisted with amphibious operations and provided naval gunfire support to operations ashore.

In contrast to the U.S. Army, the navy suffered few casualties in the war. These numbered only 85 dead, of whom 29 died from injuries and 56 from disease. Just 18 men died in battle or from wounds. Another 68 navy personnel were wounded.

Lessons learned from the war brought changes to the U.S. Navy. The assistance of the Naval War Board and the steady advance of technology proved the need for a permanent advisory board to as-

sist the secretary of navy in war and policy making. The Navy General Board came into being in 1900 and was first chaired by Admiral George Dewey. By 1915, operations of the U.S. Navy had been centralized in the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations. Costly and repeated miscommunications and squabbles between army and navy leaders also led to the creation of the Joint Army and Navy Board in July 1903 to bolster interservice coordination and cooperation. This board was a forerunner to today's Joint Chiefs of Staff. Additionally, an assessment of the forces of the Naval Militia enhanced support for a separate Naval Reserve program.

Although the U.S. Navy had handily won its major battles during the war, much improvement was needed in the area of naval gunnery. Following the war, Lieutenant William Sims studied the accuracy of American gunnery at the Battle of Manila Bay and found it woefully deficient. Dewey's ships had fired nearly 6,000 shells with only 142 hits, a success rate of just 2.4 percent. After attempts to gain the attention of his superiors to initiate reforms failed, Sims wrote directly to President Theodore Roosevelt, who immediately made him inspector of Naval Target Practice. With re-

forms and the application of new technologies, Sims revolutionized naval artillery capabilities.

MARK C. MOLLAN AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Asiatic Squadron; Cuba, U.S. Naval Blockade of; Dewey, George; Eastern Squadron; Flying Squadron; Howell, John Adams; Long, John Davis; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Manila Bay, Battle of; Militia, Naval; Naval Strategy, U.S.; Naval War Board; North Atlantic Squadron; Roosevelt, Theodore; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Schley, Winfield Scott; Sims, William Sowden; United States Auxiliary Naval Force; United States Revenue Cutter Service

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United States Navy Asiatic Squadron

See Asiatic Squadron

United States Revenue Cutter Service

An adjunct service to the U.S. Navy yet not under the purview of the War Department or the navy that was designed chiefly to enforce customs laws, enforce fishing rights, and engage in search and rescue missions close to U.S. shores and on inland lakes and waterways. The U.S. Revenue Cutter Service (also known as the Revenue Marine Service) was created as a division within the Department of Treasury by the Tariff Act of August 4, 1790. Its mission of enforcing collection of import duties and tonnage taxes for customs officials was greatly expanded in the 19th century to include suppressing piracy and the slave trade, conducting lifesaving and rescue operations, enforcing sealing and fishery regulations in Alaska, and many other duties. Since the creation of the U.S. Navy in 1798, the Revenue Cutter Service was mandated to cooperate with naval officials in times of war or as directed by the president, a statute exercised during the Spanish-American War.

On April 9, 1898, President William McKinley signed an executive order directing the cooperation of numerous revenue cutters with the U.S. Navy. The Revenue Cutter Service's involvement in the conflict between Spain and Cuba had actually begun in 1895, when President Grover Cleveland ordered revenue cutters to maintain U.S. neutrality by establishing a patrol of the Florida Strait. The revenue cutters *Forward*, *McLane*, *Morrill*, and *Winona* were later joined by the *Boutwell*, *Colfax*, and *Windom* when the patrol was ex-

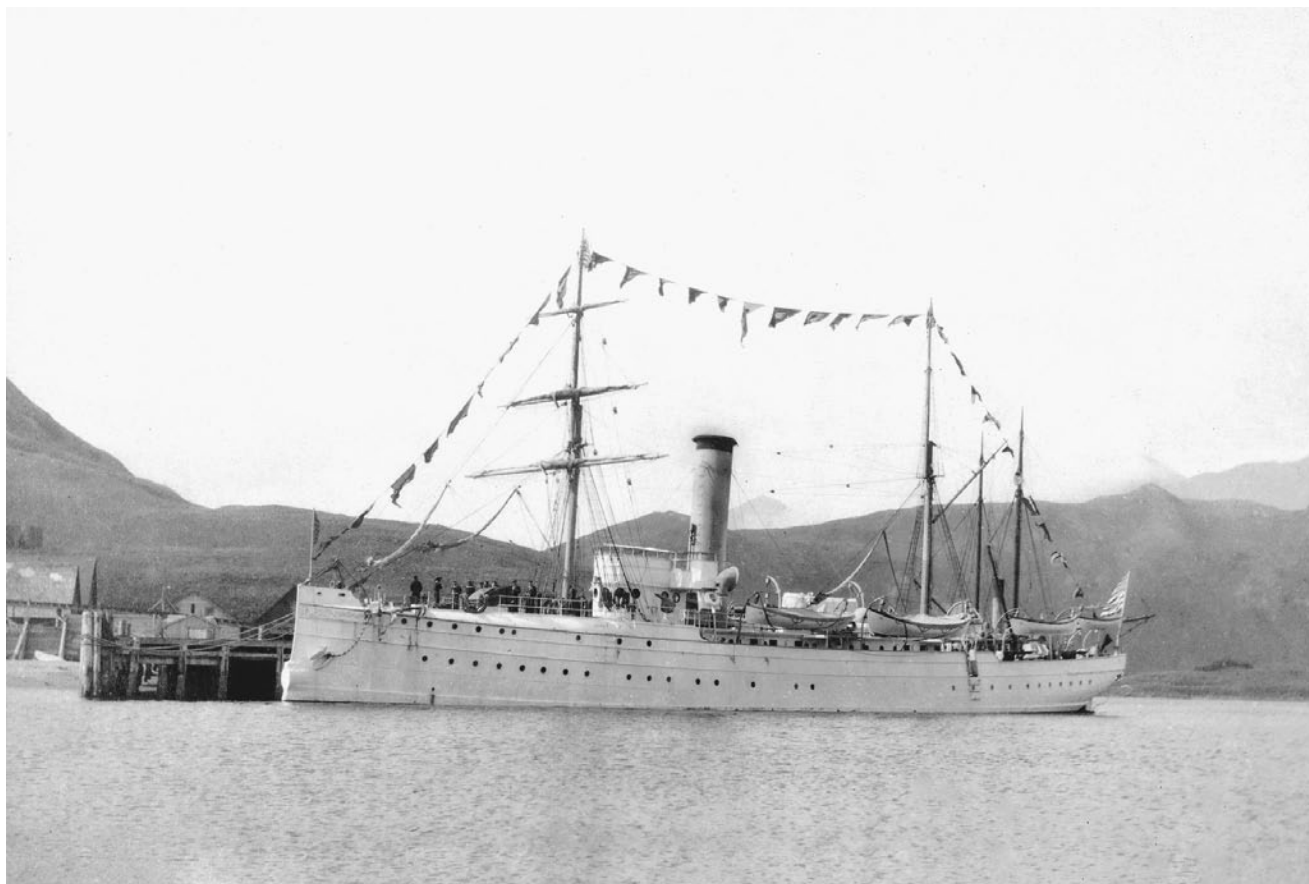
panded north to Wilmington, North Carolina. At the time, Cubans and supporters of their cause in the United States were illegally smuggling arms, troops, and supplies to Cuban rebels in support of the revolution. During the patrols, U.S. revenue cutters seized 7 ships for violations of neutrality laws, detained in port 13 other vessels suspected of violating the laws, and thwarted two filibustering expeditions. The destruction of the U.S. battleship *Maine* at Havana on February 15, 1898, however, brought an end to U.S. neutrality and the Revenue Cutter patrol.

Early in the Spanish-American War, the cutter *McCulloch* was on its shakedown cruise from Hampton Roads, Virginia, to San Francisco via the Suez Canal. Upon its arrival in Singapore, Captain D. B. Hodgsdon received orders from the Navy Department via the local U.S. consul to immediately join Commodore George Dewey and the Asiatic Squadron in Hong Kong for their planned attack on the Spanish fleet in the Philippines. At the May 1, 1898, Battle of Manila Bay, Dewey ordered the cutter to protect the *Zafiro* and *Nanshan*, the squadron's supply vessel and collier, respectively. The *McCulloch* also stood ready to assist any vessels damaged in the fighting. After Dewey handily defeated the Spanish in the battle, he sent the *McCulloch* to Hong Kong to send news of the victory and retrieve supplies for the squadron. On a subsequent passage from Hong Kong to Manila, he permitted Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy and 13 of his followers to take passage on the vessel. In addition to these supporting duties, the *McCulloch* captured the gunrunning insurgent vessel *Pasig* before returning to the authority of the Department of Treasury and steaming to San Francisco on October 29, 1898.

In the Caribbean, the Revenue Cutter Service played a broader role. On April 22, 1898, Rear Admiral William T. Sampson, commander of the North Atlantic Squadron, began his blockade of Cuban ports and in the early weeks relied heavily on the eight revenue cutters that served alongside his squadron. While navy ships conducted operations in the Caribbean, searched for Spanish ships, and provided protection for the East Coast of the United States, the revenue cutters provided the needed vessels to initiate and continue the blockade of Cuba.

In addition to supporting the naval cordon, several revenue cutters also engaged in offensive operations. On May 11, 1898, in an exchange of fire between U.S. naval vessels and Spanish shore batteries at Cárdenas Bay, the cutter *Hudson*, commanded by First Lieutenant Frank H. Newcomb, towed the stricken torpedo boat *Winslow* to safety under fire from Spanish shore batteries. In 1900, Congress recognized the valor of its crew by awarding them the Medal of Honor.

The cutter *Manning* provided significant service to U.S. Caribbean operations, including its participation in offensive engagements at Cabañas and Muriel, its convoying of transports, and its support of the blockade off Matanzas and Havana. During the latter duty, the *Manning* chased down the German warship *Geier*, which had attempted to penetrate the naval cordon without communicating with the U.S. Navy. On less dramatic but equally important duty, the cutter *McLane*, stationed near Sanibel Island,



The U.S. revenue cutter *Manning*. (Library of Congress)

Florida, spent the duration of the war protecting the telegraph cable that connected the Key West Naval Station to the mainland, which was Sampson's main conduit for communication with the Navy Department.

Seven cutters also operated with the U.S. Army guarding principal ports and harbors along the East Coast and the Gulf Coast of the United States. One of these vessels, the *Winona*, patrolling the waters off Mobile, Alabama, captured the Spanish steamer *Saturnina* on April 24, 1898, the first such action of the war.

Four cutters, the *Bear*, *Ruch*, *Corwin*, and *Grant*, patrolled the West Coast during the war. Additionally, four ships on the Great Lakes, the *Calumet*, *Algonquin*, *Gresham*, and *Onondaga*, were transferred to the navy. Because their size was greater than the locks of the Beauharnois Canal of the St. Lawrence River, plans were implemented to split these vessels and reassemble them for use in Atlantic operations. Because of delays, only the *Gresham* made it to the East Coast before the Protocol of Peace was signed on August 12, 1898.

During the Spanish-American War, 131 officers and 725 men of the Revenue Cutter Service served on 20 cutters cooperating with the U.S. Navy and the U.S. Army. They provided valuable support to bolster the power of the U.S. Navy over the statistically equal but comparatively hollow Spanish Navy. The Revenue Cutter Service's

participation and success in the Spanish-American War proved invaluable to solidifying its status as an arm of the U.S. military. In 1902, Congress passed a measure providing the officers of the Revenue Cutter Service with rank, pay, and retirement benefits equal to army and navy officers. This measure helped quell a decades-long legislative dispute over the nature of the Revenue Cutter Service as a civilian or military organ of the government. In 1915, the Revenue Cutter Service merged with the Life-Saving Service to form the U.S. Coast Guard, which was defined by Congress as "a part of the military forces of the United States." The Coast Guard was transferred to the Department of Transportation in 1967 and became part of the Department of Homeland Security in 2003.

MARK C. MOLLAN

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Cárdenas, Cuba; Cuba, U.S. Naval Blockade of; Cuban War of Independence; Dewey, George; Filibuster; Manila Bay, Battle of; Newcomb, Frank Hamilton; Sampson, William Thomas; United States Navy

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Upton, Emory

Birth Date: August 27, 1839

Death Date: March 15, 1881

U.S. Army officer and military theorist. Emory Upton was born on August 27, 1839, to a farming family in Batavia, New York. After a year at Oberlin College in Ohio, he entered the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1856, graduating near the top of his class in May 1861. A week later, he was promoted to first lieutenant of artillery.

During the American Civil War, Upton fired the opening gun of the First Bull Run/Manassas (July 21, 1861) and was wounded in the battle. The following year, he fought in the Peninsula Campaign (March–August 1862) and at the Battle of Antietam (September 17, 1862). To avoid an assignment teaching at West Point, he transferred to the infantry as a colonel of the 121st New York Volunteer Regiment. The regiment participated in the Battle of Fredericksburg (December 13, 1862), the Battle of Chancellorsville (May 1–4, 1863), and the Battle of Gettysburg (July 1–3, 1863) but saw little action in those engagements.

Just before the Battle of Gettysburg, Upton received command of a brigade in VI Corps, which he led with great effectiveness at Rappahannock Station (November 7, 1863). He especially distinguished himself during Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant's Overland Campaign of 1864 that brought the Union Army to the gates of Richmond.

Upton's experiences on the battlefield led him to advocate an important change in infantry tactics, chiefly advancing the men in columns close to the enemy line, when they would deploy in line and charge. Applying this method, he led 12 regiments in breaking through Confederate defenses during the Battle of Spotsylvania Courthouse (May 7–19, 1864). The attack ultimately failed for lack of support, but Upton had demonstrated its potential for breaking through a strongly defended position.

Still only 24 years old, Upton was rewarded with promotion to brigadier general to date from May 12, 1864. Given command of an infantry division a few months later in Major General Philip H. Sheridan's Shenandoah Valley Campaign, Upton was wounded at Opequon and breveted major general. He was then transferred to Nashville, where he led a cavalry division in a campaign against Selma, Alabama, and Columbus, Georgia.

Following the war, Upton reverted to his permanent rank of captain, but in July 1866 he was appointed lieutenant colonel of the 25th Infantry Regiment. He soon became one of the army's leading intellectuals and reformers. During 1866–1867, he was assigned to West Point as an instructor. There he also produced *A New System of Infantry Tactics* (1867), which was adopted by the army the



Emory Upton, U.S. Army officer, military theorist, and reformer. (Library of Congress)

same year. To solve the dilemma of greatly enhanced infantry defensive firepower, Upton emphasized reliance upon open formations, the basic unit being a squad of four men. Operating under simplified commands, the squads could easily form a battle line in any direction. Attacking infantry would form a skirmish line about 150 yards from the enemy, building it up by squads to a point where an attacking column could advance to about 200 yards away and then rapidly deploy into line and charge. This system essentially served the army in the Spanish-American War and into the two world wars.

From 1870 to 1875, Upton was commandant of cadets and instructor in tactics at West Point. With the United States then involved in fighting Native Americans in the West, commanding general of the army General William T. Sherman sent Upton on a year-long world tour to visit Asia and Europe to study the fighting there, especially the British India campaigns. Upton returned as an admirer of the German model of a strong standing army with a large officer cadre and skeleton formations. In time of need, such an army could be rapidly expanded. This system would do away with volunteer units entirely, for all volunteers would serve in the regular army under its officers. He also applauded the German General Staff system and its frequent rotation of officers between staff and line assignments. He was also an advocate of conscription but dared approach this only indirectly. Upton chiefly wanted the United

States to abandon its dual system of federal and state control in favor of assigning all military duties to the regular army. Upton also argued against civilian control of the military.

Upton presented these views in his report published as *The Armies of Asia and Europe* (1878) and in an influential manuscript work, *The Military Policy of the United States*. The latter, the first professional military history of the United States, was published posthumously in 1904. Congress and the country largely ignored his recommendations.

In 1880, Colonel Upton took command of the 4th Artillery Regiment at the Presidio, San Francisco, where on March 15, 1881, plagued by agonizing headaches perhaps caused by depression heightened by the death of his wife, he took his own life.

NEIL HEYMAN AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

United States Army

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V

Vara del Rey y Rubio, Joaquín

Birth Date: 1840

Death Date: July 1, 1898

Spanish brigadier general who led the heroic Spanish resistance against U.S. forces at the Battle of El Caney on July 1, 1898. Joaquín Vara del Rey y Rubio was born in 1840 at Ibiza in the Balearic Islands. He entered the army at age 15 and graduated from the Colegio General as a second lieutenant. He was promoted to first lieutenant in 1862. After fighting in Cartagena and Valencia during the Third Carlist War (1872–1876), he was transferred to the Philippines in 1884 and served there until 1890, during which time he was promoted to lieutenant colonel. He was then transferred to the Mariana Islands and held the position of governor from April 20, 1890, to August 14, 1891. He then returned to Spain as commander of the garrison at Avila until 1895.

At the outset of the Cuban War of Independence in 1895, Vara del Rey requested a transfer to Cuba. He commanded forces at Bayamo. His men defeated the insurgents in the Battle of Loma de Gato on July 5, 1896, during which Cuban revolutionary leader José Maceo was killed. Maceo, known as the “Lion of the East,” had conducted numerous successful operations against the Spanish forces, and his death was a severe blow to the revolutionary cause and a source of encouragement for the Spanish troops fighting in Cuba.

During the Spanish-American War, Vara del Rey, now a brigadier general, commanded the San Luis Brigade at Santiago. At the end of May 1898, his troops forced Cuban insurgents to withdraw from attacking Palma Soriano. On July 1, his forces then fought the Battle of El Caney against Brigadier General Henry W. Lawton’s 2nd Division of the U.S. V Corps. El Caney was a small village located four miles

northeast of Santiago. Vara del Rey’s defensive line was anchored by the old Spanish fort of El Viso, situated south of the city, and his men also constructed six earthen and wood blockhouses north of the town. The Spanish troops, however, lacked machine guns and artillery and were denied reinforcements from Santiago.

On July 1, 1898, Vara del Rey’s 500 infantry withstood attacks by more than 6,600 U.S. troops for more than 10 hours. The Americans had envisioned the fighting at El Caney, which began at 6:35 a.m., as a minor skirmish that would last no more than two hours, after which Lawton would assist in the attack on San Juan Heights. Fierce Spanish resistance, however, resulted in the battle lasting until 5:00 p.m. and prevented the U.S. troops there from arriving at the Battle of San Juan Hill on time. Notwithstanding his heroic efforts, however, Vara del Rey and his two sons fighting under his command were killed in the battle. His brother, a lieutenant colonel, was taken prisoner.

Impressed by Vara del Rey’s leadership, U.S. forces accorded him a full military funeral. In November 1898, his remains were exhumed by U.S. authorities and sent to Spain for reburial there with full state and military honors. The Spanish government posthumously conferred on Vara del Rey the Cruz Laureada de San Fernando (Cross of St. Ferdinand), the highest Spanish military decoration.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

El Caney, Battle of; V Corps; Mariana Islands; San Juan Heights, Battle of

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Vatican, Role in War

Pope Leo XIII, the first pope elected after the Papal States were lost to Italy in 1870, was also the first pontiff to use diplomacy to augment the Vatican's corresponding increase in moral authority. Concerned about the spiraling war fever sparked by the February 15, 1898, sinking of the U.S. battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor and lacking diplomatic representation in Washington, Leo XIII, through his secretary of state, Cardinal Mariano Rampolla, telegraphed John Ireland, the influential archbishop of St. Paul and a friend of President William McKinley. The pope urged the archbishop to make every effort to persuade the president to preserve the peace and the United States to arbitrate issues pertaining to the loss of the *Maine*.

Archbishop Ireland, an ardent pro-American patriot, undertook the peace mission reluctantly, concerned that accusations of papal interference might inflame anti-Catholic sentiments in the United States, which in that era still ran long and deep. On April 1, 1898, the one and only direct meeting between Archbishop Ireland and President McKinley occurred. According to the archbishop's telegraph to Rome, McKinley desired both peace and the Vatican's help in securing Spain's acquiescence, either in the sale of Cuba to island nationalists or in committing to an armistice to facilitate negotiations with Cuban insurrectionists.

The Vatican forwarded the request to Madrid. Historians differ as to whether Spain or the Vatican misinterpreted the word "help" in the archbishop's telegram to mean a formal request for Vatican mediation. However, in either case, the jumbled message exposed the president to anti-Catholic attacks. McKinley then distanced himself from Ireland, who nonetheless continued his peace efforts. Ireland used West Virginia senator Stephan Elkins as a presidential intermediary and also met with foreign diplomatic and congressional representatives.

On April 9, 1898, Spain responded to the request and agreed to an armistice, the terms of which were to be decided by the Spanish commander in Cuba but failed to mention Cuban independence. President McKinley, using this Spanish reply in his April 11, 1898, congressional war message, barely kept negotiations alive. Spain's continued failure to address Cuban independence ultimately doomed peace efforts in Congress, leading to the declaration of war on April 25, 1898. At that point, the Vatican declared its neutrality, while American bishops proclaimed Catholic loyalty to the United States.

Pope Leo XIII again tapped Archbishop Ireland to resolve post-war issues in Cuba and the Philippines, such as the composition of the Peace Commission and the new Cuban marriage law. Although Vatican attempts to avert the Spanish-American War failed,

Catholic American support in the war helped dispel some anti-Catholic prejudices and established Catholics as loyal U.S. citizens.

DAVID D. JIVIDEN

See also

Churches and the War; *Maine*, USS; McKinley, William

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Venezuela Crisis, First

Start Date: 1895

End Date: 1897

Diplomatic crisis between the United States and Great Britain that began in July 1895 over a disputed boundary line between British Guiana and Venezuela. The crisis ended in 1897, and further arbitration firmly established the boundary in 1899. This boundary had been in dispute as far back as the transfer of the Dutch territory to Great Britain in 1816 and was officially in question since 1841. Gold was discovered in the disputed territory, and the British naturally began to exploit the area. This led the Venezuelan government to break off diplomatic relations with Great Britain and request that the United States arbitrate the controversy.

For almost 20 years, the United States refused to become involved in the boundary dispute. Finally, on February 20, 1895, President Grover Cleveland requested a congressional resolution calling upon Great Britain and Venezuela to solve their border issue through arbitration. Cleveland's newfound resolve was in part the result of growing American economic and military strength, but it was also an acknowledgment that the Democratic Party was losing strength in the West and the South and that a more vigorous foreign policy might help its chances in the 1896 presidential election.

At the time, the president of Venezuela was General Joaquín Crespo, who had seized power from a dictator and then had been elected president to a four-year term beginning in 1894. In April 1895, the Venezuelan government seized two British police inspectors and their party in the disputed zone. Upon their release, they made a report to the British government over the incident. Crespo, concerned that he would be asked by the British to indemnify the inspectors, instructed his ambassador to the United States to call yet again for U.S. arbitration of the boundary dispute.

On July 20, President Cleveland's secretary of state, Richard Olney, issued a strong diplomatic note promulgating what would



Political cartoon depicting Uncle Sam as an armed soldier protecting the Latin American powers of Nicaragua and Venezuela from the European powers of Britain, France, Germany, Spain, and Portugal. The cartoon was published in *Judge*, February 15, 1896. (Library of Congress)

become known as the Olney Doctrine (also known as the Olney Declaration). The note stated unequivocally that Britain was violating the 1823 Monroe Doctrine and that any European (i.e., British) interference in American affairs regarding Venezuela would be viewed by the United States as an unfriendly act. The British were asked to state categorically whether they were opposed to arbitration. Cleveland called Olney's declaration a 20-gun blast and was certain it would bring forth a prompt response. But the British government delayed, and when British prime minister and foreign secretary Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, Lord Salisbury, belatedly replied on December 7, 1895, it was to the effect that the Monroe Doctrine was not applicable in modern conditions and was not recognized by international law. Great Britain could therefore not accept Olney's demand that the issue be submitted to arbitration. Salisbury no doubt erred in not making a counterproposal. This was simply take it or leave it.

The British response prompted Cleveland to deliver a stern message to Congress on December 17, 1895, calling for Great Britain to accept arbitration over this matter or risk the possibility of war. Shortly thereafter, Congress allocated funds for the establishment of an arbitration commission.

In Venezuela, there were many demonstrations of support for Cleveland's position and calls for defiance toward Great Britain.

Appeals were also made to boycott British goods, and the government voted additional funding for the Venezuelan Army. During the crisis, the U.S. military prepared war plans. Theodore Roosevelt, a prominent New York Republican and president of the Board of the New York City Police Commissioners at the time, even spoke of the United States overrunning Canada in the event of war.

In late December 1895, U.S. Navy rear admiral Francis M. Bunce was dispatched with the Flying Squadron to the West Indies. His force consisted of the armored cruiser *New York*, the second-class battleship *Maine*, and the protected cruisers *Columbia*, *Raleigh*, *Cincinnati*, and *Montgomery*. This was a regular practice and made the U.S. Navy familiar with West Indian waters on the run-up to the war with Spain.

In Great Britain, most people wanted a peaceful settlement of the issue. Newspapers, however, printed the locations of American warships in both the Atlantic and Pacific. The British Admiralty considered the possibility of sending additional warships to North American waters but did not do so.

The British were worried about the Boers in southern Africa, Canada was open to attack, the British merchant marine was vulnerable, and the British were plainly worried about a German naval buildup. The final straw came in the infamous Kruger Telegram Incident of January 1896 in which Kaiser Wilhelm II congratulated

the Boers for defeating a raid into Transvaal. This served to inflame British opinion toward Germany. Salisbury agreed to back down and submit the dispute to arbitration.

The crisis immediately eased. Arbitrators began work on the issue in 1896, and diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Venezuela were finally restored in 1897, thus ending the crisis. The two sides ultimately signed a treaty in February 1899 worked out by the arbitrators. The boundary was set largely in favor of that sought by Great Britain, and Venezuela agreed to pay a moderate indemnity to the British police inspectors. But Venezuela did secure control of the mouth of the Orinoco River, which had been its chief goal.

In the United States, the crisis served to invigorate the Monroe Doctrine. It would be invoked in the future to keep European nations from intervening in the Americas and evolved further with the 1904 Roosevelt Corollary. The First Venezuela Crisis also prompted an increase in U.S. warship construction, some of which would be in service at the time of the Spanish-American War.

JACK GREENE

See also

Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Democratic Party; Gascoyne-Cecil, Robert Arthur Talbot; Monroe Doctrine; Olney, Richard; Roosevelt, Theodore; Roosevelt Corollary

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Venezuela Crisis, Second

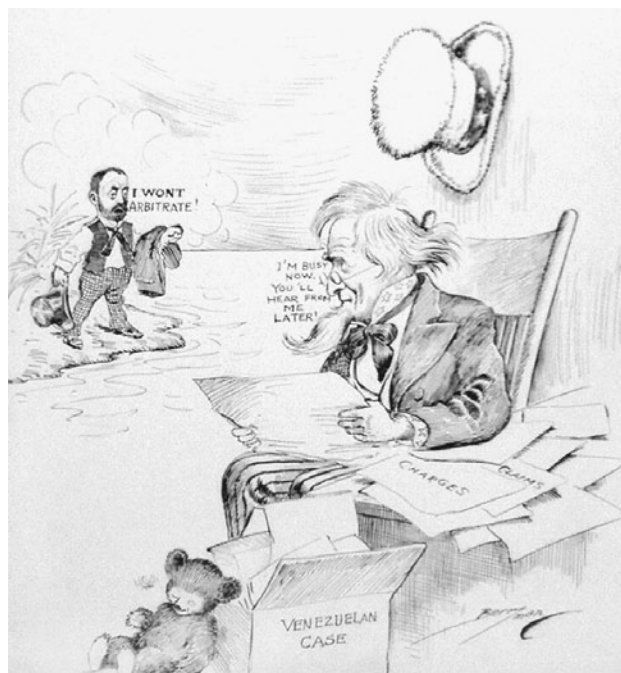
Start Date: 1901

End Date: 1903

Latin American crisis that occurred shortly after the Spanish-American War. The crisis erupted when Great Britain, Germany, and Italy instituted a naval blockade of Venezuela following that nation's refusal to honor its foreign debts. In 1899, General Cipriano Castro seized power in Venezuela. He halted payment on Venezuela's substantial public foreign debt and also ordered the seizure of several British ships for allegedly being involved in supporting opposition forces in the Venezuelan civil war.

Castro assumed that given the Monroe Doctrine, the U.S. government would not allow the European powers to interfere and would not itself intervene on behalf of these states. Yet U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt did not regard mere intervention as a violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Rather, he saw the doctrine as applying to the seizure of territory.

The German government proposed arbitration of its claims by the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague (The Hague



Political cartoon by Clifford Kennedy Barryman addressing the Second Venezuela Crisis (1901–1903). It depicts General Cipriano Castro of Venezuela saying “I won’t arbitrate!” to Uncle Sam, who is reading up on the “Venezuelan Case.” Uncle Sam replies, “I’m busy now. You’ll hear from me later!” (Library of Congress)

Court), but Castro rejected this course out of hand. Encouraged by the attitude of the U.S. government, Germany and Britain, which was owed sums five times that owed Germany, discussed recourse. On December 7, 1902, these two powers instituted a naval pacific blockade of Venezuela, carried out by 12 small warships. Italy joined three days later with 2 additional warships.

The blockading warships captured a number of Venezuelan gunboats, and the Germans sank two. Castro now hastened to accept arbitration, and on December 12, the U.S. government transmitted this word to the governments of Germany, Britain, and Italy, which accepted it but continued the blockade for two additional months until Venezuela had signed a protocol to that effect.

Although British and German warships had bombarded several small Venezuelan forts earlier, the January 1903 German bombardment of Fort San Carlos and destruction of the settlement there caused a considerable negative reaction in the United States against Germany. The ongoing blockade also produced some adverse sentiment toward Britain, which set off alarm bells in London. The blockade was lifted on February 14, 1903.

Ultimately, The Hague Court resolved the dispute in 1904. Although the United States had little role in the crisis, it served to strengthen the Monroe Doctrine because the European states had been careful to make certain that the United States was not opposed to their action before intervening. The crisis also helped secure congressional authorization for the construction of five new U.S. Navy battleships. In addition, the debt crisis contributed to the Roosevelt

Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine in Roosevelt's 1904 message to Congress.

JACK GREENE AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Monroe Doctrine; Roosevelt, Theodore; Roosevelt Corollary

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Vesuvius, USS

U.S. Navy experimental warship. Conceived as a platform for the so-called dynamite gun, which used compressed air to fire dynamite-filled projectiles, the *Vesuvius* was built by William Cramp and Sons of Philadelphia under a contract from the Pneumatic Gun Company. Designated a dynamite-gun cruiser, the *Vesuvius* was laid down in September 1887, launched in April 1888, and commissioned in June 1890. The ship displaced 750 tons, was some 252 feet in length, and had a crew complement of 70 men and a maximum speed of 21.5 knots. Unarmored, the ship resembled a yacht more than a warship and tended to roll in a seaway. Its armament consisted of three 15-inch pneumatic dynamite guns mounted forward side by side along with three 3-pounder conventional guns. The dynamite guns were immovable at a fixed elevation of 18 degrees and were aimed by turning the ship itself. Fired by compressed air at the rate of about one round per minute, the 966-pound shell had a 500-pound dynamite warhead. Range was only about 1,750 yards but could be tripled with subcaliber ammunition.

Commanded by Lieutenant Commander John E. Pillsbury, the *Vesuvius* was assigned to the North Atlantic Squadron. It arrived off Santiago on June 13, 1898, and the next day shelled Morro Castle on the eastern side of the entrance to the harbor of Santiago. Fire was inaccurate and without significant effect. Following the Battle of Santiago de Cuba, the *Vesuvius* participated in the raising of the Spanish warships *Infanta Maria Teresa* and *Reina Mercedes*. Taken out of active service in September 1898, in 1905 the *Vesuvius* became a torpedo target vessel. The ship was sold out of the service in April 1922.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Dynamite Gun

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Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States

Association dedicated to advancing the agenda of veterans' issues on a national scale and undertaking service missions for active-duty service personnel and retired veterans. The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, or simply the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW), was begun in 1899 by veterans of the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War. Over the years, the organization has embraced combat veterans from every major overseas conflict, including World War I, World War II, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the Persian Gulf War, and the Iraq War.

Because the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War were the first U.S. conflicts waged overseas, veterans saw the need for a new veterans' group that would bring together former soldiers who had experienced the same combat conditions. Thus, in 1899, the first group for Spanish-American War veterans was organized at the local level in Columbus, Ohio; that same year, the American Veterans of Foreign Service was formed nationally for Spanish-American War veterans. The National Society of the Army of the Philippines, also created in 1899, catered specifically to Americans who had served in the Philippine-American War. In 1914,



Sailors of Rear Admiral George Dewey's Asiatic Squadron pass under the Dewey Arch in a parade in New York City, September 30, 1899. The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States (VFW) was begun in 1899 by veterans of the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War. (Library of Congress)

these two groups merged to form the VFW, which endures to the present day.

Over the years, the VFW has had a large lobbying presence in Washington, D.C., ensuring that veterans receive top-notch health care and other benefits. In more recent times, the VFW has maintained a number of paid employees whose job is to aid veterans in applying for disability claims. This too is a nationwide program. The VFW is also a service organization and as such donates several million dollars per year to various causes. Its members also perform millions of hours of community service. Currently, its most visible service program is Operation Uplink, which provides free telephone calling cards to American men and women serving abroad.

Members of the VFW must meet certain criteria. First, they must be on current active duty or reserve duty or have been honorably discharged from the armed forces. Members must also have earned either a U.S. government-issued campaign or foreign-expedition medal. Failing that, there are a number of other criteria that would also grant membership, including combat action ribbon, combat medical or action badge, or Korean Defense Service Medal, among others. Today the VFW is a robust organization with a membership of approximately 2.5 million veterans.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cuba Campaign; Philippine-American War

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Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom

Birth Date: May 24, 1819

Death Date: January 22, 1901

Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from 1837 and Empress of India from 1876 until her death in 1901. Queen Victoria was the last in the line of the House of Hanover and gave her name to an era known as the Victorian Age, which traditionally refers to the last half of the 19th century. Victoria was born Alexandrina Victoria in London on May 24, 1819, the daughter of Edward, Duke of Kent, and Princess Victore of Saxe-Coburg. Victoria's father died eight months later, and she was reared by her mother, who would have been her regent but for the fact that King William IV of Hanover, Victoria's uncle and ruler since 1830, lived until shortly after her 18th birthday. Although Victoria inherited the crown of Great Britain and ruled over the vast British Empire, the crown of Hanover was barred to her by Salic law (which prevented succession by a woman) and went instead to her uncle



Victoria, queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from 1837 and empress of India from 1876 until her death in 1901. She gave her name to the Victorian Age. Although a staunch imperialist, Victoria opposed the U.S. war with Spain. (Library of Congress)

Ernest, Duke of Cumberland. When King William IV died on June 20, 1837, Victoria became queen.

For the first two and a half years of her reign, Victoria remained unmarried, vacillating about becoming betrothed to her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. She married him on February 10, 1840. Commonly known as the Prince Consort, Albert was only formally granted that title in 1857. He became not only Victoria's companion but also an important political adviser and definitely the most important person in her life. The couple had nine children, and Victoria became devoted to Albert.

Plunged into despair by Albert's death from typhoid on December 14, 1861, Victoria actively mourned him for the next 40 years. She also attempted to conduct herself, manage her family, and rule the country as she believed he would have done. These constant references to her late husband became a source of continual strain between herself and her ministers of state, as Albert's previously expressed opinions were not always relevant to current situations. Contemptuous of her son Edward, the future king Edward VII, Victoria refused to turn to him to fill the void left by his father's death; instead, she shut Edward out of all responsibilities

associated with governing Great Britain and the empire and refused to consult him about any state affairs.

The Victorian Age was a combination of earnestness and egotism over which Victoria was an unlikely leader. During her reign, she mostly ignored Victorian values, which was more than ironic given that the era was named for her. She loathed pregnancy and disliked motherhood but lived in a period in which motherhood and the nuclear family were seen as societal ideals. The queen was uninterested in social reform, yet 19th-century Britain was an era rife with change and social reforms. She was also ambivalent toward new technologies, even as technological advancements were reordering the world around her.

Victoria's long association with Conservative Party prime minister Benjamin Disraeli and her grating relationship with his rival, Liberal Party prime minister William Gladstone, dominated her political concerns for many years and contributed to the bitter political feud between the two men that consumed British politics for the second half of the 19th century. Disraeli ingratiated himself with Victoria by expressing eternal sympathy for her grief and showing tremendous respect for her thoughts and opinions on affairs of state. Gladstone's attitude toward the queen was just the opposite. Victoria's preference for Disraeli thus made a partisan divide in the political contest between the Conservatives and Liberals. Victoria also found herself disagreeing with Gladstone and the Liberals on many of the issues of the day, particularly Irish home rule, which she viewed as the height of disloyalty to her reign, and social reform.

The British public also grew increasingly intolerant of Victoria's perpetual mourning. Nevertheless, her ambitions for imperialism and her exalted view of Britain's role in the world helped her retain some public support. In a brilliant bit of public relations strategy in 1876, Disraeli secured for her the title "Empress of India," and Victoria became the symbol of the national mood and enthusiasm for expansion and empire building. She actively encouraged this view by importing Indian servants who provided her with tea in an Indian tent set up in the gardens of her various estates. She also supported the many colonial wars that Britain waged during the 19th century, in particular the Crimean War (1854–1856) and the South African Wars (1880–1881, 1889–1902). She loudly endorsed the wartime nursing reforms instituted by Florence Nightingale and frequently visited wounded soldiers in hospitals. During the Crimean War, the queen created the Victoria Cross, which remains the highest honor for a British soldier.

Victoria was quite active in the formulation of British foreign policy even into her twilight years in the late 1890s. Although herself a champion of imperial expansionism, Victoria was reportedly horrified by the April 1898 U.S. declaration of war against Spain, which included the Teller Amendment that declared Cuban independence even before the fighting commenced. Indeed, just days after the declaration was made known, Queen Victoria called on other European powers to "unite against such unheard of conduct." Here the queen was most concerned that the United States or other rival nations might take it upon themselves to declare Ireland or

other British colonial possessions independent. Regarding the war itself, the queen took a neutral stance, not wishing to provoke a larger conflict by taking sides or commit significant naval assets to the war.

By the very length of her tenure during a time of unprecedented growth, Victoria outlived her detractors and gained the devotion of the nation, although many criticized her dour mood and never-ending mourning. She celebrated both a Golden Jubilee in 1887 and a Diamond Jubilee in 1897. By the time of her death in 1901, she had restored, as Britain's longest-reigning monarch, dignity and respect to as well as affection for the monarchy. In addition, the marriages of her children established links to the ruling families of many European states. Kaiser Wilhelm II, for example, was her grandson. Queen Victoria died on January 22, 1901, at Osborne House on the Isle of Wight. She was succeeded by her eldest son, Edward, who took the title of Edward VII.

GUIDA M. JACKSON

See also

Great Britain; Great Britain, Policies and Reactions to the Spanish-American War; Imperialism

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Virginius Affair

Event Date: 1873

Incident in 1873 that came near to causing war between the United States and Spain. During the Ten Years' War (1868–1878), Cuban patriots living in exile in the United States sought money and weapons from Americans sympathetic to the cause of Cuban independence from Spain. On March 1, 1870, General Rafael Quesada arrived in Washington, D.C., to secure ships that he might then use to transport war matériel to Cuba. Quesada was the brother of Cuban insurgent military commander General Manuel Quesada and the brother-in-law of provisional president Carlos Manuel de Céspedes.

John F. Patterson, a U.S. citizen, agreed to secure a ship on Quesada's behalf. Purchased by Patterson in 1870 and renamed by him the *Virginius*, it was a small, fast iron side-wheel steamer that had been built by Aitken & Mansel in Scotland in 1864, employed as a Confederate blockade runner during the American Civil War, and captured by the U.S. Navy in 1865. Patterson pretended to be the rightful owner and registered the *Virginius* in New York as an American ship.

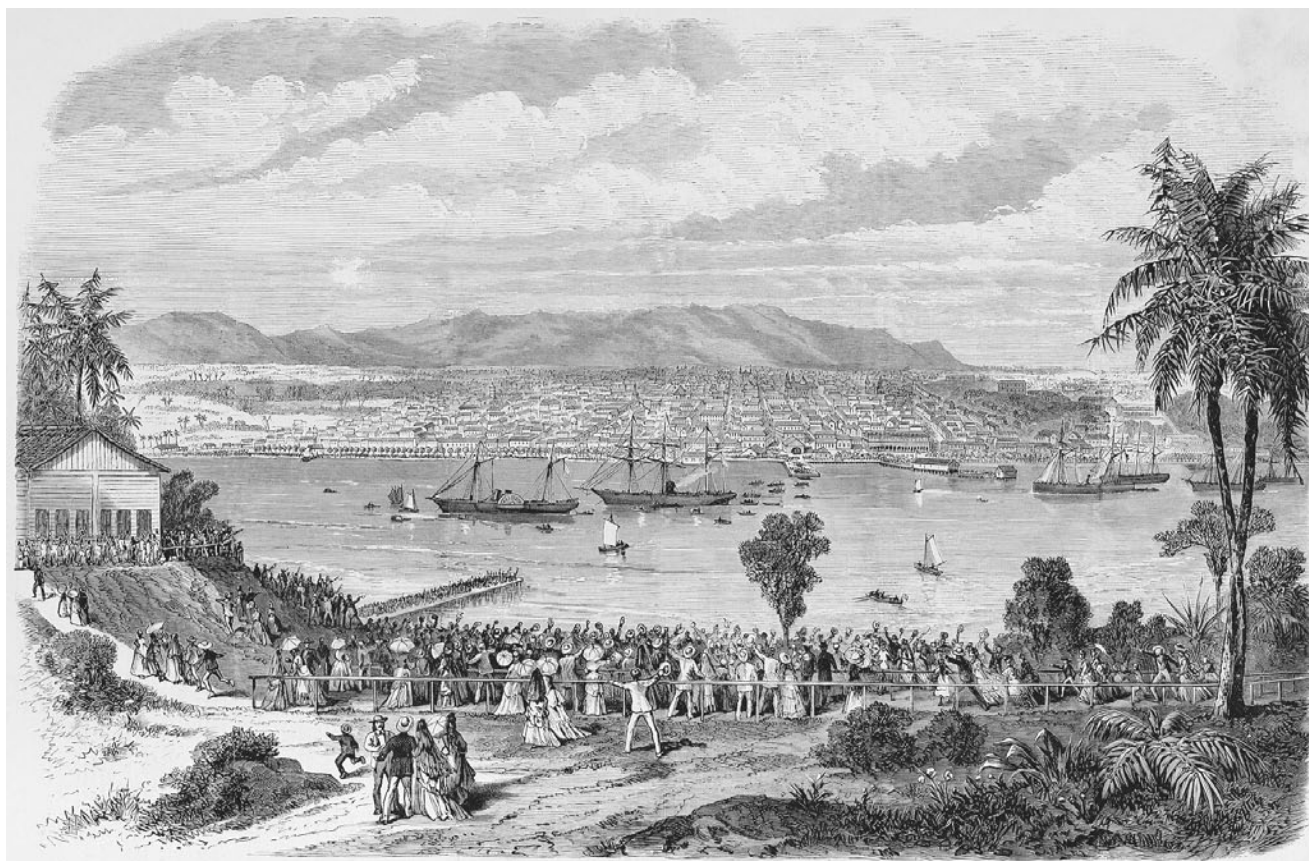


Illustration from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* depicting the arrival of the Spanish steamer *Tornado* with the captured American steamer *Virginius* at Santiago de Cuba, 1873. (Corbis)

During the next three years, the *Virginius* delivered contraband to Cuban insurrectionists while sailing under the American flag. The supplies were purchased in various South American and Caribbean countries and were chiefly paid for by American supporters. Spanish authorities became suspicious yet were unable to stop the fast ship. In June 1873, the *Virginius* made a narrow escape from its pursuers. It had put in to Aspinwall, Colombia (in present-day Panama), for repairs when the Spanish gunboat *Bazan* intercepted it. The U.S. Navy gunboat *Kansas* intervened and helped the *Virginius* to escape.

In October 1873, the *Virginius* called at Kingston, Jamaica, and then in Haiti to load rifles, cartridges, and gunpowder. The ship was commanded by Joseph Fry, a former Confederate Navy officer. Its 52 crew members and 103 passengers included several American and British nationals. The expedition was under the command of General Barnabé Varona. Members of his staff on board the *Virginius* were Lieutenant Colonels Jesús de Sol and Agustin Santa Rosa. These men, along with other Cubans on board, claimed U.S. citizenship. President Céspedes's younger brother Pedro was also present.

Spanish informers had alerted the authorities about the *Virginius*'s anticipated route, and on October 31, 1873, the Spanish corvette *Tornado* intercepted the ship off the coast of Cuba. The *Vir-*

ginius attempted to escape, and a race ensued between the two ships. The *Tornado* finally overhauled and captured the *Virginius* off Morant Bay, Jamaica, within British territorial waters. Spanish authorities arrested everyone on board on charges of piracy and took the prisoners to Santiago de Cuba. The governments of both the United States and Great Britain protested immediately, but Spanish brigadier general Juan Nepomuceno Burriel, who had charge of the proceedings, refused to let either the American or the British consuls visit the prisoners. After a summary court-martial, all crew members and passengers of the *Virginius* were sentenced to death on charges of piracy and aiding the rebels. Burriel offered to spare the life of Pedro Maria de Céspedes if his brother Carlos Manuel surrendered, but the latter refused. On November 4, Céspedes, Varona, del Sol, and Santa Rosa were shot by a firing squad. Three days later, Captain Fry and other members of the crew met the same fate. The following day, 12 passengers were executed as well. Horses then trampled the bodies of the dead. Thirty-seven crew members and 16 passengers were executed, among them several U.S. and British citizens.

On November 8, the British steam sloop *Niobe* arrived off Santiago de Cuba, and its captain, Sir Lambton Loraine, threatened to bombard the port unless further executions were halted. Meanwhile, public outcry in the United States over these events had

brought that nation to the brink of war with Spain. Several former American Civil War generals, Confederate as well as Union, wrote to U.S. president Ulysses S. Grant offering to raise regiments in case of war to avenge the deaths of their fellow officers.

Political events in Spain made it difficult to solve the crisis, however. The monarchy had been overthrown in February 1873, and the new republican government was in a state of flux with the country in near chaos. Royalists had plunged Spain into civil war, and their supporters, such as Burriel in Cuba, simply ignored any orders emanating from Madrid. Former Union general Daniel Sickles, U.S. ambassador to Spain, made the situation worse, as he was an inexperienced diplomat who owed his posting to political patronage. His intemperate attitude strained the already tense relations even more.

Eventually, Secretary of State Hamilton Fish took negotiations out of Sickles's hands and hammered out an agreement with Spanish ambassador to the United States José Polo de Bernabé. The settlement was signed on November 29, 1873. The Spanish government agreed to release the *Virginius* and to return the surviving crew members and passengers to an American warship. Spain also consented to salute the American flag on December 25 and to prosecute its officers if the *Virginius* was proven to have been legitimately flying the American flag at the time of its capture. A hearing at the U.S. Circuit Court for the Southern District of New York revealed, however, that the *Virginius* was the property of Rafael Quesada and had therefore fraudulently flown the American flag.

On December 16, the Spanish Navy towed the *Virginius* to Bahía Honda, west of Havana, and there turned it over to the U.S. Navy screw sloop *Ossipee*. The *Virginius*, which had been wrecked during the fight with the *Torpedo*, sank off Cape Hatteras, North Carolina, during a storm on December 26. On December 18, Spain released the remaining prisoners. On March 5, 1875, the Spanish government signed an indemnity agreement and paid \$80,000 to the families of the executed Americans; a smaller indemnity was paid to the British.

The *Virginius* Affair helped fuel American animosity toward Spain and also had a major impact on the U.S. Navy. During the crisis the U.S. Navy had mobilized ships for a possible war with Spain. Merely completing the assembly at Key West, Florida, took three months, however. This fiasco proved an acute embarrassment to the United States and helped spark demands for the creation of a modern navy, something that was realized over the next two and a half decades before the war with Spain.

KATJA WUESTENBECKER

See also

Céspedes y del Castillo, Carlos Manuel de; Ten Years' War

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Visayan Campaigns

Start Date: February 11, 1899

End Date: April 9, 1899

Ethnic diversity posed a far greater impediment to U.S. victory in the Philippine-American War than many senior U.S. military officials recognized at the outset. Initially, the primary focus of the war effort was Luzon, largest of the islands in the Philippine archipelago and home of the Tagalogs, the most populous of the archipelago's ethnic groups. The Filipino Nationalist movement was composed mainly of Tagalogs, and the de facto leader of the Republicans, Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, was himself a Tagalog. Consequently, U.S. military leaders became wedded to the notion that in order to win the war, it was only necessary to defeat Aguinaldo and his Tagalogs. Given this premise, it followed that there would be little or no opposition elsewhere in the archipelago.

As the war evolved, it became increasingly clear to many U.S. military officers that this assessment of the situation was far from realistic. Nowhere in the archipelago was this fact better illustrated than in the Visayas, a cluster of islands in the central Philippines of which the principal islands are Cebu, Samar, Negros, Leyte, Panay, and Bohol. Their inhabitants, although generally in favor of Philippine independence, refused to follow Aguinaldo and his largely Tagalog government, preferring their individual islands' political systems and leaders.

On Panay, leader Martin Delgado formed the Federal State of the Visayas and refused to accept Aguinaldo's authority. With the outbreak of hostilities between Filipino and U.S. forces, Brigadier General Marcus Miller landed his troops from gunboats and seized Iloilo City on February 11, 1899. Resistance was stiff but came mostly in the form of sniper fire. With the city torched, each side blamed the other. Nevertheless, a smoldering Iloilo City was in American hands by dark. The U.S. Army and U.S. Navy argued as to who should get credit for the capture, since the navy believed that it was their gunboat activity that secured the victory. This dispute was indicative of the rivalry that often characterized army-navy relations during the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War.

Although Miller occupied and controlled Iloilo City, his position was somewhat tenuous. He lacked sufficient troops to control the entire island and was therefore more or less confined to the city. Patrols were subjected to random attacks by snipers, and banditry flourished. On May 5, 1899, Miller was replaced by Brigadier General Robert P. Hughes, a distinguished soldier who soon discovered that Visayans were no more willing to accept U.S. rule than they were to acquiesce to Aguinaldo's directives. As with his predecessor, Hughes lacked the troops to do more than confine his operations to Iloilo City.

The island of Negros appeared more promising. Enjoying relative wealth because of its many rich sugar plantations, Negros was roughly composed of two parts: Negros Occidental on the west and Negros Oriental on the east. On March 1, Brigadier General James Smith had been named military governor of the new subdistrict of Negros. An able and knowledgeable commander, he worked diligently to develop a strong rapport with the inhabitants, following President William McKinley's policy of benevolent assimilation.

On Negros just as on Panay, a political faction created the Federal Republic of Negros Oriental. General Smith's efforts paid dividends. His work included the creation of a local constabulary to maintain law and order. Yet despite his efforts and the presence of a local police force, he still lacked sufficient manpower to control the outlaw bands that flourished on the island. One such group was composed of former policemen led by a fanatic named Luis Ginete. Yet another group that ravaged and terrorized Negros Occidental was the Babylanes, a militant political sect.

On July 19, 1899, Captain Bernard Byrne, leading two companies of the 6th Infantry Regiment, attacked the Babylane village of Bobong near La Carlota following a difficult march through mud and up steep mountain slopes in drenching rain. When the attack faltered in the face of a sudden charge by Filipino bolomen, Byrne ordered a small detachment of his own exhausted command to charge. The stratagem caught the Filipinos off guard and resulted in a Babylane retreat with heavy casualties. Six weeks later, Byrne destroyed another Babylane camp, continuing a string of army successes that lasted into the fall.

Led by Arcadio Maxilom, the inhabitants of the island of Cebu, like those of other islands, both rejected Aguinaldo's demands and resisted the Americans. On February 21, 1899, the U.S. Navy took control of Cebu City, although again there was some question as to whether the army or navy had taken control. As occurred elsewhere in the Visayas, the U.S. Army simply lacked the strength to control the brigands and revolutionary guerrillas.

In August 1899, a column of the 19th and 23rd Infantry Regiments and the 1st Tennessee moved to seek and destroy the headquarters of revolutionary leader Arcadio Maxilom. Following a

torturous march in stifling heat, the column exchanged fire with the rebels but failed to accomplish its main mission.

On the island of Leyte, General Ambrosio Moxica commanded a potent revolutionary force. Opposing him was Colonel Arthur Murray, who had only five companies of the 43rd Infantry Regiment. Detachments sent into the interior were continually harassed by Moxica's troops. Between February and June 1901, there were 125 engagements on Leyte.

In April 1901, Murray received reinforcements and launched a punitive strike against Moxica. During the next several weeks, the revolutionary forces experienced severe losses in battles at Ormoc (April 26) and Hilongas (May 6). Further reinforced in the summer of 1901, Murray finally occupied towns that he had earlier lacked the strength to take. As with Smith on Negros, Murray developed a rapport with the natives and local leaders, attempting to demonstrate why it was to their benefit to work with the Americans.

Although Murray tried hard to implement social reforms, he did get tough when revolutionaries and bandits attacked. During the spring of 1901, punitive columns moved against Moxica and again inflicted heavy losses, destroying stocks of supplies and capturing many prisoners. Moxica himself surrendered after his main camp was attacked on April 9. His surrender officially ended organized resistance on Leyte.

The Visayan Campaigns were conducted as backdoor operations, with the bulk of the army's strength concentrated in Luzon. It was a strange kind of soldiering that ranged from implementing social reforms among the native people to tough, hard-nosed campaigning against brigands and revolutionary groups.

JERRY KEENAN

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Luzon Campaigns; McKinley, William; Philippine-American War

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W

Wade, James Franklin

Birth Date: April 14, 1843

Death Date: August 23, 1921

U.S. Army officer. James Franklin Wade was born on April 14, 1843, in Jefferson, Ohio. His father, Benjamin F. Wade, was an Ohio state senator and then a U.S. senator. A Radical Republican, during the American Civil War the elder Wade was highly critical of many of President Abraham Lincoln's policies. Upon the 1865 assassination of Lincoln and Vice President Andrew Johnson's ascension to the presidency, Benjamin Wade became acting vice president and president pro tempore of the Senate.

With the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, James Wade secured a commission as a first lieutenant in the 6th U.S. Cavalry, where he remained throughout most of his military service during the war. He earned a brevet promotion to captain for meritorious service on June 9, 1863, during the Battle of Brandy Station and then earned several more breveted ranks during the war, rising ultimately to the rank of brigadier general of volunteers on February 13, 1865. He remained with the army until April 15, 1866, when he was mustered out. Two weeks later, he was commissioned as a captain in the regular army and a month later was promoted to the rank of major with the 9th Cavalry, an African American unit. He rose slowly through the ranks, attaining the rank of brigadier general in 1887.

With the beginning of the Spanish-American war, Wade was promoted to major general of volunteers on May 26, 1898, and placed in command of III Corps, which was organizing at Camp Thomas. The camp, named for George H. Thomas, had been established on April 14, 1898, on the grounds of Chickamauga National Military Park in North Georgia about nine miles from Chattanooga, Tennessee. Camp Thomas became the assembly point for at least six

regiments of regular cavalry transiting to Tampa, Florida, for embarkation to Cuba. By the end of April and President William McKinley's declaration of war, troops began moving into Tampa. With the movement of III Corps from Camp Thomas to Tampa, Wade assumed command of the Tampa mobilization center, which soon took on IV Corps and V Corps. Following the armistice in August 1898, Wade became a member of the Cuban Evacuation Committee, which oversaw the removal of Spanish forces from Cuba and Puerto Rico. He did not see action during the war.

In April 1901, Wade replaced Major General John C. Bates as commander of the Department of Southern Luzon in the Philippine Islands. It encompassed 10,000 square miles and 1.2 million people of Luzon south and east of Manila and an equal area on the islands of Marinduque, Masbate, Mindoro, and Samar. Bates had been criticized by William Howard Taft, the first civilian governor-general of the Philippines and future U.S. president, as a mediocre commander. Wade was more acquainted with irregular warfare and more active than Bates. However, six months into Wade's command, Taft wrote Secretary of War Elihu Root claiming that Wade was incompetent and petitioning for his removal. Wade nonetheless held his command until 1904, when he would take over the Atlantic Division until his retirement on April 14, 1907. He retired to Jefferson, Ohio, where he died on August 23, 1921.

R. RAY ORTENSIE

See also

Bates, John Coalter; Camp Thomas; Luzon; Marinduque; Philippine-American War; Root, Elihu; Samar Campaigns; Taft, William Howard; Tampa, Florida

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Wagner, Arthur Lockwood

Birth Date: March 16, 1853

Death Date: June 17, 1905

U.S. Army officer. Arthur L. Wagner was born in Ottawa, Illinois, on March 16, 1853. Appointed to the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1870, he had to repeat his first year and graduated in 1875. Commissioned a second lieutenant, he was assigned to the 6th Infantry Regiment at Fort Buford, Dakota Territory.

Wagner served his first seven years in the army on the western frontier. He participated in numerous campaigns against Native Americans, including the 1876–1877 Great Sioux War, the 1877 Nez Perce War, and the 1880–1881 operations against the Utes in Colorado. In 1882, he was assigned as a military instructor at the East Florida Seminary in Gainesville, Florida.

After three years in Florida, Wagner was detailed to the faculty of the Infantry and Cavalry School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. While at Leavenworth, he came to head the Department of Military Art and published two notable books on tactics and drill that became the army's standard texts on the subjects: *The Service of Security and Information* (1892) and *Organization and Tactics* (1894). They remained the foundation of U.S. Army operations and tactics through the first decade of the 20th century, and Wagner did much to transform Leavenworth into an important military educational institution.

Following his assignment at Leavenworth, Wagner was promoted to major and assigned as chief of the military information division at the War Department in 1896. This was the army's first intelligence section. As relations between Spain and the United States became more strained, Wagner dispatched two officers from his department to conduct detailed reconnaissance in Cuba and Puerto Rico. He sent Lieutenant Andrew S. Rowen to Cuba with instructions to link up with Cuban insurgency leader General Calixto García y Iñiguez. Rowen's mission became the inspiration for the well-known essay "A Message to Garcia." Wagner was actually the author of the message in question, a detailed list of questions regarding Cuba and the Spanish forces stationed there.

As war became more likely in early 1898, Wagner was appointed the army representative to the army and navy committee tasked with planning the campaign for the conquest of Cuba. Wagner and his navy counterpart, Captain Albert S. Barker, developed a detailed plan for mobilizing troops, transporting them to Cuba, and taking the capital city of Havana. Although events changed the army's objective from Havana to Santiago de Cuba, Wagner's plan still remained the basis for operations.

As V Corps under U.S. Army major general William Shafter prepared to embark for Cuba, commanding general of the army Major General Nelson Miles authorized Wagner to create a Bureau of Military Intelligence that would accompany Shafter's force to Cuba. Miles's intent, explained in a letter to Shafter, was that Wagner's detachment would be used as the central clearing agency for intelligence and reconnaissance information in support of Shafter's command. However, Shafter had his own ideas regarding the organization of reconnaissance and refused to allow Wagner's detachment to operate.

Now without a mission, Wagner volunteered and was accepted as a member of Brigadier General Henry W. Lawton's 2nd Division staff as the chief of division reconnaissance. In this capacity, Wagner landed with the division in Cuba in June. As the campaign developed, Wagner collected reconnaissance data and commanded the advance guard of the division. However, as U.S. forces approached Santiago de Cuba, Shafter consolidated all division reconnaissance staff at the corps headquarters, once again eliminating Wagner's position. For the remainder of the campaign, Wagner was a frustrated observer who saw American units repeatedly falter in large part because of poorly coordinated or conducted reconnaissance and intelligence gathering.

Following the Cuba Campaign, Wagner wrote a detailed and comprehensive critique of the operation with special emphasis on reconnaissance and intelligence activities. This damning analysis was particularly critical of Shafter and was not released for publication until 1908.

In 1899, Wagner was assigned to the Philippines, where he was promoted to colonel. In 1902, he returned to the United States and was briefly assigned as the deputy commandant of the new General Service and Staff College at Fort Leavenworth. In 1903, he was assigned as the senior director of the new Army War College and concurrently to the Army General Staff as chief of the Third Division. In these roles, he greatly influenced the continued reform of military education until his death from tuberculosis on June 17, 1905, in Asheville, North Carolina. President Theodore Roosevelt was to have signed the orders promoting Wagner to brigadier general on the day of his death.

LOUIS A. DiMARCO

See also

García y Iñiguez, Calixto; Lawton, Henry Ware; "Message to Garcia, A"; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Military Intelligence; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Shafter, William Rufus

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Wainwright, Richard

Birth Date: December 17, 1849

Death Date: March 6, 1926

U.S. naval officer. Born on December 17, 1849, in Washington, D.C., Richard Wainwright was the son of a naval officer. He received an appointment to the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, where he showed academic promise but received a low class ranking because of his indifference to the institution's strict disciplinary code. He graduated in 1868.

Although the navy was sharply reduced in numbers of ships in the two decades after the American Civil War, Wainwright built an excellent reputation in a variety of assignments. He was promoted to master in July 1870, to lieutenant in September 1873, and to lieutenant commander in September 1894. Assignments included the battleship *Colorado* and flag lieutenant to the commander in chief of the Asiatic Squadron. Returning to shore duty, he earned a law degree from Columbian University (now George Washington University) in 1884. From 1887 to 1890, he was on the faculty at Annapolis. During 1896–1897, he was intelligence officer of the navy, reporting directly to Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt.

In November 1897, Wainwright was assigned as executive officer of the battleship *Maine*. In January 1898, the *Maine* was dispatched to Havana, Cuba, to show the flag during unrest there. Wainwright survived the explosion of the ship on the night of February 15, 1898, and won recognition for his efforts to rescue survivors. In subsequent weeks, he supervised salvage efforts and the return of the *Maine*'s crew members, both living and dead, to the United States. He also testified during the navy's court of inquiry that investigated the explosion.

As war with Spain loomed in the early spring of 1898, Wainwright took command of the gunboat *Gloucester*. The ship, originally a yacht owned by the financier John Pierpont Morgan, was undergoing conversion at a New York shipyard. Wainwright had the task of training an entirely new crew on a lightly armed converted vessel in a very short period of time. The *Gloucester* sailed for Cuba just 25 days after Wainwright had taken command.

Following a month spent patrolling the coast of Cuba, the *Gloucester* took part in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3, 1898, when Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's Spanish squadron attempted to escape the U.S. blockaders. Among the highlights of the subsequent rapid American destruction of the Spanish squadron was the *Gloucester*'s attack on two Spanish destroyers, the *Furor* and *Pluton*, sinking one and forcing the beaching of the other. This was particularly noteworthy in that both vessels were much larger and better armed than the *Gloucester*. Wainwright's crew then assisted in the rescue of Cervera and 200 officers and men from the Spanish flagship. For his actions in the battle, Wainwright was advanced 10 numbers in rank. Wainwright's ship subsequently landed the first U.S. forces in Puerto



Lieutenant Commander Richard Wainwright was the executive officer on the battleship *Maine* when it blew up in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898. He took part in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3 and retired from the navy as a rear admiral. (John Clark Ridpath, *Ridpath's History of the World*, 1901)

Rico. In the process, he helped capture Guánica, for which he earned a commendation for gallantry.

Wainwright was promoted to commander in March 1899. During 1900–1902, he was superintendent of the United States Naval Academy. He subsequently commanded the battleship *Louisiana* during 1907–1908 and the Second Division of the Atlantic Fleet during 1908–1909. Promoted to rear admiral in July 1908, he retired from the navy in 1911. Wainwright died on March 6, 1926, in Washington, D.C.

ROBERT M. BROWN

See also

Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Guánica, Puerto Rico; *Maine*, USS; *Maine*, USS, Inquiries into the Loss of; Puerto Rico Campaign; Roosevelt, Theodore; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of

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Waller, Littleton Tazewell

Birth Date: September 26, 1856

Death Date: July 13, 1926

U.S. Marine Corps officer. Littleton Tazewell Waller was born on September 26, 1856, in York County, Virginia, to a prominent family. He received an appointment as a second lieutenant in the Marine Corps on June 16, 1880, and was assigned to the U.S. European Naval Squadron in 1881.

In the summer of 1882, Waller participated in a landing at Alexandria, Egypt, as part of a marine contingent sent ashore to protect American interests there following rioting. During the next several years, he served in both sea and shore assignments in Washington, D.C.; in Norfolk, Virginia; and aboard several navy warships. During the Spanish-American War, he was assigned to the battleship *Indiana*, seeing action off Santiago Bay and San Juan, Puerto Rico. During the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3, 1898, in which the entire Spanish squadron was destroyed, Waller helped rescue Spanish crewmen, earning the seldom-awarded Specially Meritorious Service Medal.

Following the war, Waller was transferred to Cavite naval base on Luzon in the Philippines. In 1900, he led a contingent of marines sent to rescue foreign nationals under siege in Tientsin (Tianjin), China, during the Boxer Rebellion of 1899–1901. For his role in this operation, he received commendation and was breveted to lieutenant colonel.

Following the Boxer Rebellion, Waller returned to Cavite. After the September 28, 1901, Balangiga Massacre in which insurgents on Samar killed a number of Americans, Major Waller commanded a battalion of 300 marines temporarily under army command to pacify Samar. His commanding officer, U.S. Army brigadier general Jacob Hurd Smith, allegedly issued verbal orders to Waller to “kill and burn,” to take no prisoners, to turn the interior of Samar into “a howling wilderness,” and to regard males older than 10 as combatants subject to execution.

Waller did not take Smith’s orders literally and indeed insisted that the marines not make war on children. Nonetheless, the ensuing violence of the Samar Campaign attracted considerable negative reportage in the American press. In March 1902, Major Waller was court-martialed for the execution of 10 civilian porters during the Samar Campaign. He sought to protect Smith by basing his defense on General Order No. 100 of the American Civil War concerning guerrillas who were captured behind the lines. Smith was then called as a prosecution witness. In trying to protect himself, Smith committed perjury by denying that he had issued any special orders to Waller. The defense then rebutted Smith’s testimony with three witnesses who had heard the conversation between the two men. It was by this means that the order became public. Waller was acquitted, and this forced Secretary of War Elihu Root to order a court-martial for Smith in May 1902. He was found guilty and retired from the army.

Following his own acquittal, Waller returned to the United States and was placed in charge of marine recruiting for Delaware,

Pennsylvania, and western New Jersey. In 1904, he took command of a marine regiment in Panama. Two years later, he took part in a U.S. intervention force to restore order in Cuba following fraudulent presidential elections there. By 1911, he commanded a marine brigade on the island, and from 1911 to 1914, he had charge of the marine barracks on Mare Island, California.

In 1914, Waller commanded the 1st Marine Brigade during the occupation of Vera Cruz, Mexico. The following year, he commanded the marines in the occupation of Haiti, remaining there until 1916 and rising to brigadier general. In early January 1917, he became the commander of the Advanced Base Force in Philadelphia. Promoted to major general in August 1918, he retired in June 1920. An obvious candidate for the position of Marine Corps commandant, his connection to Smith and the 1902 court-martial prevented his appointment. Waller died on July 13, 1926, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

GREGORY C. FERENCE

See also

Balangiga Massacre; Boxer Rebellion; Samar Campaigns; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Smith, Jacob Hurd

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War Department, U.S.

The U.S. War Department was the government body responsible for planning, directing, and supporting U.S. Army, National Guard, and Volunteer Army units in the Spain-American War (1898) and the Philippine-American War (1899–1902). Secretary of War Russell A. Alger headed the department, but there were no clear organizational lines of responsibility between Alger and the commanding general of the army, Major General Nelson A. Miles. The War Department was instead a collection of different agencies and bureaus, the chief function of which in peacetime was to keep down costs. These included the powerful Adjutant General’s Department, the Engineer Department, the Ordnance Department, the Military Information Division, the Pay Department, the Quartermaster Corps, the Signal Corps, and the Subsistence Department.

The army received \$20 million under the Fifty Million Dollar Bill passed by Congress on March 9, 1898, to prepare for war with Spain and spent most of it on coastal defense, largely fortifications and artillery. War Department planners envisioned the navy taking the major role in any war with Spain. They saw only a very limited mobilization, with the National Guard assuming primary responsibility for coastal defense. The department was thus sur-



War Department building, Washington, D.C., 1898. The War Department shared the building with the Navy Department and the State Department. (Library of Congress)

prised when President William McKinley issued a call for 125,000 volunteers at the beginning of the war. This unexpectedly large influx of volunteers produced considerable confusion and created serious logistical problems that were not immediately overcome. During the war, the War Department had to contend with logistical shortfalls to include medical supplies and medical personnel and was compelled to face the issue of African Americans serving as officers and the acquisition of transports to carry large numbers of men overseas.

Following conclusion of the armistice in August 1898, the War Department supervised the demobilization of some 200,000 volunteers, established the Division of Customs and Insular Affairs to administer the newly acquired territories, oversaw garrisons in Cuba and Puerto Rico, and dispatched significant reinforcements to the Philippines.

Complaints during the war of mismanagement by the War Department led Secretary Alger to request an investigation. The resulting War Department Investigating Commission was known as the Dodge Commission for its chairman, former U.S. Army major general and former Republican congressman from Iowa Grenville

Mellen Dodge. The commission held extensive hearings but never brought any formal charges, although McKinley did request Alger's resignation in 1899. Many of the commission's recommendations regarding military hygiene and medical treatment were implemented in fairly short order.

Following the war, new secretary of war Elihu Root endeavored to correct many of the department's shortcomings revealed during the war. These included replacement of the position of commanding general of the army with that of chief of staff and the creation of a General Staff.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Alger, Russell Alexander; Dodge Commission; McKinley, William; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Root, Elihu; United States Army

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War Department Investigating Committee

See Dodge Commission

Warships

The dominant element driving warship design in the last quarter of the 19th century was ordnance. Reasonably reliable self-propelled torpedoes and moored mines emerged during this period, but their influence on the design of warships was limited to largely ineffective passive defense measures (such as antitorpedo nets) and batteries of light guns for active self-defense. Consequently, the primary weapon for all but dedicated torpedo craft remained the gun.

Three factors drove the emergence of a new panoply of warship types: steel construction, advances in machinery efficiency, and improved artillery design. Steel construction enabled the design of warships that were structurally lighter and stronger than their precursors of similar size. Advances in machinery design, first compounding and then triple expansion, endowed new warships with greater range and reliability and led to the disappearance of sailing

rigs from naval fleets. Improved breech-loading guns could fire faster over longer ranges and with greater hitting power. The combination of these advances quickly rendered earlier warships obsolete. In their place emerged battleships for service in the main battle line; an array of cruiser types for reconnaissance, commerce warfare, and distant-force projection; and a variety of small torpedo craft for coastal defense.

The new battleships took advantage of lighter hull structures permitted by steel construction to grow in size to carry heavy armor, powerful heavy main gun batteries, and extensive secondary batteries for close-range action and self-defense against torpedo craft. By the 1890s, a modern battleship, displacing 12–14,000 tons, had a main belt nickel steel armor 10–15 inches thick, gun barbettes and shields of similar thickness, and a main armored deck 3–4 inches thick. Its main armament consisted of four 11–13-inch rifled breech-loading guns, usually mounted in pairs. Secondary armament was a dozen 6-inch or 8-inch quick-firing guns plus a similar number of lighter 3-inch weapons. In addition, it carried 4–6 torpedo tubes. Triple expansion machinery generating 10,000–12,000 horsepower propelled the battleship at 15–18 knots and gave it a normal cruising range of about 8,000 miles.



U.S. cruiser *Marblehead* off Cienfuegos, Cuba. (Library of Congress)

Common Warship Types during the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War

Designation	Size (in Tons Displaced)	Guns	Armor (in Inches)	Horsepower	Speed (in Knots)
Battleship	12,000–14,000	four 11–13-inch guns six 6- or 8-inch guns six 3-inch guns four–six torpedo tubes	main belt: 10–15 gun shield: 10–15 deck: 3–4	10,000–12,000	15–18
Armored cruisers	7,000–11,000	six–nine .2-inch guns	side: 3–4; deck: 1–2	15,000–19,000	19–21
Protected cruisers	2,000–11,000	small: eight 4–5-inch guns medium: eight 6-inch guns large: six–nine .2-inch guns	deck: 1–4	5,000–12,000	19–21
Torpedo boats	100–200	two–three 18-inch torpedo tubes four–six 1–3-pounder guns	None	1,500–3,000	24–30

Cruisers, by contrast, displayed a great variety of configurations, although two fundamental types existed: armored cruisers and protected cruisers. Armored cruisers primarily relied on a vertical armor belt for defense against shells, while protected cruisers depended on a turtlelike armor deck over their machinery and magazines. In general, armored cruisers (later heavy cruisers) were large vessels of 7,000–11,000 tons. They were armed with 6, 9.2-inch guns, usually paired heavier guns fore and aft supplemented by lighter guns on the broadside. Armored cruisers often carried a light battery for defense against torpedo craft. Side armor was 3–4 inches thick. There was usually heavier protection for the main guns, and often a 1–2-inch partial or complete armor deck protected machinery and magazines. Armored cruisers also benefited from very powerful machinery, often in the 15,000–19,000 horsepower range, producing top speeds between 19 and 21 knots. Their primary missions were reconnaissance for the battle fleet, serving as a fast wing for the battle line, and independent commerce raiding.

Protected cruisers were far less homogenous in their characteristics, ranging in size from 2,000 tons to as much as 11,000 tons. The smallest ships carried about eight 4–5-inch guns, the medium-size ships carried a similar number of 6-inch weapons, and the largest protected cruisers mounted an armament comparable to that for large armored cruisers. Deck armor was between 1 and 4 inches in thickness; above it, the hull was divided into small compartments, some filled with cellulose or used as coal bunkers to contain damage and resist shells. Protected cruisers usually had powerful machinery, between 5,000 and 12,000 horsepower, producing top speeds of between 19 and 21 knots. Their primary missions were reconnaissance, commerce raiding and protection, and force projection.

Most navies also constructed relatively numerous gunboats, essentially reduced versions of the small cruisers. They rarely carried guns larger than 6 inches in caliber and usually relied on subdivision and side-coal bunkers for protection. Their missions were trade protection and showing the flag to support national interests.

During the 1890s, most navies added quite large numbers of torpedo boats to their fleets. These craft relied on small size, low silhouettes, and speed for survival. Torpedo boats displaced 100–200 tons, and powerful triple-expansion machinery of between

1,500 and 3,000 horsepower drove their very lightly built hulls at between 24 and 30 knots. Their primary armament was two or three 18-inch torpedo tubes, usually on rotating mounts, supplemented by a handful of light 1–3-pounder guns. Their small size, light construction, and voracious appetites for coal largely confined torpedo boat operations to within 300 miles of their bases.

PAUL E. FONTENOY

See also

Spain, Navy; Torpedo Boat Destroyers; Torpedo Boats; United States Navy

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Washington, Booker T.

Birth Date: April 5, 1856

Death Date: November 14, 1915

U.S. educator, author, and influential civil rights activist. Booker T. Washington was born into slavery in Hale's Ford, Virginia, on April 5, 1856. His mother was a cook and domestic servant for a white family, and his father was a white farmhand about whom little is known but who was not a part of Washington's life while growing up. Because it was illegal for slaves to be educated, the young Washington received no formal education, although his natural intelligence and curiosity as a youngster served as its own form of schooling. When he was just nine years old, the American Civil War ended, and slaves were formally emancipated. In the summer of 1865, Washington relocated to West Virginia, where his mother had already set up house with his stepfather, from whom he took the name Washington.

Anxious to make up for lost time in his education, Washington held a series of menial jobs before he took a job with a fastidious and wealthy white woman as a houseboy. Encouraged by his employer,



Born a slave in 1856, Booker T. Washington became a staunch civil rights activist and one of the most influential educators in American history. (Library of Congress)

he began attending local schools, learned how to read and write flawlessly, and absorbed all the knowledge he could. When he reached age 16, he continued his education by attending the Hampton Normal and Agricultural School in Hampton, Virginia (now Hampton University).

Washington trained as a teacher and from 1878 to 1879 studied at the Weyland Seminary in Washington, D.C. In 1880, he went back to Hampton, where he took a job as a teacher. Here he excelled, and within a year he had been recommended to head a new teaching and vocational school for African Americans in Tuskegee, Alabama. The school, known as the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute (now Tuskegee University), began operations in 1881 and expanded rapidly under Washington's careful supervision. While Tuskegee produced many teachers, its emphasis in those years was on vocational training in occupations such as carpentry, masonry, and mechanics. This fit with Washington's ideas that African Americans should become self-sufficient individuals with good jobs and pride in their work so as to earn the respect of the white community. Only by doing so, he argued, would African Americans be granted the full civil rights enjoyed by white Americans. Washington remained the school's head until his death in 1915 and built the school's investment portfolio from a mere \$2,000 in 1881 to more than \$1.5 million by 1914.

Washington was a natural politician as well as educator, so he was consulted by many officeholders, most of them Republicans. He was seen as a gradualist in the struggle for black equality, and as such many whites were drawn to his crusade of incrementally introducing black Americans into white-dominated society. In other words, Washington did not immediately threaten the status quo. This also helped him raise millions of dollars and much support for black causes—including the Tuskegee Institute—from the likes of Andrew Carnegie, William Howard Taft, Henry H. Rodgers, and Julius Rosenwald.

In 1895, Washington gave a speech in Atlanta wherein he laid out his so-called Atlanta Compromise. In it, he articulated his belief in the primacy of industrial education for blacks; the importance of blacks becoming self-sufficient, thrifty, productive members of society; and the gradual bestowment of civil rights on African Americans. While this stance played well to liberal-minded whites, some African Americans believed it to be too much of an accommodation with white-dominated society. W. E. B. Du Bois, another renowned black activist, initially supported the Atlanta Compromise. But he soon broke with Washington, believing that formal higher education for a small minority of blacks who would then help lift up the others was the preferred course of action. Du Bois also believed that Washington's platform was too gradualist.

As events in Cuba careened toward war after 1895, a large portion of the African American population found themselves supporting the actions of Cuban rebels. Indeed, they connected their own struggles against a domineering white society in the United States with the Cubans' struggle for independence from colonial Spain. When war did come in 1898, thousands of African Americans served bravely and honorably, albeit in the highly segregated armed forces. When the battleship *Maine* blew up in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, among those killed in the tragedy were 22 African American seamen, a point that Washington took great pains to point out as war with Spain loomed.

As the most prominent African American in the country at the time, Washington urged African Americans to support the war effort and to enlist in the armed forces. Indeed, the activist argued that African Americans were uniquely positioned to serve their country in a war with Spain because they were used to the conditions that were to be found in Cuba and were assumed to be immune to mosquito-borne diseases that infested the island. In March 1898, just a month prior to the war declaration, Washington assured Secretary of the Navy John Davis Long that there were "at least 10,000" African Americans in the South alone who were willing to show their gratitude by sacrificing themselves for their country. True to form, African Americans in the thousands fought in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. Washington, however, voiced his opposition to the American pacification and occupation of the Philippines. He asserted that until the United States solved its own social problems, it had little right to solve those of other nations.

In 1901, Washington published his wildly popular autobiography *Up from Slavery*. That same year, President Theodore Roosevelt

invited Washington to the White House, much to the consternation of whites in the South. This marked the first time that an African American came to the executive mansion on an official visit.

Washington continued to keep up a daunting pace as head of the Tuskegee Institute, crisscrossing the nation raising money and giving speeches. He also spoke out against the segregationist Jim Crow laws in the South and against lynching, but he maintained his gradualist approach to civil rights until his death. Washington collapsed while giving a speech in New York City and was rushed back to Tuskegee, Alabama, where he died of heart failure on November 14, 1915.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

African Americans; Long, John Davis; Roosevelt, Theodore

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Watkins, Kathleen Blake

Birth Date: February 20, 1856

Death Date: May 16, 1915

Journalist and war correspondent. Kathleen Watkins, also known as Kit Coleman, was born on February 20, 1856, in Castleblakeney, Ireland, to a middle-class farming family. She received a classical education and completed her studies in her late teens at a finishing school in Belgium. From an early age, she was transfixed by literature and writing. At the age of 20, she married a well-to-do man who was many years older. The marriage was an unhappy one, and when her husband died, his family refused to grant her his estate. Now without funds, she immigrated to Canada in 1884.

In Canada, Blake met and married Thomas Watkins, a Toronto businessman. Kathleen Watkins taught French and music to augment the family's income, but when it became clear that her second husband was an incorrigible philanderer, she left him and took a job as the women's editor for the *Toronto Daily Mail*. To pursue her writing passion and to augment her salary, she also published numerous short stories, the first one appearing in print in 1889.

Watkins's work on the newspaper eventually earned her a daily column, which also began in 1889. Writing under the pen name "Kit," she explored many topics including politics, religion, science, and business. Her superiors at first winced at such topics for a section ostensibly aimed at women, but as readership of her work increased dramatically, they did not dissuade her from such writing.

A naturally restless and curious individual, Watkins began to travel, reporting on what she saw and the people she met. Beginning in 1892, she essentially became a traveling correspondent and regaled her readers about her travels to England, Ireland, the West

Indies, and nearly every state in the United States. Indeed, by the mid-1890s, her reporting had made her a household name in Canada and the United States, particularly among women. By 1894, she was without doubt the most influential woman journalist in North America and one of the top reporters for any English-language newspaper. When the *Toronto Daily Mail* and *Empire* merged in 1895, she remained as the women's page editor. This combination increased her visibility and readership.

Watkins gained her greatest fame during the Spanish-American War. Anxious to report on the situation in Cuba and to cover hostilities there, she convinced her newspaper to allow her to go to Cuba and report from that island. She faced an uphill battle, however, in persuading the U.S. War Department to classify her as an official war correspondent. Her persistence paid off, however, for she became the first officially sanctioned female war correspondent. Her superiors at the newspaper had instructed her to write features and interest stories, with the implication that the tough from-the-front reporting should be left to male journalists. Watkins would hear none of that, however. As it turned out, she almost did not make it to Cuba, as male correspondents and military officials, disgruntled by her presence, tried to prevent her passage.

Watkins left Tampa, Florida, in late June 1898, arriving in Cuba in July just prior to the cessation of hostilities there. Characteristically, she made the best of the situation and wrote a long series of reports that detailed the aftereffects of the war in Cuba. Both heart-wrenching and compelling, her reporting from the front made her even more of a celebrity. The human cost of war was a frequent focus of her stories.

Watkins returned to Canada later that year, stopping in Washington, D.C., to speak to a congress of international female journalists. While in Washington, she also met and married Theobald Coleman, a Canadian physician.

Not surprisingly, Watkins was a champion of women's rights and believed that it was foolhardy for women to depend exclusively on men for their economic well-being. In 1911, the *Daily Mail and Empire* revamped its contents and cut back on Watkins's space. She promptly resigned and began writing her own column independently, which was rapidly picked up by newspapers in Canada and the United States on a syndicated basis. Due to fear of retribution from her employers, it was not until 1910 that she publicly voiced her support for women's suffrage. Indeed, the *Daily Mail and Empire* had vociferously opposed women's suffrage. Watkins continued to write until her death in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, on May 16, 1915.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI

See also

Journalism; Newspapers

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Watson, John Crittenden

Birth Date: August 24, 1842

Death Date: December 14, 1923

U.S. Navy officer who commanded four different naval squadrons during the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War. John Crittenden Watson was born in Frankfort, Kentucky, on August 24, 1842. Appointed an acting midshipman on September 19, 1856, he entered the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, and graduated on June 15, 1860, as a midshipman.

During the American Civil War, he was promoted to master on September 19, 1861, and lieutenant on July 16, 1862. During the conflict, he served as Rear Admiral David Farragut's flag lieutenant and took part in such engagements as running past Forts Jackson and St. Philip to New Orleans, Vicksburg, Grand Gulf, Port Hudson, and Mobile Bay.

Following the Civil War, Watson held a variety of assignments while continuing to rise in rank. He was promoted to lieutenant commander on July 15, 1866; commander on January 23, 1874; captain on March 6, 1887; and commodore on November 7, 1897. When the Spanish-American War began, he commanded the U.S. Naval Home, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Within days of the declaration of war in April 1898, Watson took command of the Cuban Blockading Squadron. He held this assignment from May 6 to June 21, a critical period during which Spanish rear admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's squadron was steaming toward Cuba. Following Commodore George Dewey's stunning victory over the Spanish in the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, Spain ordered a squadron under Rear Admiral Manuel de la Cámara y Liber Moore to the Philippines. In response, the Navy Department created the Eastern Squadron, with Watson in command. The new squadron was formed from Rear Admiral William Sampson's North Atlantic Fleet with the assignment of threatening the home waters of Spain and forcing the return of Cámara's squadron or following the squadron to the Philippines should it continue there.

The Eastern Squadron's planned complement of ships varied, but it was to include at least two battleships and a number of cruisers, gunboats, and auxiliary vessels. Sampson was worried about having adequate strength in the Caribbean and sought to delay the deployment of the Eastern Squadron. His strong objections prevented the Eastern Squadron from deploying due to the argument that its ships were needed in Cuba until Cervera's squadron could be destroyed.

On June 21, 1898, Commodore John Howe replaced Watson as commander of the Cuban Blockading Squadron so that Watson could take command of the new Eastern Squadron. Briefly during June 21–27, Watson commanded the 1st North Atlantic Squadron. Awaiting official orders to activate and detach his Eastern Squadron, he utilized the battleship *Oregon* as his flagship and was in that ship during the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3, 1898, during which Cervera's squadron was destroyed.

With Cervera's squadron eliminated, the Eastern Squadron was finally activated on July 7, 1898. However, that same day, Cámara received orders for his squadron, then in the Red Sea, to return to Spain. With Watson's mission to the Philippines ended, the reason for the Eastern Squadron disappeared. Although his squadron was never deployed, he retained his command until September 20, a month after the Protocol of Peace.

Following the conclusion of the Spanish-American War, Watson was promoted to rear admiral on March 3, 1899. In May 1899, he was ordered to Manila, relieving Rear Admiral Dewey on June 20, 1899, as commander of the Asiatic Squadron, then actively involved in the Philippine-American War. Watson's service with the squadron was brief, and in March 1900 he returned to the United States because of ill health.

In 1901, as the Sampson-Schley Controversy was being hotly debated, Watson shocked many by threatening to court-martial anyone who suggested cowardice on Schley's part. In 1902, Watson represented the United States at the coronation of Great Britain's King Edward VII. Watson was later sent to Europe to study naval establishments and personnel policies. He retired from the navy in 1904 and died in Washington, D.C., on December 14, 1923.

PATRICK MCSHERRY

See also

Asiatic Squadron; Cámara y Liber Moore, Manuel de la; Cervera y Topete, Pascual; Cuba, U.S. Naval Blockade of; Eastern Squadron; North Atlantic Squadron; Philippine-American War; Sampson, William Thomas; Sampson-Schley Controversy; Santiago de Cuba, Battle of; Schley, Winfield Scott

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Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano

Birth Date: September 17, 1839

Death Date: October 20, 1930

Spanish Army general and governor-general of Cuba. Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau was born in Palma de Majorca, Spain, on September 17, 1839. Following in the steps of his father, a military doctor, at age 16 he entered the Spanish Army as a cadet at the Infantry College at Toledo. Attending the staff college as a lieutenant, he graduated at the top of his class in 1861. Assigned to Cuba as a captain in 1863, he subsequently took part in the Spanish military expedition to reconquer Dominica.

During 1868–1872, Weyler was again in Cuba, this time taking part in crushing insurgent forces during the Ten Years' War (1868–1878). He returned to Spain in 1872 as a brigadier general, marked as an officer of great promise but known for brutal methods. He



Spanish general Valeriano Weyler, governor-general of Cuba during 1896–1897. His harsh policies did much to bring on the Spanish-American War of 1898. (Library of Congress)

next saw service against the Carlists. Rewarded for his service there, he was advanced to general of division, ennobled as *marqués* of Tenerife, and appointed to the Spanish Senate. During 1878–1883, he was captain-general of the Canary Islands and in the latter year became captain-general of the Balearic Islands.

In 1888, Weyler secured an appointment as governor-general of the Philippines, a post he held until 1891. He reportedly became wealthy in the Philippines. There he also orchestrated military operations to suppress uprisings in Mindanao and other islands. Returning to Spain in 1892, he took command of the Spanish Army's VI Corps, quelling unrest in Navarre and in the Basque areas of Spain. He was then captain-general of Barcelona, where he took an active role in suppressing socialists and anarchists in this increasing industrial city.

With Cuba again in the midst of an insurgency and liberal pacification policies having failed, conservative Spanish premier Antonio Cánovas del Castillo appointed Weyler as captain-general of Cuba. He served in that post in Cuba during February 1896–October 1897. Arriving on the island with 50,000 Spanish rein-

forcements, he continued his reputation as a stern and uncompromising officer. No friend of the American press, Weyler soon ordered the arrest and expulsion from Cuba of American journalists. In order to isolate the insurgency, he also ordered the construction of *trochas* (fortified lines) across Cuba. More important, he sought to separate the insurgents from the civilian population in the countryside with his *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) system whereby peasants were removed to fortified towns. The forerunner of the British concentration camps of the South African Boer War and of the U.S. Strategic Hamlet program during the Vietnam War, this program uprooted some 500,000 peasants and concentrated them in hastily constructed and often inadequate communities, where they were prey to unsanitary conditions, disease, and even starvation. Thousands died. Meanwhile, Weyler's troops laid waste to the countryside, destroying crops and livestock and anything else that might be of use to the rebels. These policies, while they had some success against the insurgency, earned Weyler such American press epithets as "the Butcher," "the Beast," "the Mad Dog," and "the Hyena." They also greatly aroused general American opposition to Spanish policies in Cuba.

Sensitive to this criticism and to the sharp deterioration in U.S.-Spanish relations, the government of Premier Práxedes Mateo Sagasta recalled Weyler in October 1897 and replaced him with General Ramón Blanco y Erenas. On Weyler's return to Spain, he was approached about joining a military plot to overthrow the government but rejected it because he believed that it would divide the army.

When the Spanish-American War began, Weyler was optimistic, publicly talking about how an army of 50,000 Spanish troops might invade the United States. Elected to the Spanish Cortes (parliament), he blamed the defeat of Spain on the politicians. He defended both the army and his Cuban policies in his 1906 memoir *Mi mando en Cuba: Historia militar y política de la última guerra separatista* (My Command in Cuba: The Military and Political History of the Last Separatist War).

Weyler was military governor of Madrid in 1900 and served as minister of war in several conservative Spanish cabinets (March 1901–December 1902, July–December 1905, and December 1906–January 1907). In 1909, he was again governor-general of Barcelona and helped put down an anarchist rebellion there. During 1921–1923, he was commanding general of the army. Promoted to field marshal, he nonetheless retained his rank after participation in the plot in 1926 to overthrow the regime of Fernando Primo de Rivera y Sobremonte. Weyler died in Madrid on October 20, 1930.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Blanco y Erenas, Ramón; Cánovas del Castillo y Vallejo, Antonio; Carlists; *Reconcentrado* System; Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo; Spain, Army; Ten Years' War; Trocha

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Wheaton, Lloyd

Birth Date: July 15, 1838

Death Date: September 17, 1918

U.S. Army officer. Born in Penfield, Michigan, on July 15, 1838, Lloyd Wheaton joined the Union Army after the American Civil War began in April 1861. Rising to the rank of captain in the 8th Illinois Infantry Regiment, he was at the Battle of Shiloh in April 1862, where he was wounded. After recuperating, he returned to active duty, rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel by the end of the war. For meritorious actions during an April 9, 1864, assault on Fort Blakely, a Confederate stronghold in Alabama, he received the Medal of Honor in January 1894.

After the Civil War, Wheaton remained in the army, serving in the American West. At the beginning of the Spanish-American War, he received an appointment as brigadier general of volunteers. He commanded the 1st Brigade in Miami, Florida, before sailing with his men to Cuba, where they became part of the occupation forces after the fighting had ended in August 1898.

After the Spanish-American War, Wheaton was placed in charge of two regiments and transferred to the Philippines to help suppress Filipino nationalists led by Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy in the Philippine-American War (1899–1902). Upon landing in Manila in late February 1899, Wheaton took part in an offensive led by Major Generals Elwell S. Otis and Arthur MacArthur to capture the rebel capital at Malolos. The Americans hoped that the campaign would end the war. During the Pasig River Campaign, Wheaton led his troops in clearing the insurgents from an area between Manila and Lake Laguna. During this operation, his force captured several towns, thereby dividing the rebel forces and thus allowing the Americans to move toward the insurgent capital. Under MacArthur's command, Wheaton's men served with distinction during the Malolos Campaign, which ultimately resulted in the rebel capital's capture in March 1899. Although this did not end the war, it did force the rebels to move farther north.

The Americans put another plan into operation to destroy the insurgents in northern Luzon in the autumn of 1899. Two columns would continue to push Aguinaldo's forces farther north, while a third group, led by Wheaton, would sail from Manila, land at San Fabian, and move south to link up at Dagupan with American troops moving north, thereby trapping the Filipinos. Wheaton easily took San Fabian with naval support on November 7, 1899, but did not move with sufficient speed to Dagupan. On November 11, his troops defeated a rebel force at San Jacinto, but Wheaton did

not follow up this victory by moving on to Dagupan, instead returning to San Fabian. His column would eventually link up with the other two American groups, but the delay allowed Aguinaldo to escape, turning the conflict into a guerrilla war that lasted into 1902. In 1901, Wheaton became commander of the Department of Northern Luzon, fighting the guerrillas using search and destroy tactics. As his tenure progressed, his tactics became increasingly draconian.

In late March 1901, Wheaton received promotion to major general. On July 15, 1901, he was forced into mandatory retirement because of his age. He moved to Chicago, where he died on September 17, 1918.

GREGORY C. FERENCE

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Luzon Campaigns; MacArthur, Arthur; Malolos, Philippines, Capture of; Otis, Elwell Stephen; Philippine-American War; Philippine Republic, First

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Wheeler, Joseph

Birth Date: September 10, 1836

Death Date: January 25, 1906

Major general of U.S. Volunteers in the Spanish-American War. Joseph Wheeler was born on September 10, 1836, near Augusta, Georgia. Graduating from the United States Military Academy, West Point, in the class of 1859, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the 1st Dragoons Regiment. After training at the Cavalry School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, he was posted to the American West.

When the American Civil War began, Wheeler resigned his commission in the U.S. Army and accepted a commission as a lieutenant in the Confederate artillery. In September 1861, he was promoted to colonel and took command of the newly formed 19th Alabama Infantry Regiment, fighting with it in the Battle of Shiloh. He then transferred to the cavalry, where he won his greatest renown and came to be nicknamed "Fighting Joe." Initially leading a cavalry brigade in the Army of the Mississippi from September to November 1862, he shifted to the Army of Tennessee. He commanded a brigade during November–December 1862 and saw action in the Battle of Perryville. He was promoted to brigadier general with date of rank of October 30, 1862, and to major general on January 20, 1863. He commanded a division during December 1862–March 1863 and fought at Stone's River (Murfreesboro). He com-



Joseph Wheeler served as a major general in the Confederate Army during the American Civil War. His appointment in 1898 as a major general of volunteers for the Spanish-American War was widely seen as an effort to heal remaining sectional conflict. (Library of Congress)

manded a corps from March 1863 to the autumn of 1864 and March–April 1865 and carried out a masterly raid on Union lines of communication that effectively bottled up at Chattanooga the Union Army of the Cumberland. He also saw service under Lieutenant General James Longstreet in the Siege of Knoxville and opposed Major General William T. Sherman's March to the Sea and then his movement north all the way to Raleigh. Wheeler also briefly commanded a cavalry corps in the Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida from the autumn of 1864 to March 1865.

Following the war, Wheeler became a cotton planter and lawyer near Courtland, Alabama. Entering politics, he ran for Congress from Alabama as a Democrat. His opponent, Greenback Party incumbent William M. Lowe, contested the election. Although Wheeler was seated during 1881–1882, following a legal battle of more than a year Lowe won, taking the seat in June 1882. Lowe, however, died four months later, and Wheeler won a special election to serve out the remainder of the term. Wheeler did not run in 1882 but was reelected in 1884 and served until he resigned in 1900. Throughout his time in Congress, he worked to heal the fissures between the North and the South and supported policies to rebuild the South economically.

With the onset of the Spanish-American War, Wheeler volunteered for service and despite his age (61), President William McKinley appointed him major general of volunteers, an act widely hailed as helping to heal the wounds of the American Civil War. Wheeler commanded the Dismounted Cavalry Division in V Corps, which included the 1st U.S. Volunteers (the Rough Riders), led by Colonel Leonard Wood and Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. Wheeler landed with his division at Daiquirí, Cuba.

In the attack at Las Quásimas on June 24 during the Santiago Campaign, Wheeler was reputed to have shouted, "Come on, we've got the damn Yankees on the run!" He later could not remember saying it, but an aide reported the incident. Although ill at the time of the Battle of San Juan Hill on July 1, Wheeler returned to the front when he heard the sound of the guns. Once the ridge was secured, he assured V Corps commander Major General William R. Shafter that it could be held against possible Spanish counterattacks. Wheeler continued in command of the Cavalry Division for the remainder of the Santiago Campaign and helped negotiate the Capitulation of Santiago Agreement of July 16.

With Cuba secure, Wheeler returned to the United States in mid-August and took command of Camp Wikoff on Montauk Point in Long Island, New York, until the end of September. He then commanded IV Corps at Huntsville, Alabama, until December. He was then assigned to the Philippines to command the 1st Brigade in Major General Arthur MacArthur's 2nd Division. MacArthur refused to send Wheeler forward, however, fearing that the climate and the stress would be too much for him. Arriving back in the United States, Wheeler was commissioned a brigadier general in the regular army with date of rank from September 10, 1900. He retired on his 64th birthday. He wrote several books on military history, including *The Santiago Campaign, 1898* (1899). Wheeler died in Brooklyn, New York, on January 25, 1906, and was buried wearing his U.S. Army uniform at Arlington National Cemetery, one of only a handful of Confederates interred there.

MICHAEL E. LYNCH AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

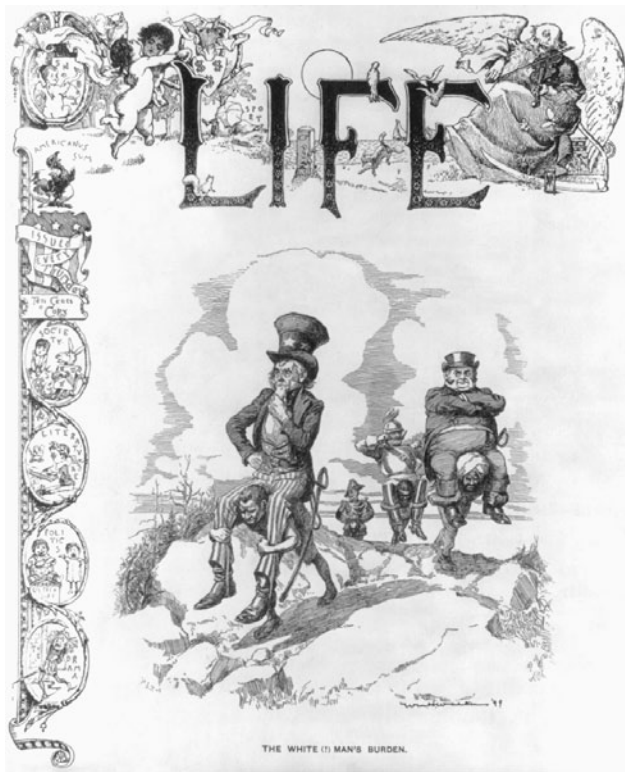
Camp Wikoff; Daiquirí Beachhead, Cuba; MacArthur, Arthur; Roosevelt, Theodore; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Santiago de Cuba, Capitulation Agreement; Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign; Shafter, William Rufus

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White Man's Burden

Originally the title of a poem by the English writer Rudyard Kipling, the term "white man's burden" refers to a worldview in which the



An illustration by William H. Walker that appeared on the cover of *Life* magazine in 1899 depicting Uncle Sam, John Bull, and Kaiser Wilhelm II being carried on the shoulders of nonwhites. (Library of Congress)

people of civilized (i.e., Western) nations believe that it is their responsibility to bring order, reason, governance, and culture to the native peoples of less-developed regions, such as Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Implicit in this worldview, of course, is the assumption that white Europeans are inherently better and more civilized than other peoples. This concept, which is at once racist and paternalistic, was used to justify colonialism, expansionism, and cultural imperialism.

Kipling's poem was first published in 1899 in *McClure's Magazine* right after the Spanish-American War had ended and during the Philippine-American War. In fact, he subtitled the poem "The United States and the Philippine Islands." Hoping to combat the isolationist views of many Americans, he suggested in the poem that it was the duty of the United States, as a well-meaning world power, to fill the position that Spain had once held in territories such as the Philippines.

As members of a modern and sophisticated world, Americans and Europeans saw themselves as ambassadors who should bring these qualities to the less-enlightened peoples. In their view, only the more civilized peoples had the power to tame the wilderness and raise natives out of savagery. Imperialism was therefore a beneficent rather than an oppressive force, spreading superior Western culture to people who were considered to be so backward and infantile that they were little better than animals. Painting this obligation in altruistic terms helped to obscure the self-serving pur-

pose of an empire. Furthermore, any hardship or resistance encountered while performing these selfless acts was simply the result of an ignorant and ungrateful native population.

This idea relies upon certain aspects of social Darwinism, largely theorized by Herbert Spencer during the 19th century. Social Darwinism, which translates Darwin's theories of natural selection and biological fitness into social terms, allows for social inequality by claiming that particular classes and peoples are disadvantaged through their own innate inferiority. Social Darwinism can thus also be used to justify imperialism. Proponents of the concept of a white man's burden strove to convince themselves and others that their actions were done out of a desire to elevate those who cannot otherwise achieve success.

The ideas expressed by Kipling's poem were not new, of course. In the United States, similar beliefs had driven Christian missionaries to build schools that would teach Native Americans the error of their heathen ways. Southern plantation owners had often viewed slavery in humanitarian terms, claiming that without intervention from whites, Africans would be too lazy and ignorant to survive on their own. Some have suggested that Kipling's poem that coined the term "white man's burden" was more satirical than many people believed at the time of its publication. Others, however, point to the corpus of Kipling's work and his overall worldview, which was strongly imperialistic, to discredit any notions of irony or satire. Kipling, according to these commentators, meant what he wrote.

For a time, at least until World War I tamed the search for glory that was to be found in imperialism and warfare, Kipling's way of thinking was *de rigueur*, especially among upper-class educated elites in the West. The pervasiveness of this mind-set was famously displayed in an advertisement for hand soap that appeared in mass-consumer magazines in the early years of the 20th century. Pictured at a sink washing his hands was an impeccably groomed man in a starched-white naval officer's uniform. The catch line of the ad read: "The First Step toward Lightening the White Man's Burden Is through Teaching the Virtues of Cleanliness." This ad for Pear's Soap extends the white man's burden to instructing the inferior peoples of the world in the proper ways of personal hygiene.

Today, such ideas are widely denounced as racist and Eurocentric. Many, however, still believe that it is the responsibility of more-developed countries to intervene in the developing world. They argue that without foreign assistance, developing countries could not establish the sort of stable society needed for economic and social prosperity. In the last 50–60 years, this thinking has taken on a different discourse. Instead of trying to civilize people, many Western nations, particularly the United States, argue that it is their mission to spread democracy and protect human rights in the developing world. Yet implicit in this message is a belief in the superiority of Western-style democracy and values. Through trade, economic exchange, and modern communications, the West—and most of all the United States—has regularly practiced cultural imperialism in which Western values are inculcated to

vast parts of the globe with more subliminal (but certainly no less powerful) means.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Imperialism; Kipling, Rudyard; Racism; Social Darwinism; Spencer, Herbert

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Whitney, Henry Howard

Birth Date: December 25, 1866

Death Date: April 2, 1949

U.S. Army officer who was dispatched to Puerto Rico to conduct reconnaissance there. Born in Glen Hope, Pennsylvania, on December 25, 1866, Henry Howard Whitney graduated from the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1892 and was commissioned a second lieutenant of artillery and assigned to the 4th Artillery Regiment. A gifted linguist, he was fluent in Spanish and French and had wide knowledge of Latin, ancient and modern Greek, and Italian. Fascinated by technology and its uses for military intelligence, he conducted a number of experiments and wrote numerous reports, some of which attracted the attention of the army hierarchy. In 1896, he was assigned to the Military Information Division.

Because of his facility in languages and interest in military intelligence, Whitney was assigned to West Point in January 1898 to receive advanced training in the use of photography for mapping and reconnaissance purposes. After the Spanish-American War began, he was ordered first to Cuba and then to Puerto Rico to gather intelligence. In Cuba, he acted as a courier to Cuban insurgent leader Major General Máximo Gómez. At Port Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas, Whitney sailed on a merchant ship that arrived at the port of Ponce, Puerto Rico, on May 15, 1898. With the assistance of the captain, Whitney pretended to be a member of the crew and remained aboard as the ship made stops along the Puerto Rican coast. At each stop, he took photographs and produced detailed maps of the coastline, which stood the U.S. Army in good stead just two months later. He was also able to ascertain detailed information on currents and harbor depths and provide information that residents of Ponce sympathized with the American cause.

Once ashore, Whitney used a number of disguises, including those of a traveling salesman and fisherman, to gather information about inland topography, communications centers, light-houses, population centers, roads, and bridges. By the end of May



U.S. Army captain Henry H. Whitney, who carried out a reconnaissance assignment in Puerto Rico during the Spanish-American War. (*Photographic History of the Spanish-American War*, 1898)

and after two weeks of intense reconnaissance activity, his work was complete.

Whitney's reports were uncannily accurate and revealed, among other things, that Ponce was defended by just 800 Spanish regulars, of whom half were volunteers; that the city of Guayama was strongly pro-Spanish; and that the town of Vieques would serve well as a site for a U.S. Army camp and hospital. His mission was not without its travails, however. A newspaper mistakenly identified him, nearly blowing his cover, and he had to hide in the boiler room of a British ship when Spanish officials boarded it.

Whitney returned to the United States on June 1, 1898, and personally briefed President William McKinley on his findings. For his good work, Whitney was immediately promoted to captain and was attached to Major General Nelson A. Miles's Puerto Rican Expedition, which landed at Guánica on July 25, 1898, in large part because of Whitney's reconnaissance, which had militated against the originally planned landing at Fajardo. Indeed, his reconnaissance mission had contributed substantially to the relatively easy time

that the Americans had assaulting and occupying Puerto Rico with a landing at Guánica. Whitney then served on Miles's staff during the Puerto Rico Campaign.

Whitney remained in the army after the war, serving as chief of staff to Miles and accompanying him during his world tour of 1902–1903. Whitney went on to serve in a variety of administrative positions. He was commander of the Presidio in February 1915 when Brigadier General John J. Pershing's wife and three daughters tragically died in a house fire. During World War I, Whitney was promoted to brigadier general and briefly served as commander of the 38th Division, arriving in France shortly before the armistice. He retired from active duty in 1924 as a brigadier general. Whitney died in Madison, New Jersey, on April 2, 1949.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Gómez y Báez, Máximo; Guánica, Puerto Rico; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Military Intelligence; Ponce, Puerto Rico; Puerto Rico

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Wikoff, Charles Augustus

Birth Date: 1837

Death Date: July 1, 1898

U.S. Army officer and highest-ranking officer to die during the Spanish-American War. Charles Augustus Wikoff was born in 1837 in Easton, Pennsylvania, and joined the U.S. Army at a young age. During the American Civil War, he was a lieutenant in the Union forces and saw action at a number of battles, among them Shiloh (April 6–7, 1862) during which he was wounded, resulting in permanent blindness in the left eye. For the remainder of his life, he wore a black eye patch.

Now a colonel, Wikoff commanded the 22nd Infantry Regiment at the beginning of the Spanish-American War. He was with the unit from the time it was mobilized at Fort Crook, Nebraska, until it arrived on June 20, 1898, near the mouth of Santiago Bay, Cuba. The 22nd Infantry was the first U.S. Army unit to land in Cuba. Upon arrival, Wikoff was immediately transferred to the 2nd Division of V Corps, under the overall command of Major General William R. Shafter. Wikoff's replacement, Colonel John H. Patterson, took the 22nd Infantry into battle.

As commander of the 13th Infantry Regiment at the beginning of the Battle of San Juan Hill on July 1, Wikoff led his men across the

San Juan River. The regiment came within about 500 yards of the Spanish redoubts at San Juan Hill. Wikoff and his men paused there for a short time to rest and regroup before Wikoff led an advance across an open field, moving toward San Juan Hill. During this movement, he was shot and mortally wounded by Spanish fire. He died on the battlefield before he could be moved to the rear. In less than 10 minutes, two of his succeeding commanders were also shot. Wikoff remained the highest-ranking officer to die in battle during the brief war.

Wikoff's body was returned to the United States and was interred in Easton, Pennsylvania. Camp Wikoff on Long Island, New York, a large army camp dedicated to housing soldiers mustering out at war's end, was named in his honor.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Camp Wikoff; V Corps; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Shafter, William Rufus

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Wildman, Rounsevelle

Birth Date: March 19, 1864

Death Date: February 22, 1901

U.S. diplomat and journalist. Born on March 19, 1864, in Batavia, New York, Rounsevelle Wildman embarked on a career in journalism after graduating from Syracuse University. He moved to Idaho in the 1880s and became editor of the *Idaho Statesman*. His role in pushing for Idaho's admission to the Union while serving as its territorial delegate to Congress won the notice of Republican president Benjamin Harrison, who in 1889 appointed him consul general to Singapore, where Wildman served for three years before being transferred to Barman, Germany. After Grover Cleveland's election in 1892, Wildman returned to the United States, serving as a commissioner at the Columbian Exposition in 1893 and as editor of the *Overland Monthly* during 1894–1897. Following the election of President William McKinley in 1896, Wildman resumed his diplomatic career, this time serving as consul general in Hong Kong, where he would play an important role in the Spanish-American War.

In 1897, Wildman met in Hong Kong with Felipe Agoncillo, one of the leaders of the Philippine insurgents, who proposed an alliance with the United States against Spain. This was to take effect as soon as Spain and the United States were at war, which Agoncillo believed would occur soon. He suggested that in the meantime, the United States supply arms to the insurgents, which would be paid for as soon as the Philippines secured their independence and gained international diplomatic recognition. Agoncillo assured Wildman that the

insurgents were prepared, as the consul put it in a cable to Washington on November 1, 1897, to offer the United States as collateral security “two provinces and the custom-house at Manila.”

Wildman’s news met with rebuff. Third assistant secretary of state Thomas F. Cridler informed the consul that not only did the United States not enter into such treaties but also that it would be impossible to supply the requested arms and ammunition to the Filipino rebels. Indeed, Cridler was critical of Wildman for meeting with Agoncillo at all and enjoined the consul both to avoid any further talks with him and to “courteously decline to communicate with the Department further regarding his alleged mission.”

Wildman had several meetings with Filipino insurgent leader Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy in Hong Kong and in early May 1898 urged that Aguinaldo return to the Philippines. Aguinaldo refused, claiming that he must first have a written agreement with the Americans. Without this, he said, U.S. Navy rear admiral George Dewey might force him to make unfavorable political concessions. But with his colleagues unanimously in favor of his return, Aguinaldo changed his mind, and Wildman arranged passage for him to the Philippines on board the U.S. revenue cutter *McCulloch* when it returned to the Philippines following its delivery of Dewey’s dispatches to Hong Kong. Wildman reportedly told Aguinaldo that he should establish a dictatorial government, which would be required in fighting a war with Spain, but that once the war was won, the dictatorial government must be replaced with a democratic government similar to that of the United States. Wildman also reportedly assured Aguinaldo that the U.S. government sympathized with the Filipino aspirations for independence.

Wildman also helped the insurgents secure arms with funds provided by Aguinaldo and reportedly receiving a percentage for his services. On May 27, 1898, a shipment from Amoy of 2,282 Remington rifles and 175,550 rounds of ammunition arrived in the Philippines for the insurgents, secured with the payment by Wildman of 50,000 Mexican pesos that Aguinaldo had provided him from part of the settlement paid by the Spanish government to the insurgent leaders under terms of the Pact of Biak-na-Bato. Wildman also reportedly arranged for a second arms shipment costing 67,000 pesos. It is not clear what became of this shipment or the funds, for the arms were never delivered to the insurgents.

In June, Wildman reported to Washington that most Filipinos favored the Philippines becoming a colony of the United States. In late July, however, he informed Aguinaldo that the United States did not want colonies, and in early August, Wildman insisted to the State Department that he had made no binding political commitments to Aguinaldo on behalf of the United States and that he had treated with him only as a “necessary evil.”

Wildman remained at his Hong Kong post during the onset of the Philippine-American War and the Boxer Rebellion. While returning to the United States on leave in February 1901, he and his family perished in the sinking of the *City of Rio de Janeiro* in San Francisco Harbor on February 22, 1901.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Agoncillo, Felipe; Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Biak-na-Bato, Pact of; Dewey, George; Hong Kong

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Wilhelm II, King of Prussia

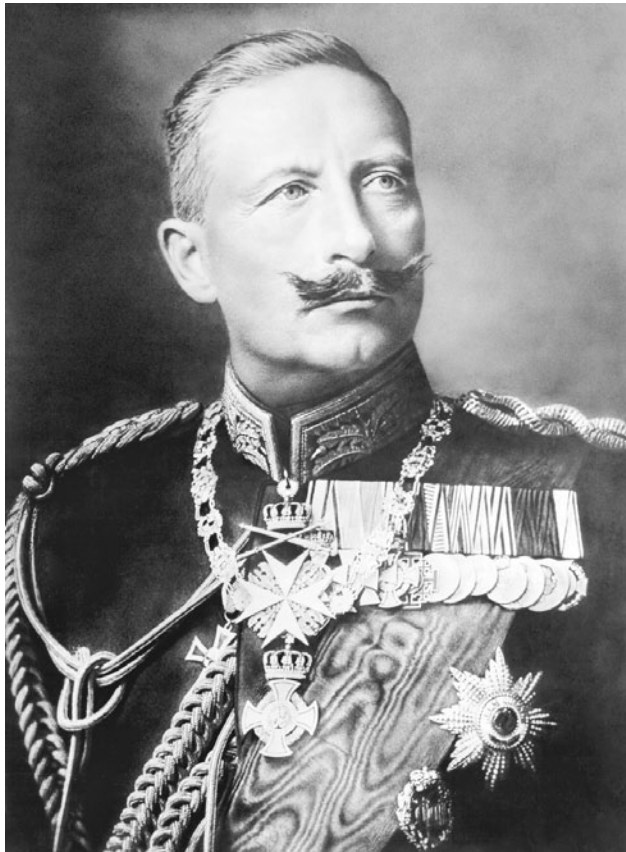
Birth Date: January 27, 1859

Death Date: June 3, 1941

German emperor and King of Prussia. Born in Berlin on January 27, 1859, Friedrich Wilhelm Viktor Albert of Hohenzollern was the son of Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm (briefly Emperor Friedrich III in 1888) and Crown Princess Victoria, eldest daughter of Queen Victoria of Britain. Many historians have focused on Wilhelm II’s birth and childhood and particularly his family relations as factors shaping his character. His birth was complicated, leaving attending doctors fearful that he and his mother would die. Some have even speculated that Wilhelm was oxygen deprived at birth, suffering brain damage. He had a withered left arm, the result of damage done to the nerves leading from his neck during the birth. These disabilities posed serious obstacles in a society fixated on physical and mental strength. However, the young Wilhelm overcame them and excelled in sports. Well educated and widely read, he also developed a forceful personality and was determined to have things his own way. Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, who encouraged this tendency in him, said that Wilhelm “wanted every day to be a Sunday.”

Wilhelm was fascinated by everything military, including uniforms. As kaiser, he possessed a uniform for every German regiment as well as a warehouse full of German naval uniforms and uniforms from honorary rank in foreign military services. The success of the Prussian Army in wars against Denmark (1864), Austria (1866), and France (1870–1871) not only led to the unification of the German states but also reinforced in Wilhelm the belief that the military was the centerpiece of the state and would be the means whereby Germany would take its rightful place in the world. Yet it should not be said that Wilhelm was inevitably destined for war. He was also affected to a degree by his parents’ insistence on a liberal, progressive education from his civilian tutors, out of which grew a genuine sense of social responsibility. In the end, however, the martial tendencies prevailed.

Wilhelm’s extended family also had significant bearing on his character. His cousins included Tsar Nicholas II of Russia and King George V of England. Even before he became emperor, Wilhelm was exposed to this family and its diplomacy, heading important



Kaiser Wilhelm II was determined, through his aggressive *Weltpolitik* (world policy), to make Germany the preeminent world power and hoped as a consequence of the Spanish-American War to be able to secure at least part of the Philippines. (Library of Congress)

missions to Russia in 1884 and 1886 at the request of his grandfather, Emperor Wilhelm I, with whom he developed a close relationship. In fact, the connection between the two aggravated Wilhelm's parents to the point that by the mid-1880s, they barely spoke with their son. In effect, Wilhelm and his father became rivals within the German court.

When Wilhelm I died in 1888, Wilhelm's father assumed the throne as Friedrich III but ruled for just 99 days before dying of cancer of the throat on June 15, 1888. Friedrich and his wife Victoria had hoped to take Germany in a liberal direction and make it more in the image of Britain, so his death was a great tragedy for those favoring more liberal institutions.

Wilhelm assumed the throne at age 29 as Wilhelm II, German kaiser and king of Prussia. Initially the new kaiser was dependent on Chancellor Bismarck, who had encouraged his absolutist tendencies in order to annoy Friedrich. Ironically, it was not long before Wilhelm and Bismarck, the "Iron Chancellor," clashed over Wilhelm's initial liberal attitude toward socialism and Bismarck's reactionary opinion on the subject but primarily because of their age difference and forceful personalities. In 1890, Wilhelm forced Bismarck's resignation and in effect began his personal reign. Wil-

helm modeled himself after Bismarck, later admitting that the chancellor was the most important influence on his life.

Wilhelm was, however, no Bismarck. Wilhelm's erratic pursuit of sometimes inconsistent policies alienated would-be allies and ultimately left Germany isolated except for Austria-Hungary. Bismarck had crafted an intricate system of alliances predicated on keeping France in check through secret treaties with Russia and Austria-Hungary. He had also focused on maintaining good ties with Britain, which necessitated that German militarism, especially naval construction, and colonial ambitions be restrained. Wilhelm disregarded both principles and pursued aggressive foreign policies. He was determined, through his *Weltpolitik* (world policy), to make Germany the preeminent world power. In 1890, he allowed the Reinsurance Treaty between Germany and Russia to lapse, casting Russia adrift and into the arms of France.

Wilhelm's attempts to draw Britain into an alliance also failed, largely because of his pursuit of colonies in Africa, the Pacific, and China—where he thought Germany would win its "place in the sun"—but even more significantly because of his decision to expand the German Navy. He aggressively supported the acquisition of a naval base at Jiaozhou (then known as Kiao-Chau, Kiaochow, Kiauchau, or Kiautschou), China, in 1897. During the Spanish-American War, he dispatched Vice Admiral Otto von Diederichs and his powerful Asiatic Squadron to Manila in the hopes of securing a base in the Philippines or even some of the islands. The result of this pressure was a decidedly anti-German stance by the U.S. press and a war of words with U.S. naval commander at Manila Rear Admiral George Dewey that for a time threatened war with the United States. Germany came away with nothing, although it did purchase both the Mariana and Caroline Islands from Spain in 1899.

The kaiser's naval building program was particularly injurious to Germany. Although Wilhelm II and his able minister of marine Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz officially sought a so-called Risk Fleet—a navy powerful enough that no nation would be willing to risk engaging it for fear they might thereby suffer sufficient losses that they could then be defeated by another naval power—the pace of the German naval buildup appeared to the British as nothing less than an attempt to make Germany the world's preeminent naval power. Indeed, the kaiser and Tirpitz sought a powerful battle fleet capable of defeating the Royal Navy and even the Royal Navy and U.S. Navy combined if need be. As the German Army had raised the nation to first place in Europe, so the Imperial Navy would make it a world power. Far from forcing the British into alliance with Germany as Tirpitz claimed it would, this policy drove Britain to side with France. For Britain, an island nation dependent on imports of food and raw materials, maintaining the world's most powerful navy was a necessity. In domestic affairs, Wilhelm's early liberalism gave way to conservatism by 1894.

Because Wilhelm's policies had left Germany with only one faithful ally, Austria-Hungary, they made Germany in effect a prisoner of the Dual Monarchy's policies. This meant that Germany was

increasingly dragged into supporting Austria-Hungary in the Balkans, an area that in Bismarck's view was not worth the "bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier." When the Austro-Hungarian leadership decided to embark on a preventive war against Serbia following the June 28, 1914, assassination of Austrian archduke Franz Ferdinand, the kaiser supported it, rashly issuing the so-called blank check without consulting his ministers. When this third war in the Balkans threatened to become a world war, Wilhelm attempted to join Britain in trying to moderate the Dual Monarchy's policies, but his efforts were too little and too late.

During the war, the kaiser receded into the background. By 1916, German Army chief of staff Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg and first quartermaster general General der Infanterie (equivalent to U.S. lieutenant general) Erich Ludendorff established a virtual military dictatorship in which the two men forced adherence to their own policies by repeatedly threatening to resign. By 1918, Wilhelm was largely a figurehead. With Germany clearly defeated militarily and with civil unrest threatening revolution within Germany itself, chancellor Prince Max of Baden urged him to abdicate. Wilhelm refused, and ultimately this decision was made for him when on November 9, 1918, Chancellor Max in Berlin announced Wilhelm's abdication although in reality the kaiser had done no such thing. When leaders of the Reichstag quickly declared a republic, Wilhelm's hopes to remain as king of Prussia were crushed. He then received permission from the Dutch government to go into permanent exile in the Netherlands and departed Germany on November 10.

Despite subsequent Allied attempts to extradite him as a war criminal, Wilhelm remained in the Netherlands for the next 23 years of his life, long enough to watch Adolf Hitler rebuild the German military and lead the nation into another world war. Controversial to the end, Wilhelm once commented that Hitler represented a "succession of miracles," although on other occasions Wilhelm vehemently denounced Hitler as a dictator and warmonger. Wilhelm never accepted blame for his policies that brought World War I, insisting that he was just one player in a very large and complicated game. Wilhelm died in Doorn, Holland, on June 3, 1941.

ARNE KISLENKO

See also

Bülow, Bernhard Heinrich Martin Karl von; Dewey, George; Diederichs, Ernst Otto von; East Asian Squadron; Germany

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Wilson, James Harrison

Birth Date: September 2, 1837

Death Date: February 23, 1925

U.S. Army general. James Harrison Wilson was born near Shawneetown, Illinois, on September 2, 1837. He briefly attended McKendree College before enrolling at the United States Military Academy, from which he graduated seventh in his class in 1860 and was commissioned a 2nd lieutenant of topographical engineers. He spent nearly a year at Fort Vancouver, Washington Territory, before the outbreak of the American Civil War in April 1861 necessitated his transfer east. He participated in the capture of Port Royal, South Carolina, in November 1861 and also distinguished himself during the siege of Fort Pulaski, Georgia, the following April.

Wilson served as an aide-de-camp to Major General George B. McClellan and accompanied him throughout the Peninsula Campaign and at the Battle of Antietam on September 17, 1862. Advanced to lieutenant colonel of volunteers, he joined Major General Ulysses S. Grant's staff as his chief engineer in November 1862. Grant subsequently appointed Wilson inspector general of the Army of the Tennessee.

Wilson played a conspicuous role at the capture of Vicksburg in July 1863 and was promoted to brigadier general of volunteers that October. In November 1863, he distinguished himself in both the Chattanooga Campaign and the relief expedition to Knoxville. Grant then recommended him for the post of chief of the Cavalry Bureau in the War Department, and Wilson assumed that position by January 1864.

Wilson proceeded to overhaul and reequip the army's mounted arm. He believed that the cavalry's days as a shock weapon had passed and that it would be far more effective as mounted infantry. He thus issued rapid-fire Spencer carbines to his troopers and drilled them in tactics emphasizing mobility and firepower. In April 1864, Grant summoned him back as commander of the 3rd Division in Major General Philip H. Sheridan's cavalry corps. Wilson fought well at the battles of the Wilderness and Yellow Tavern that May. In June 1864, Grant entrusted Wilson with the assignment of raiding the outskirts of Petersburg, Virginia, which was then under siege and stoutly defended by Confederate forces. Although Wilson performed effectively in campaigning around Richmond, the Wilson-Kautz Raid that June was a near disaster.

Wilson subsequently fought under Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley but on September 30 was transferred to command cavalry under Major General William T. Sherman as a major general of volunteers. Wilson accompanied Sherman throughout the Atlanta Campaign until Confederate general John Bell Hood abandoned the city and lunged for the Union supply lines in Tennessee. Wilson then joined Major General John Schofield at the defense of Franklin on November 29, 1864. Hood was repulsed, and both Union generals fell back to join Major General George H. Thomas at Nashville. On December 16, Hood's army was smashed at Nashville, and Wilson destroyed the Confederate remnants in a vigorous pursuit.

Promoted to brevet brigadier general of regulars in March 1865, Wilson was next entrusted with a cavalry corps of three divisions (13,500 men) and ordered to raid the heart of the Confederacy. This was the largest cavalry raid of the war and among the most successful.

Wilson's troopers tangled with renowned cavalry leader Lieutenant General Nathan Bedford Forrest at Ebenezer Church on April 1, 1865, defeating him. The next day, Wilson's troopers again defeated Forrest during the capture of Selma, Alabama. It was the first time that a Union general had outmaneuvered Forrest. Montgomery, Alabama, fell on April 12, as did Columbus, Georgia, on April 20. In all, Wilson's cavalry took more than 7,000 prisoners and 300 cannon before the end of the raid on May 20. Ten days earlier, Wilson had gained distinction when his men captured the fleeing Confederate president Jefferson Davis near Irwinville, Georgia. On June 21, Wilson received his final promotion, to major general of volunteers; he was then only 27 years old.

Following the war, Wilson remained with the army, becoming a lieutenant colonel of the 35th U.S. Infantry in July 1866. He performed engineering duty along the Mississippi River before resigning in December 1870 to pursue railroad construction. He settled in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1883.

When the Spanish-American War commenced in 1898, Wilson immediately volunteered his services and was commissioned as a major general of volunteers and assigned to command VI Corps. That corps was never organized, leaving him frustrated and without a post. In July, he secured command of the 1st Division in I Corps, commanded by Major General Nelson A. Miles.

Wilson's 3,571-man division sailed from Charleston, South Carolina, on July 20 and arrived at Ponce, Puerto Rico, eight days later. Because of a lack of suitable small craft, the debarkation took 10 days. Wilson's command saw little action in the fight for the island before the armistice. A portion under Brigadier General Oswald H. Ernst did fight and win the Battle of Coamo on August 9, and Wilson's command also engaged in a skirmish at Asomante Hills on August 12.

Wilson, who favored the U.S. annexation of both Cuba and Puerto Rico, was then briefly military governor of the Ponce district of Puerto Rico. He returned to the United States to head I Corps at Lexington, Kentucky, and then served in Cuba as military governor of the provinces of Matanzas and Santa Clara. During 1900–1901, he was second-in-command of the Beijing (Peking) relief expedition under Major General Adna R. Chaffee Sr. Wilson led a joint Anglo-American punitive expedition against Patachow, the city of eight temples, but refused to burn the Buddhist pagodas in retribution for the Boxer attacks.

Through a special act of Congress in February 1901, Wilson retired with the rank of brigadier general in the regular army. He represented President Theodore Roosevelt at the coronation of King Edward VII in England in 1902. In 1912, he published his memoirs, titled *Under the Old Flag: Recollections of Military Operations in the War for the Union, the Spanish War, and Boxer Rebellion, Etc.* In

March 1915, he was advanced to major general on the retired list. Wilson died in Wilmington, Delaware, on February 23, 1925.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Asomante Hills, Engagement at; Boxer Rebellion; Coamo, Battle of; Ernst, Oswald Hubert; Miles, Nelson Appleton; Puerto Rico Campaign

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Wilson, James Moulder

Birth Date: October 8, 1837

Death Date: February 1, 1919

U.S. Army officer and chief of engineers during the Spanish-American War. James Moulder Wilson was born on October 8, 1837, in Washington, D.C. In 1860, he graduated from the United States Military Academy, West Point. He served in the Ordnance Department and in the artillery from 1860 to 1863, seeing action during the American Civil War. He was awarded the Medal of Honor for his conduct in the Battle of Malvern Hill and received brevet promotions three times during the war. In 1864, he transferred to the Corps of Topographical Engineers and remained an engineer for the rest of his career.

Following the Civil War, Wilson undertook numerous projects with the Corps of Engineers, overseeing river and harbor projects throughout the United States. During the Grover Cleveland administrations (1885–1889, 1893–1897), Wilson was in charge of all public buildings in Washington, D.C. From 1889 to 1893, he served as superintendent of West Point.

In February 1897, Wilson was named chief of engineers as a brigadier general. Less than a year later, when the United States was making preliminary preparations for a war with Spain, Wilson and the Corps of Engineers played a key role in the augmentation of coastal defenses in the eastern United States, particularly the Northeast. Indeed, the War Department allotted Wilson \$15 million to begin an immediate program to improve and fortify eastern coastal defenses. The program included the procurement and placement of coastal guns, the building of coastal batteries, and the laying of extensive minefields to protect vulnerable ports and cities from attack.

Acting with his customary efficiency, Wilson expedited the program. Ultimately, the Corps of Engineers procured 400 miles of

cable wire, 150 tons of explosives, more than 1,600 mine casings, many searchlights, and other accoutrements for coastal defense. To aid friendly ships in navigating the newly laid minefields, Wilson ensured that each port had adequate harbor patrols for this purpose. By July 1898, 185 new mortars and cannon had been mounted at coastal batteries, with an additional 550 more gun emplacements either under construction or near completion. Meanwhile, by the end of June, some 1,500 mines had already been activated in 28 major ports and harbors along the East Coast of the United States.

When the war ended in August, Wilson's Corps of Engineers managed to escape the harsh criticism that had been leveled at other branches. As a result, in September 1898 President William McKinley chose Wilson as one of eight members of the Dodge Commission, which investigated charges of corruption and incompetence during the war effort. Wilson brought a voice of considerable reason to the sometimes-choleric proceedings. After the Dodge Commission had disbanded, he retired from active service on April 30, 1901. Wilson remained in Washington, D.C., where he became a prominent citizen until his death there on February 1, 1919.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Coastal Defenses, U.S.; Dodge Commission; Mines

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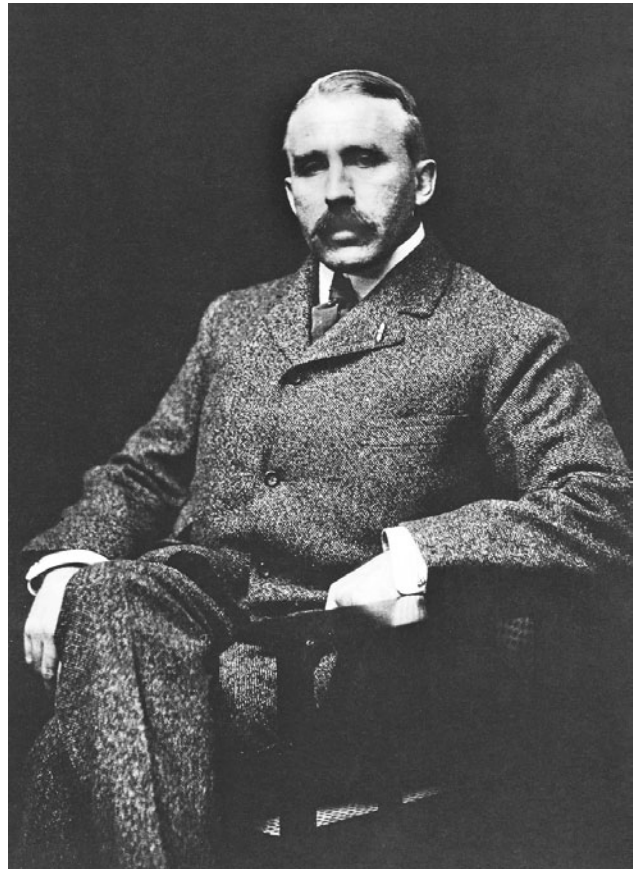
Wood, Leonard

Birth Date: October 9, 1860

Death Date: August 7, 1927

Doctor, U.S. Army general, and chief of staff of the U.S. Army. Born on October 9, 1860, in Winchester, New Hampshire, the son of a marginally trained and generally unsuccessful family doctor who died before his children reached adulthood, Leonard Wood was forced by finances to earn a living. Opting for medicine, he earned a degree from Harvard in 1884. He was accepted as an intern at Boston City Hospital but was fired for generally insubordinate behavior before completing his internship.

Wood joined the army as a contract surgeon in 1885 and participated in a protracted pursuit of Apache leader Geronimo through the mountains of southern Arizona and northern Mexico, for which he ultimately received the Medal of Honor. In 1890, Wood married Louise Conditt-Smith, ward of Supreme Court justice Stephen Field. In 1895, after a time at Fort McPherson in Atlanta during which Wood helped organize and served as first coach of the Georgia Tech football team, he was assigned to Washington, D.C. With the assistance of his wife's guardian, he became friends



Major General Leonard Wood. As military governor of Cuba (1899–1902), Wood ended the scourge of yellow fever. He went on to serve as chief of staff of the army and governor-general of the Philippines. (Library of Congress)

with President Grover Cleveland. When William McKinley was elected president, Wood became personal physician to McKinley's wife. Wood also became a close friend of the new assistant secretary of the navy, Theodore Roosevelt.

Wood and Roosevelt encouraged McKinley to support war with Spain in 1898, and when he did, they received permission to recruit their friends from both the western territories and the eastern aristocracy into the 1st Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, which, after a number of less attractive alternatives, was nicknamed the Rough Riders. Wood was colonel and commander, and Roosevelt was lieutenant colonel and second-in-command.

Wood commanded the Rough Riders in their first skirmish of the war at Las Guásimas, after which he was promoted to brigadier general. He commanded the 2nd Cavalry Brigade in the Battle of San Juan Hill. Shortly after the Spanish surrendered Santiago, he was made first military governor of the city and then of the province. He used his medical training to bring disease and starvation under control and proved an exceptional and exceptionally stern administrator. His success in Cuba coupled with his Washington ties and a talent for political machinations led to him being named military governor of Cuba in December 1899. As governor,

he made notable strides in education, public health, and prison reform and established a fiscally responsible republican government. Perhaps his most notable accomplishment was his sponsorship of and acceptance of responsibility for Walter Reed's yellow fever experiments. Immediately after Reed demonstrated the mosquito's role as a vector for the disease, Wood used his autocratic power to authorize draconian insect control measures carried out by his chief surgeon, Major William Gorgas. The campaign transformed Havana from one of the most dangerous cities in the world to one of the healthiest.

Wood had attained the rank of major general in the volunteer army but was still a captain in the medical corps until 1901 when, in a controversial move, Roosevelt, now the president, secured his promotion to brigadier general in the regular army over 509 more-senior officers.

Wood turned the government of Cuba over to an elected government in 1902 and was named commander of the Department of Mindanao, where he fought to control Islamic insurgents. He was promoted to major general in 1904 and was named commander of the Division of the Philippines in 1906. During his tenure with the army in the Philippines, he was involved in a number of actions against insurgents, several of which were controversial and resulted in the deaths of large numbers of civilians.

Wood was named commander of the Division of the East in 1903 and chief of staff of the army in 1910. In the latter office, which he held until 1914, he rescued the General Staff system from department heads determined to prevent its implementation, introduced techniques of scientific management to the military, and worked to professionalize the officer corps.

From 1914 to 1917, Wood returned to the Department of the East as its commander. Convinced as early as 1910 that the United States would participate in a European war, Wood became a vocal advocate of military preparedness and led the Plattsburg movement, which was designed to train civilians who could be officers in such a war. He advocated universal military training and was a vocal opponent of Woodrow Wilson's pacifism. In 1916, Wood, who repeatedly crossed the traditional line separating military officers from politics, was briefly considered as the Republican candidate for president.

When the United States entered World War I, Wood was passed over for command of the American Expeditionary Force in favor of his former subordinate General John J. Pershing. Wood was relegated to training the 89th Division at Camp Funston, and when that unit was sent to Europe in May 1918, he was (at Pershing's specific request) relieved and reassigned to train the 10th Division. In January 1918, while on an inspection tour of the Western Front, Wood received a minor injury from a mortar shell. In spite of the fact that he never was formally assigned a combat role, he was the most-senior American officer actually wounded by fire.

When Theodore Roosevelt died unexpectedly in 1919, Wood became his political heir and narrowly missed receiving the Republican nomination for president in 1920, even though he was still

a general officer on active duty. From 1919 until 1921, he commanded the Central Division and then served on a special mission to the Philippines. He retired from active service in late 1921 and then returned to the Philippines, serving as governor-general until 1927. He died in Boston on August 7, 1927, during surgery to remove a benign brain tumor.

JACK MCCALLUM

See also

Cleveland, Stephen Grover; Gorgas, William Crawford; Las Guásimas, Battle of; Malaria; McKinley, William; Reed, Walter; Roosevelt, Theodore; Rough Riders; Round-Robin Letter; San Juan Heights, Battle of; Yellow Fever; Yellow Fever Board

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Woodford, Stewart Lyndon

Birth Date: September 3, 1835

Death Date: February 14, 1913

Lawyer, American Civil War U.S. Army brevet brigadier general, U.S. representative in Congress (1873–1874), and U.S. minister to Spain (1897–1898). Stewart Lyndon Woodford was born in New York City on September 3, 1835. He studied law at Columbia College (now Columbia University) and graduated in 1854. Admitted to the bar in 1857, he opened a law office in New York City. A member of the Republican Party, he was a delegate to his party's national convention in 1860. He served as assistant U.S. attorney in New York City during 1861–1862. Joining the U.S. Army during the Civil War, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the 127th New York Volunteer Regiment on September 8, 1862, and to colonel of the 103rd U.S. Colored Infantry on March 3, 1865. On May 12, 1865, he was advanced to brevet brigadier general of volunteers. He subsequently became the first Union military commander of Charleston, South Carolina, and then of Savannah, Georgia.

Following the Civil War and his stint as a Reconstruction official, Woodford resumed his practice of law. Elected lieutenant governor of New York state in 1867, he served one term (to 1869). He ran unsuccessfully for the governorship of New York in 1870. Elected to Congress in 1872, he served in the House of Representatives from 1873 to 1874, when he resigned. He was appointed U.S. district attorney for the Southern District of New York in 1877 and served in that post until 1883.

Although Woodford lacked diplomatic experience, President William McKinley appointed him U.S. minister to Spain on June 19, 1897. Woodford's instructions of July 16, 1897, from U.S. secretary of state John Sherman called on him to demand an end to



Stewart Lyndon Woodford was U.S. ambassador to Spain during 1897–1898, during which time he worked without success to prevent war between Spain and the United States. (Library of Congress)

the fighting in Cuba on the basis of some sort of autonomy for the island and an end to the “measures of unparalleled security.” Woodford was instructed to offer the good offices of the United States in an effort to resolve the Cuban conflict in a manner that would be acceptable to both sides. His release to the press of a portion of his diplomatic instructions brought a reprimand from the McKinley administration.

Woodford took up his duties in Madrid in September 1897. A new Liberal government had just taken over in Spain, headed by

Premier Práxedes Mateo Sagasta. He removed the controversial Spanish general Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau as governor of Cuba and promised to grant local autonomy in Cuba. The harsh policies of Weyler were therefore rescinded. Woodford kept McKinley fully informed of developments in Madrid, writing the president 68 personal letters during his eight months in the Spanish capital.

Woodford came to believe as a consequence of his meetings with Spanish government officials that a peaceful solution to the crisis could be achieved if the United States proceeded slowly. In one of his most insightful dispatches, he informed the president that the Liberal ministry could remain in power only so long as its policies were seen as ending the Cuban insurrection. If it appeared that its policies would not work or that the United States was about to intervene, then Queen Regent María Cristina would “have to choose between losing her throne or losing Cuba at the risk of war with us.” If Sagasta was forced to choose between war or the overthrow of the dynasty, he would choose war.

At the same time, Woodford became a convert to the idea of U.S. ownership of Cuba. In March 1898, he proposed to the Spanish government that the United States purchase the island from Spain. The queen was opposed to such an arrangement, however.

On the U.S. declaration of war against Spain in April 1898, Woodford turned over U.S. interests to the British ambassador and left the country by train for Paris on April 21, 1898. Woodford formally retained his position as ambassador until September 1898, however. He then returned to his private law practice in New York City. Following the war, he continued to assert that if Congress had not rushed to war, President McKinley could have had a peaceful solution in Cuba. Woodford died in New York City on February 14, 1913.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Cuban War of Independence; McKinley, William; Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo; Sherman, John; Weyler y Nicolau, Valeriano

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X

Xenophobia

An individual or group attitude characterized by an extreme fear, dislike, or hatred of strangers or foreigners. Not always a phobia in the classic psychological definition, xenophobia can certainly be driven by overt racism, but it can also be driven by a fear or misunderstanding of foreign cultures.

In the closing years of the 19th century, the United States was denying African Americans basic civil rights, limiting the immigration of non-Europeans, and accepting some of the racist notions of social Darwinism. With regard to war and diplomacy, the United States became an imperialist nation with possessions in widely scattered parts of the world. By the beginning of the Spanish-American War in 1898, the social and political culture of the United States was tainted by xenophobia that was buttressed by emerging notions of American power and superiority and by an increasing prevalence of restrictive legislation. The Spanish-American War was a critical juncture in which American racist and xenophobic attitudes became clear as a result of territorial acquisitions and the treatment of subjected peoples.

The Spanish-American War brought the United States into close association with Filipinos, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and other peoples of color, which prompted debates and discussions on ways of dealing with these so-called inferior and different peoples following the conflict. Journalists, politicians, business leaders, and clergymen contributed to the creation of policies that were at best paternal and at worst overtly racist. Most policy makers accepted the ideas of social Darwinism and agreed that the peoples in the newly acquired territories were backward, inferior, childlike, and generally in need of close supervision and guidance. During this period in the United States, most white Americans accepted racial stereotypes and hierarchies, which strongly influenced social ideas and government poli-

cies. In the aftermath of the war, the United States reflected these prejudices in the way it treated subjected peoples and in the laws enacted to govern and regulate them.

Perhaps the most obvious instance of xenophobia was the U.S. response to the Filipino Insurrection (1900–1902). Throughout the costly guerrilla conflict, prominent political and military officials based their actions on notions of racial superiority rather than sound military or social policy. The U.S. Army pursued a strategic hamlet program to limit the strength of the guerrillas and opened concentration camps that shared much in common with the Spanish concentration camp practices in Cuba, which Americans just a few years before had decried as inhumane. It also endorsed a scorched earth policy and allowed large-scale executions of many Filipinos. Brigadier General Jacob Smith, who was later court-martialed for his actions in the Philippines, ordered his men to make the island of Samar into “a howling wilderness” by executing every male over the age of 10. Another military leader opined that the American objective in the Philippines was to “rawhide these bull-headed Asians until they yell for mercy.” These actions and ideas reflected prevalent views that Filipinos were culturally and racially inferior.

While the excesses connected with the Filipino Insurrection were not generally replicated in Cuba or Puerto Rico, U.S. officials still believed that neither country was ready for independence. Regarding Cuban self-government, in 1898 Major General William Shafter opined, “Self-government. Why, these people are no more fit for self-government than gunpowder is for hell.” Such basic misapprehensions of the cultures and abilities of subjected peoples resulted in widespread xenophobic prescriptions.

The diplomatic wranglings following the Spanish-American War were also obvious manifestations of American fears regarding

the conquered territories and the vexing question of the status of the inhabitants. From the outset, the United States asserted that none of the territories were ready for self-government and would instead require long-term assistance and guidance. In Congress, debate centered on what rights and privileges should be extended to the people of the territories, the bureaucratic structures of colonial administrations, and whether the territories should be considered for statehood. In relation to the rights of colonial peoples, Congress received guidance from the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled in the Insular Cases (1901–1904) that the inhabitants of U.S. territories had some, but not all, of the rights held by other U.S. citizens under the Constitution and as such were not true members of the U.S. body politic.

In setting up local colonial governments, the United States was careful to ensure the right of liberal intervention in internal affairs of the territory. Finally, Congress clearly indicated that it never intended for any of the new territories to become states of the Union. In limiting rights, advocating intervention, and preventing admission to statehood, Congress reflected the racist and xenophobic fears that gripped American society at the start of the 20th century. The idea of extending complete equality to foreign cultures and a multitude of racial groups was beyond the worldview of most

Americans at the time. On a related note, in 1916 Congress promised eventual independence to the Philippines (which occurred in 1946) and in 1917 granted U.S. citizenship to the people of Puerto Rico. American xenophobia would ultimately affect future relations with the territories, which were marked by paternalism and racism.

JAMES F. CARROLL

See also

African Americans; Insular Affairs, Bureau of; Insular Cases; Racism; Samar Campaigns; Shafter, William Rufus; Smith, Jacob Hurd; Social Darwinism

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Y

Yauco, Battle of **Event Date: July 26, 1898**

Yauco is located in the southwestern part of the island of Puerto Rico some 30 miles west of Ponce and 6 miles northwest of Guánica. Founded in 1756, Yauco was located on the road and railroad to Ponce and was once known as the coffee capital of the world. In 1898, it had about 22,000 inhabitants and was defended by a single company of the Spanish Army's Alfonso XIII Battalion.

U.S. forces landed in Puerto Rico at Guánica on July 25, 1898, and the next day, Brigadier General George A. Garretson proceeded to Yauco with seven companies: six of the 6th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment and one of the 6th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment. Just before their arrival at Yauco, the Americans skirmished briefly with two companies of the Spanish Patria Battalion commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Francisco Puig. The Spanish colonel's orders called on him to merely determine U.S. strength, so he quickly withdrew. This skirmish was, however, the first engagement of the Puerto Rico Campaign.

Yauco was occupied by the Americans on July 27 and 28 without any opposition. Mayor Francisco Mejía issued a proclamation that the American arrival was the intervention of a just god. The town was then garrisoned by Company I, an African American unit of the 6th Massachusetts.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Garretson, George Armstrong; Guánica, Puerto Rico; Puerto Rico Campaign

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Yellow Fever

Lethal systemic disease caused by a *Flavivirus* and transmitted by the bite of the female *Aedes aegyptii* mosquito. Yellow fever begins with a flulike illness and may progress to necrosis of the liver with subsequent diffuse internal and external bleeding, kidney failure, coma, and death. Mortality is still approximately 20 percent, and there is no effective treatment.

The *Aedes* mosquito is not native to the Western Hemisphere and was first introduced to Barbados in 1647 and to Cuba and the Yucatan in 1648 by ships carrying slaves from West Africa, where the disease is endemic. Although the mosquito requires ambient temperatures above the low 70s, yellow fever could be transmitted to northern cities during the summer months, and epidemics were a recurrent event in American seaports. Yellow fever caused more than 100,000 deaths in the United States between 1793 and 1901, and the threat was so serious that Thomas Jefferson was of the opinion that the United States would never be able to support major cities.

Fear of a yellow fever epidemic among American soldiers sent to Cuba and the worry that they would bring the disease home with them played a major role in both the planning and execution of the 1898 invasion of the island. The disease first appeared among American troops at Siboney on July 9, and by August 2 there had been 4,298 cases of fever in Santiago. In retrospect, most of these were probably not yellow fever, but military surgeons in Cuba lacked an accurate diagnostic test for the disease and were quick to call them that. The increasing incidence of fever and the fear of a generalized outbreak led



Patients with yellow fever in a hospital in Havana, Cuba, 1899. (Library of Congress)

Major General William Shafter's general officers and Colonel Theodore Roosevelt to write the Round-Robin Letter demanding an immediate withdrawal of American troops from the island.

It was generally assumed that yellow fever was caused by filth, a conviction that led the army to burn Siboney to the ground after the first outbreak. When the Spanish surrendered Santiago, one of the first actions by Brigadier General Leonard Wood as military governor was to institute a draconian public sanitation program. To his great disappointment, 200 new cases appeared in the city in the summer of 1899 with a 22.8 percent mortality rate. Wood was forced to quarantine the city to control the epidemic.

Beginning as early as the June 25 Battle of Las Guásimas, all American wounded were screened for signs of yellow fever before they were allowed to return to the United States. Anyone suspected of having the disease was held in Cuba. By May 22, every returning ship was inspected by the Marine Hospital Service, and anyone with fever was quarantined. Following the Round-Robin Letter, however, public opinion forced the War Department to remove the men from Cuba, and on August 7, ships began moving them to Camp Wikoff, on the eastern end of Long Island, where they could be held in quarantine until free of the risk of yellow fever.

Common Diseases during the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War

<i>Disease</i>	<i>Cause</i>	<i>Transmission</i>	<i>Symptoms</i>
Dysentery	Bacteria/amoeba	Contaminated food or water	Bloody diarrhea, abdominal pain, blood poisoning, kidney failure
Malaria	Protozoa	Mosquitoes	Fever, chills, joint pain, anemia, kidney failure, coma
Scurvy	Vitamin C deficiency	Lack of citrus fruit	Liver spots, spongy gums, bleeding from mucus membranes
Smallpox	Virus	Person-to-person	Fever, vomiting, rash, pustules
Typhoid	Bacteria	Contaminated food or water	Fever, chills, weakness, muscle pain, diarrhea, intestinal hemorrhage
Typhus	Bacteria	Fleas, mites, and lice	Fever, chills, muscle pain, rash, delirium, bleeding into the skin, kidney failure
Yellow fever	Virus	Mosquitoes	Fever, muscle ache, vomiting, jaundice, kidney failure

Proof that the *Aedes aegyptii* was the yellow fever vector and that the disease could be controlled by removing mosquito-breeding areas did not come for another three years but did ultimately result in virtual eradication of the disease in Cuba. Yellow fever was not endemic in either Puerto Rico or the Philippines and was not a problem for the American military in either place.

JACK MCCALLUM

See also

Immunes; Reed, Walter; Wood, Leonard; Yellow Fever Board

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Yellow Fever Board

A board of four physicians appointed by Surgeon General George Sternberg on May 23, 1900, to study infectious disease in Cuba. The board, composed of Major Walter Reed and contract surgeons Jesse W. Lazear, Aristides Agramonte, and James Carroll and also known as the Reed Commission, was encouraged by Major Jefferson Keen, a military surgeon who had recently recovered from yellow fever, to concentrate on that disease.

Carroll, who had previously worked with Reed at the Army Medical School, was placed in charge of bacteriology. Lazear, who had trained in entomology with the Italian malaria expert Giovanni Battista Gussi, was eventually given charge of the group's mosquito experiments. Agramonte supervised autopsies and was the group's pathologist.

After a series of false starts, the Yellow Fever Board, as it came to be known, directed its attention to the *Stegomyia fasciata* (later renamed *Aedes aegyptii*) mosquito that had been suggested as the disease's vector by Cuban physician Carlos Finlay in 1881. The board designed a remarkable series of controlled experiments that definitively proved not only that the disease was transmitted by the mosquito but also that it was caused by an infectious organism smaller than a bacterium and was therefore the first human infection shown to be viral in origin.

German scientist Robert Koch's postulates requiring passage of an identifiable agent through an experimental animal to prove responsibility for an infectious disease could not be satisfied because no laboratory animal was known to be susceptible to yellow fever. The board was therefore required to design its experiments using human subjects. Since yellow fever at the time had an approximately 30 percent mortality and since there was no treatment for the disease once it was contracted, any human experiment posed significant ethical difficulties. For that reason, the board elected to perform the first experiments on themselves. However, Agramonte was exempted because he had grown up in Cuba and was assumed to have contracted the disease as a child and to be immune. Reed

opted out, arguing that at age 47 he was too old to participate safely. Carroll contracted the disease after allowing himself to be bitten by a mosquito that had fed on a yellow fever victim, and although he survived, his health was permanently impaired, and he died seven years later. Lazear also allowed himself to be bitten and did not survive. The board subsequently recruited a series of newly arrived Spanish immigrants and American soldiers as subjects. The ethical questions remained, and the board obtained a written permission—the first formal informed consent—from each potential experimental subject.

Carroll, Agramonte, and Reed—encouraged and funded by military governor Brigadier General Leonard Wood—designed experiments in which they first proved that exposure to clothing, bedding, vomitus, and feces from yellow fever victims did not cause the disease. Next, they divided a small house in half by a screen and placed infected mosquitoes on one side and none on the other with all other conditions being identical. Experimental subjects on the mosquito side contracted yellow fever, while those on the other side of the screen did not. Carroll went on to inject plasma from infected subjects that had been filtered through porcelain known to have small enough pores to capture all bacteria. The filtrate still caused the disease, proving that the responsible agent was smaller than a bacterium.

The results were incontrovertible, and Wood promptly used them to justify a draconian antimosquito campaign supervised by Major William C. Gorgas. Within three months, yellow fever, which had plagued Havana for almost 400 years, had disappeared from the city. The Yellow Fever Board's defeat of yellow fever was unquestionably the Army Medical Department's greatest triumph during the Spanish-American War and may well have been the greatest achievement of the war altogether. The methods used in the experiments generated much controversy, however, especially after the death of nurse Clara Maass, who allowed herself to be reinfected after recovering from yellow fever in an effort to determine if prior exposure to the disease produced immunity.

JACK MCCALLUM

See also

Maass, Clara Louise; Reed, Walter; Sternberg, George Miller; Wood, Leonard; Yellow Fever

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Yellow Journalism

A term often used to characterize sensationalist, jingoistic, and sometimes fabricated or embellished news stories by chiefly large-circulation newspapers to stir up support for the Cuban rebels and encourage the United States to go to war with Spain in the 1890s.



Frederic Remington illustration titled “Spaniards Search Women on American Steamers.” Yellow journalism sought to cast the Spanish authorities in the worst possible light and used sensationalism to sell newspapers. (*New York Journal*, 1898)

Although many of the tawdry tactics used in yellow journalism well predate the 1890s, the term was struck in the run-up to the Spanish-American War, from about 1895 to 1898, when sensationalist and jingoistic news reporting reached its zenith. Two New York City newspaper publishers—Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst—best exemplified yellow journalism in the 1890s.

The circulation war between Pulitzer and Hearst was under way well before the United States declared war on Spain in 1898. After achieving financial success with the *St. Louis-Dispatch*, Pulitzer purchased the *New York World* in 1882. Seeking to tap the immigrant market, the *World* featured illustrations and crime stories often ac-

companied by a sexually titillating angle for only two cents a copy. The politically ambitious and wealthy mining heir Hearst was impressed by how Pulitzer made the *World* the largest-circulation newspaper in New York City. Hearst used similar tactics with the *San Francisco Examiner* and in 1895 decided to compete directly with Pulitzer by purchasing the *New York Journal*. Hearst raided the *World*’s staff and slashed the paper’s price to a penny per copy. The term “yellow journalism” is probably derived either from the yellow paper used in the print industry or the Hearst-Pulitzer rivalry over the “Yellow Kid” comic strip, created by cartoonist Richard Outcault.

The fierce struggle for circulation also convinced Hearst that the public clamor for violence might be fed through warmongering. Both Pulitzer and Hearst sought to exploit American sympathies with Cuban revolutionaries seeking independence from Spain. While the newspaper publishers often exaggerated their reports of Spanish atrocities in Cuba, the policies of Spanish governor-general Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, who herded Cuban peasants into reconcentration camps, provided ample ammunition for the pages of the *World* and the *Journal*.

Reporters and artists such as Richard Harding Davis and Frederic Remington often submitted stories dealing with the Spanish harassment of imprisoned Cuban women as well as the starvation of Cuban children. Although probably apocryphal, a story associated with Remington's January 1897 arrival in Cuba clearly illustrates the nature of yellow journalism. After sizing up the situation, Remington remarked that the military and political situation on the island was quiet and that he was preparing for a return to the United States. Hearst implored Remington to stay in Cuba, allegedly remarking, "You furnish the pictures and I will furnish the war." Anti-Spanish resentment was exacerbated on February 9, 1898, when the *Journal* published a personal letter from the Spanish minister to the United States, Enrique Dupuy de Lôme, to a friend, José Canalejas y Méndez, criticizing President William McKinley.

On February 15, 1898, the U.S. battleship *Maine* was destroyed while anchored in Havana Harbor, resulting in great loss of life. While the exact cause of the explosion was not known, the Pulitzer and Hearst papers immediately labeled the explosion an act of Spanish treachery. On February 17, a *Journal* headline proclaimed, "*Maine* Blown Up by Torpedo." As clamor for war increased around the country, McKinley presented Congress with a declaration of war, which was approved on April 25, 1898. Newspaper coverage also made war heroes of Theodore Roosevelt and Admiral George Dewey.

While the yellow journalism of Hearst and Pulitzer certainly encouraged the jingoism that led to war, it is simplistic to blame the war on these journalists alone, as business interests in the United States certainly supported a policy of territorial and economic expansion in pursuit of overseas markets and more profits. Others sought American expansionism on religious, moral, and chauvinistic grounds.

RON BRILEY

See also

Atrocities; Dupuy de Lôme-Canalejas Letter; Expansionism; Hearst, William Randolph; Jingoism; Journalism; *Maine*, USS; Newspapers; Pulitzer, Joseph; *Reconcentrado* System

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Young, Samuel Baldwin Marks

Birth Date: January 9, 1840

Death Date: September 1, 1924

U.S. Army officer. Samuel Baldwin Marks Young was born on January 9, 1840, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He attended Jefferson College in Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, before marrying and enlisting as a private in the U.S. Army in April 1861 upon the outbreak of the American Civil War. Serving with the Army of the Potomac, he rose quickly through the ranks, becoming a captain in 1861, a major in 1862, and a lieutenant colonel and colonel in 1864. In 1865, he was breveted brigadier general of volunteers. He was wounded several times during the conflict.

After returning to civilian life with the end of the Civil War, Young joined the regular army in May 1866 as a second lieutenant in the 12th Infantry Regiment. He received promotion to captain when he transferred to the 8th Cavalry in July 1866. From 1866 to 1879, he fought against various Native American tribes on the western frontier and was breveted colonel.

Young served on the faculty at the Infantry and Cavalry School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1882 before being promoted to major and joining the 3rd Cavalry Regiment in California. In 1894, his troops maintained order during labor disputes there. In 1896, he was assigned to Yosemite National Park to protect it from sheepherders and became its acting superintendent. The next year, he took the same position in Yellowstone National Park, where he became friends with Theodore Roosevelt before returning to the 3rd Cavalry as a colonel in June 1897.

At the beginning of the Spanish-American War, Young was appointed brigadier general of volunteers in May 1898 and then major general of volunteers in July 1898. He commanded a cavalry brigade in Major General Joseph Wheeler's division and fought in the first land battle of the war, at Las Guásimas, Cuba, on June 24, 1898. In late July, however, he became quite sick and had to return to the United States the following month. When he had sufficiently recovered, he spent time at Camp Wikoff on Long Island, New York, where he further recuperated.

In 1899, Young, now fully recovered, went to the Philippines as a brigadier general of the volunteers during the Philippine-American War (1899–1902). He took part in the unsuccessful three-pronged attack to destroy the enemy in northern Luzon in the autumn of 1899 during which he led a cavalry brigade. The campaign resulted in the escape of insurgent leader Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy and the beginning of the guerrilla phase of the war. In December 1899, Young became the commander of the District of North Western Luzon (northern Luzon), where he proved an able administrator. He removed incompetent officials, restructured the district, established schools, and improved farming techniques. In January 1900, he was appointed brigadier general of the regular army. However, his harsh, repressive measures against the Filipinos in a failed attempt to end the guerrilla war led to his recall in February 1901.

The same month, Young was promoted to major general and took command of the Department of California, serving there until March 1902. In November 1901, he was named president of the War College Board, and he was appointed the first president of the Army War College in July 1902. The following August, he was promoted to lieutenant general, serving briefly as commanding general of the army. He then became the first chief of staff of the army.

Young retired from the military in January 1904. He served as superintendent of Yellowstone National Park from 1907 to 1908, after which he led the Board of Inquiry of the Brownsville Affair in 1909–1910 that looked into a racial incident between black soldiers and white civilians in Texas. Young died in Helena, Montana, on September 1, 1924.

GREGORY C. FERENCE

See also

Camp Wikoff; Las Guásimas, Battle of; Luzon Campaigns; Philippine-American War; Roosevelt, Theodore; Wheeler, Joseph

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Z

Zanjón, Pact of

Peace treaty negotiated between Cuban revolutionary nationalists and the Spanish colonial government on February 10, 1878. The Pact of Zanjón officially ended the Ten Years' War (1868–1878), which had begun under the instigation of Carlos Manuel de Céspedes. Also involved in that struggle were other luminaries of the Cuban independence movement, including Máximo Gómez, Antonio Maceo Grajales, and José Martí y Pérez. The uprising began on October 10, 1868, when Céspedes and a small group of revolutionaries launched a failed attack against the city of Yara, which from then on became known as Grito de Yara (Shout of Yara).

That same day, Céspedes, a well-to-do landowner and attorney, brazenly freed his slaves, violating Spanish law. Slavery was still legal in Cuba at the time, but most of the nationalists hoped to rid the island of slavery, which they saw as a Spanish-imposed evil used to benefit absentee Spanish interests. The majority of the rebel nationalists sought economic reforms, increased political autonomy that would lead ultimately to Cuban independence, and an end to slavery.

In its earliest days, the Ten Years' War nearly collapsed, but by 1869, some victories had been won against the Spanish. That same year saw the convening of a revolutionary constitutional assembly, the drafting of a constitution, and the formation of a congress of representatives. On April 10, 1869, the Cuban Republic was established, with Céspedes as its first president. Despite these gains, the rebels were unable to deal a decisive military or political blow to Spanish rule in Cuba. For the next several years, the war ground on with little movement in either direction.

The independence movement was dealt a heavy blow when Spanish soldiers ambushed and killed Céspedes in February 1874. A year earlier, he had been deposed as president because of politi-

cal infighting within the movement. After 1874, the Ten Years' War went badly for the Cuban rebels, and in 1876, Spain dispatched additional troops to crush the revolt once and for all.

In early February 1878, newly arrived Spanish general Arsenio Martínez de Campos coerced a majority of the rebels to agree to a peace settlement, the Pact of Zanjón, signed on February 10, 1878. Most revolutionaries agreed to its terms, although Maceo, who saw the agreement as a sellout, continued a solitary protest effort until the late spring. Specifically, the treaty was designed to ameliorate Cuba's financial situation so that more of the money generated in Cuba remained in the island. The pact also provided for very modest land reform and land distribution and promised limited Cuban representation in government affairs. Most notably, the pact provided for the emancipation of any slave who had fought during the war. The remainder of the slaves, however, were not to be entirely freed until 1888. Subsequent agreements changed this slightly, and in 1886 slavery was outlawed throughout the island by royal proclamation.

The efficacy of the Pact of Zanjón was a short and fragile one. In less than a year, a new insurgency broke out. Known as the Little War (*La Guerra Chiquita*), it was led by José Maceo (Antonio's brother) and Calixto García y Iñiguez. That struggle ended in 1879, but the Spanish never made good on their promises of greater reform and autonomy. The result was a period of bitter recriminations and periodic guerrilla warfare by rebel nationalists that would open the way for more general warfare beginning in 1895.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Cuba; García y Iñiguez, Calixto; Gómez y Báez, Máximo; Maceo Grajales, Antonio; Martí y Pérez, José Julián; Martínez de Campos, Arsenio; Ten Years' War

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Zapote Line

Spanish-built defensive system surrounding Manila during the Spanish-American War. In 1898, Spain's Manila defenses comprised the walled Intramuros around the old city as well as suburban place-ments, many of which were part of the Zapote Line. South of the city's Pasig River, the medieval-like Fort Santiago within the walls guarded the river's mouth. Less than two miles to the south of the fort stood the Zapote Line, a complex of trenches and blockhouses, labeled from north to south 1 to 15, anchored by Fort San Antonio de Abad on the extreme south. Past the blockhouses, a mass of brown nipa huts (shelters made from bamboo) spread in all directions.

The avenues of Malate, Manila's southernmost suburb, were bar-ricaded, as were all roads approaching the city. To the south and be-side the Calle Real Road, a trench ran from Manila Bay eastward and connected with an unnavigable wetland. Below this position was Fort Malate, built of stone and mounting modern guns. A broad stream ran westward to the beach south of the post. A stone bridge traversed the stream near the fort, with its access blocked by stone barriers, while a trench line joined the bridge with Fort Malate. The trench sys-tem extended from the post to the bay westward about 200 feet and then ran eastward in a span of 3,000 feet to Blockhouse No. 14, a stronghold sided by the beach to the west and a marsh to the east.

The Spaniards constructed their blockhouses of uniform design but with various materials: stone, wood and stone, or simply wood. Blockhouse No. 14, a wooden structure, covered a 30-foot-square space, reached two stories in height, and occupied an elevated base, tilting from its foundation out at a 50-degree grade. Ten-inch planks on its corners were covered by nailed boards, continuing from one nook to another and providing a twofold wall of timber. The area between the walls was packed with gravel to make them more impervious to fire and bullets and shells. Each floor had 6-inch-wide peepholes, convenient for the use of small arms. The Spaniards had dug a trench around Blockhouse No. 14 in order to secure the Cingalon Road, another route into Manila.

The Spaniards designed their trenches with a 6-foot-broad and 3-foot-deep gully forward with earth behind and piled to a height of 5 feet. Ranging from 5 to 7 feet deep at the summit, they inclined outward to ground level and were crowned generally with sandbags interspersed with openings for rifle firing. On occasion, a fortifica-tion was built with sandbags only. Also, the Spaniards positioned most of their trenches behind swamps and between blockhouses.

In August 1898, General Fermín Jáudenes y Alvarez, the Span-ish commander in Manila, still controlled much of the city. But Fil-

ipino insurgents, led by General Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, were de-ployed in trenches facing the Zapote Line, while American forces to the south prepared for the First Battle of Manila on August 13, 1898. As it turned out, the battle saw most Spanish forces offer only token resistance, while U.S. Navy warships shelled Fort San Anto-nio de Abad, the southernmost redoubt of the Zapote Line. The token bombardment was part of an agreement worked out in ad-vance between Rear Admiral George Dewey and Jáudenes preced-ing the Spanish surrender.

RODNEY J. ROSS

See also

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio; Dewey, George; Fort San Antonio de Abad; Manila; Manila, First Battle of

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Zayas, Juan Alonso

Birth Date: 1869

Death Date: October 8, 1898

Spanish officer who fought in the Philippines for the duration of the Spanish-American War without knowing that a state of war ex-isted between the United States and Spain. Zayas was born in 1869 in San Juan, Puerto Rico. His father was a Spanish Army officer from Barcelona assigned to Puerto Rico. Although Zayas studied photography in his youth, he joined the Spanish Army in 1888. He was sent to Cuba in 1889 and eventually promoted to the rank of sergeant. Prior to the outbreak of the Cuban War of Independence in 1895, he was sent to study at the Spanish Army's School of Ser-geants in Madrid.

In 1897, Zayas, who had been promoted to second lieutenant, was sent to the Philippines as part of the effort to quell the Filipino insurrection against Spanish colonial rule. He arrived in Manila in May 1897 and was immediately assigned as second-in-command of the 2nd Expeditionary Rifle Battalion at the remote outpost in Baler on the northeastern shore of the island of Luzon. Although Baler was only 62 miles from Manila, the poor infrastructure and rugged terrain on the island made land travel and communication with that place exceedingly difficult. Indeed, the only feasible method of communication with Manila was by sea.

Filipino resistance to Spanish colonial authority in the Baler area, orchestrated by Calixto Vilacorte, was especially fierce. To protect their battalion of 57 men, Captain Enrique de Las Morenas y Foaai, the battalion commander, and Zayas converted the San Luis de Tolosa church into a fort. Vilacorte demanded the surren-

der of Spanish troops on June 28, 1898. The demand was rejected, and the insurgents initiated a siege of the garrison, which had occupied the church in the town. The siege lasted for 337 days. Although greatly outnumbered, lacking supplies and reinforcements, and plagued by disease, the Spanish garrison stubbornly refused to capitulate despite several attempts to convince them that the war had ended in August and that a peace treaty had been signed in Paris in December 1898 whereby the Philippines had been transferred to U.S. control. Not until June 2, 1899, did the garrison at Baler surrender. Zayas was not among them. During the siege, he had contracted beriberi, a nervous system disease caused by the lack of thiamine in the diet, that was complicated by injuries sustained in the siege. He died on October 8, 1898. Captain Las Morenas was also among the dead, also felled by beriberi. Zayas and his fallen comrades were buried in the cemetery of San Luis de Tolosa church. The next-ranking officer, Lieutenant Saturnino Martín Cerezo, took command of the battalion upon Zayas's death. The 32 surviving members of Zayas's battalion were returned to Spain, where they received a hero's welcome, military decorations, and pensions. Zayas was among those honored posthumously.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Baler, Philippines, Siege of; Luzon; Paris, Treaty of

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Zogbaum, Rufus Fairchild

Birth Date: August 28, 1849

Death Date: October 22, 1925

Leading artist-correspondent of the American West and the Spanish-American War. Rufus Fairchild Zogbaum was born in Charleston, South Carolina, on August 28, 1849. His father, a manufacturer of musical instruments, moved the family to New York City when Zogbaum was a boy. Zogbaum studied at the Art Students' League, an art school established in 1875, in New York City from 1878 to 1879 and during 1880–1882 at the Académie Julian, an art school established in Paris by Rodolphe Julian in 1868. At the latter, Zogbaum worked from 1880 to 1882 under Léon Bonnat, a leading portraitist whose work showed the influence of Diego Velázquez. Zogbaum was heavily influenced by the works of the French military artist Jean Baptiste Edouard Detaille and the French academic painter Alphonse Marie Adolphe de Neuville.

In 1884, after returning to the United States, Zogbaum traveled to Montana, where he sketched military life on the frontier. From 1883 to 1899, he contributed seven articles to the popular *Harper's Monthly*. In the August 1883 issue of *Harper's Monthly*, his first illus-

trated article, "War Pictures in Times of Peace," was published. The 13-page article about French Army drill tactics was written after the author had spent several months studying the French Army. His second article, "A Home of Tommy Adkins," appeared in the October 1884 issue of *Harper's Monthly*. The 7-page article examined military life in the British Army. His third article, "A Night with the Germans," appeared in the June 1885 issue of *Harper's Monthly*. The 8-page article examined military life in the German Army. The 6-page article "A Days Drive with Montana Cowboys" appeared in the July 1885 issue. "Across Country with a Cavalry Column" was published in the September 1885 issue. The 7-page article glorified the U.S. Cavalry. His sixth article, "With the Bluecoats on the Border," was a 12-page piece that appeared in the May 1886 edition of *Harper's Monthly*. Once again covering the U.S. Cavalry, this time Zogbaum examined the interaction of the settlers on the frontier with the U.S. Cavalry. His seventh and final article for *Harper's Monthly*, "Honor to Whom Honor Is Due," appeared in the April 1899 issue. The 7-page article examined U.S. military life, especially in the navy, during the Spanish-American War.

Zogbaum's seven articles in *Harper's Monthly* were augmented with 24 of his paintings. His painting *Battle of Manila Bay* (1899) vividly depicts Commodore George Dewey directing the battle from his flagship, the cruiser *Olympia*. Zogbaum also published illustrated articles in the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Harper's Weekly*, *Scribner's*, and *The North American Review*. He published two illustrated books, *Horse, Foot and Dragoons: Sketches of Army Life at Home and Abroad* (1888) and *All Hands: Pictures of Life in the United States Navy* (1897).

With the coming of the Spanish-American War, Zogbaum's art depicting western scenes disappeared almost entirely. As with fellow artist Frederic Remington, Zogbaum devoted all of his energies to depicting scenes of American heroism for the duration of the war. Unlike Remington, Zogbaum continued to paint military subjects for the rest of his life. Although Remington is better known, Zogbaum's works predate those of Remington and pay greater attention to detail. Zogbaum's paintings, especially his works done in watercolor and gouache of military scenes, set the standard for future military artists. His illustrated articles covering the Spanish-American War were especially popular with the American public. After a prolific career, Zogbaum died on October 22, 1925, in New York City.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Artists and Illustrators; Journalism; Manila Bay, Battle of; Remington, Frederic Sackrider

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Country Profiles

CUBA

Location: Caribbean

Capital: Havana

Area, Absolute: 42,803 sq. mi.

Area, Relative: Slightly smaller than Pennsylvania

	1896	1898	1900	1902	1904
Population Estimate:	1,800,000	1,570,000	1,600,000	1,758,000	1,879,000
Population Density (People per sq. mi.):	42.05	36.68	37.38	41.07	43.90

Estimated Total Armed Forces (1898): 40,000

Principal Military Bases and Installations: Oriente Province, Santiago de Cuba

Important Agricultural and Industrial Products: Sugar, tobacco, coffee, textiles

PHILIPPINES

Location: Southeastern Asia

Capital: Manila*

Area, Absolute: 500,000

Area, Relative: Slightly smaller than Arizona

	1896	1898	1900	1902	1904
Population Estimate:	6,261,339	7,000,000	7,409,000	7,577,000	7,659,000
Population Density (People per Sq. Mi.):	12.52	14.00	14.82	15.15	15.32

Estimated Total Armed Forces (1898): 50,000

Principal Military Bases and Installations: Malolos, San Isidro

Important Agricultural and Industrial Products: Fruit, fish, textiles, wood products

*Nationalist Army headquartered at Malolos during 1898–1899, moved to San Isidro in 1899.

SPAIN

Location: Southwestern Europe

Capital: Madrid

Area, Absolute: 194,834

Area, Relative: Slightly more than twice the size of Oregon

	1896	1898	1900	1902	1904
Population Estimate:	18,300,000	18,500,000	18,594,000	18,723,000	18,984,000
Population Density (People per Sq. Mi.):	93.93	94.95	95.44	96.10	97.44

Estimated Total Armed Forces (1898): 400,000

Principal Military Bases and Installations:

Domestic: Madrid, Cádiz

Abroad: Manila, Philippines; Santiago, Cuba

Important Agricultural and Industrial Products: Wine, olives, livestock, iron, ships

UNITED STATES

Location: North America

Capital: Washington, DC

Area, Absolute: 3,025,600

Area, Relative: Slightly less than half the size of Russia

	1896	1898	1900	1902	1904
Population Estimate:	70,595,000	75,000,000	76,212,000	79,163,000	82,166,000
Population Density (People per Sq. Mi.):	23.33	24.79	25.19	26.16	27.16

Estimated Total Armed Forces (1898): 300,000

Principal Military Bases and Installations:

Domestic: New Orleans, LA; Tampa, FL; Mobile, AL

Abroad: Hong Kong; Guantánamo Bay, Cuba; Siboney, Cuba; Manila, Philippines

Important Agricultural and Industrial Products: Grain, vegetables, livestock, ships

Chronology

October 1492

27 Columbus discovers Cuba.

November 1492

19 Puerto Rico is discovered.

1514

Santiago de Cuba is founded.

1515

Havana, Cuba, is founded.

1521

Ferdinand Magellan discovers Guam.

April 1565

27 First Spanish colony is established in the Philippines.

June 1571

24 Spanish Manila (Philippines) is founded.

1668

Guam is colonized by Spain.

August 1762

13 British forces capture Havana as part of the larger Seven Years' War (1756–1763). Havana will be returned to Spain in 1763 as part of the peace agreement ending the war.

October 1762

5 British forces capture Manila. It will return to Spanish control in 1763.

November 1776

5 Spain allows rebel colonists' ships from Britain's North American colonies to trade at any Cuban port.

December 1823

2 U.S. president James Monroe enunciates the Monroe Doctrine, putting Europe on notice that the United States will not permit new colonies in the Americas and will not tolerate European interference in the affairs of the newly independent nations of Central and South America.

1825

Secretary of State Henry Clay informs Mexico and Venezuela that the United States will block any attempt to invade Cuba. The United States takes this position because Cuba is viewed as a potential addition to the United States. A foreign move on Cuba would also violate the Monroe Doctrine.

March 1826

16 First two martyrs for Cuban independence, Francisco Agüero y Velazco and Andrés Manuel Sánchez, are hanged for inciting rebellion.

June 1848

9 President James Polk offers Spain \$100 million for Cuba.

August 1848

- 15 Spain declines President Polk's offer to sell Cuba to the United States.

1849–1851

Three successive Cuban filibustering expeditions launched from the southern United States end in failure. Many of those captured are hanged or shot before firing squads.

October 1852

- 22 Spain for a second time refuses to sell Cuba to the United States.

February 1854

- 28 The U.S.-owned side-wheeler *Black Warrior* is seized in Havana by Spanish authorities. After a fine is paid, the ship is released, but the incident causes a war scare in the United States.

1854

President Franklin Pierce offers Spain \$130 million for Cuba.

October 1854

- 9–11 Ostend Manifesto is written clandestinely in Ostend, Belgium, by American diplomats, who call for the annexation of Cuba.

1855

Spain pays compensation and refunds fine to owners of the *Black Warrior*.

January 1868

- 6 Comité Revolucionario de Puerto Rico (Revolutionary Committee of Puerto Rico) founded in Puerto Rico by Ramón Emeterio Betances and Segundo Ruiz Belvis.

September 1868

- 23 Outbreak of the insurrection known as El Grito de Lares (Cry of Lares) in Puerto Rico. It is suppressed the next day by Spanish officials.

October 1868

- 10 The Ten Years' War breaks out in Cuba, sparked by landowner and slaveholder Carlos Manuel de Céspedes. One of his first acts of rebellion is to free his slaves.

November 1868

The army of the insurrection in Cuba numbers 12,000 men.

1871

Importation of coolie labor to Cuba from the Far East is halted.

January 1872

- 20 Cavite Uprising in the Philippines begins and is quickly crushed by Spanish troops.

1873

The U.S. Army adopts the black powder single-shot Springfield M1873 rifle. Many are still in use during the Spanish-American War.

October 1873

- 31 U.S. side-wheel steamer *Virginius* is captured by Spanish naval forces off Cuba's coast. The vessel was carrying troops and supplies to Cuban rebels fighting the Ten Years' War.

November 1873

- 8 Forty-three passengers and crew members aboard the *Virginius* are executed in Santiago de Cuba before the executions are stopped by British intervention. Among those executed are British and American citizens. The incident nearly causes a war between Spain and the United States.

February 1878

- 11 Pact of Zanjón ends the Ten Years' War. Slaves who fought on either side are freed, but slavery is not officially ended in Cuba.

1879–1880

La Guerra Chiquita (Little War) fought by rebels in Cuba and is easily suppressed. Most of Cuba's population, exhausted by the Ten Years' War, refuses to support the new insurgency.

February 1880

- 13 Gradual abolition of slavery in Cuba begins, to be completed by 1886.

1884

Spain plans on spending 22 million pesetas over several years to build six modern battleships. The battleship *Pelayo*, however, would be the only ship constructed as a result of the plan.

February 1887

- 5 The Spanish battleship *Pelayo* is launched in France. March *Noli Me Tangere* (Don't Touch Me), authored

by José Rizal, is published in Berlin, Germany, and fans the flames of Filipino nationalism.

October 1888

- 17 The American battleship *Maine*, which will explode in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, is laid down at the Brooklyn Navy Yard in New York.

1890

Captain Alfred T. Mahan's seminal book, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1600–1783*, is published.

August 1890

- 30 The Spanish armored cruiser *Infanta Maria Teresa* is launched at Bilbao, Spain.

May 1891

- 7 The American battleship *Indiana*, the first of a class of three, is laid down in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

June 1891

- 17 The American first-class protected cruiser *Olympia* is laid down in San Francisco.

1892

The Norwegian-made Krag-Jørgensen M1892 rifle is adopted by the U.S. Army but is very slowly introduced over the next several years.

January 1892

- 5 José Martí founds El Partido Revolucionario Cubano (Cuban Revolutionary Party) in New York City and immediately calls for Cuban independence.

July 1892

- 3 Filipino nationalist José Rizal establishes the short-lived Liga Filipina (Filipino League) in Manila. The organization calls for peaceful reforms in the Philippines. Rizal's vision is for a slow evolution toward independence, to be carried out by Filipinos themselves, and is to be built on the precepts of education and civic and personal responsibility.

July 1892

- 6 Rizal is arrested and exiled to Mindanao.

July 1892

- 7 Led by Andrés Bonifacio, the Katipunan (Highest and Most Respected Association of the Sons of the Country) is established in the Philippines and calls for a revolutionary armed struggle to achieve Philippine independence.

January 1893

- 14 Coup led and inspired by U.S. planters and aided by the U.S. minister to Hawaii and the U.S. Marine Corps successfully overthrows Queen Liliuokalani and the Kingdom of Hawaii. The coup brings pro-American annexation forces to power. Liliuokalani formally abdicates in 1895.

February 1893

- 1 Americans in Hawaii form a provisional government, name Sanford Dole as its first president, and declare the archipelago a U.S. protectorate.

December 1893

- 7 Spain adopts the innovative Mauser Model 1893 rifle.

February 1895

- 5 Commissioning of the American protected cruiser *Olympia*.
- 24 Cuban War of Independence begins.

April 1895

- 10 José Martí and Máximo Gómez (general for the revolutionary movement) return to Cuba.

May 1895

- 19 Martí killed in ambush.

June 1895

- 12 President Grover Cleveland issues an official proclamation of neutrality in regard to the Cuban War of Independence.

September 1895

- 17 American battleship *Maine* commissioned. In 1894, while under construction, the *Maine* is redesignated as a second-class battleship.

October 1895

- 5 Major General Nelson Miles appointed commanding general of the U.S. Army.

November 1895

- 20 Commissioning of American battleship *Indiana*.

December 1895

- 8 Dr. José Henna establishes Puerto Rican section of El Partido Revolucionario Cubano.

February 1896

- 10 General Valeriano Weyler y Nocolau becomes captain-general of Cuba.

February 1896

- 17 Weyler institutes the highly controversial *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) system in Cuba, which will result in hundreds of thousands of Cuban civilian deaths and alienate U.S. public opinion toward Spain.

February 1896

- 28 Morgan-Cameron Resolution passes in the U.S. Senate recognizing Cuban belligerency and independence.

March 1896

- 2 U.S. House of Representatives passes resolution recognizing Cuban belligerency.

August 1896

- 23 Spanish authorities discover existence of the Katipunan. Hundreds of Filipinos are killed by Spanish vigilantes.

August 1896

- 26 The Philippine Revolution for independence begins.

September 1896

- 3 Filipino revolutionary and general Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy wins the Battle of Imus against Spanish forces.

October 1896

- 17 The Spanish armored cruiser *Princesa de Asturias* is launched at Bilbao, Spain. Construction had begun in 1890 and would be completed in 1902.

December 1896

- 7 President Cleveland announces that the United States reserves the right to intervene in Cuba if the situation is not soon resolved.

December 1896

- 30 Spanish authorities execute the internally exiled Filipino nationalist José Rizal.

January 1897

- 19 Journalist Richard Harding Davis reports in William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* on the Spanish firing-squad execution of Cuban rebel Adolfo Rodríguez in Cuba. This and other articles of this ilk inflame American sentiment over the events in Cuba and give rise to yellow journalism.

February 1897

- 12 Infamous "Does Our Flag Shield Women?" article in Hearst's *New York Journal* is printed. The article includes

an imaginative Frederic Remington drawing of the strip search of a woman, which causes outrage throughout the United States.

March 1897

- 4 William McKinley inaugurated as president of the United States.

April 1897

- 23 General Fernando Primo de Rivera y Sobremonte replaces General Emilio García de Polavieja as Spanish governor-general of the Philippine Islands.

May 1897

- 10 Filipino nationalist Andrés Bonifacio is executed by pro-Aguinaldo elements in an internal power struggle.

June 1897

- 2 Newly installed Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt delivers a speech at the Naval War College calling for a much-expanded navy.

August 1897

- 8 Spanish prime minister Antonio Cánovas del Castillo is assassinated.

October 1897

- 4 Práxedes Mateo Sagasta becomes prime minister of Spain for the sixth time.
23 Sagasta's government informs the United States that it will grant autonomy to Cuba.
31 General Ramón Blanco y Erenas replaces Weyler as captain-general of Cuba.

November 1897

- 25 Sagasta formally grants autonomy to Cuba and Puerto Rico.

December 1897

- 15 The Pact of Biak-na-Bato signed and calls for cessation of hostilities between Filipino rebels and the Spanish.
27 As stipulated by the Pact of Biak-na-Bato, Aguinaldo and a number of his followers and confidants depart the Philippines for Hong Kong, where they are to remain in exile.

January 1898

- 1 Spain inaugurates limited autonomous government in Cuba.
12 Spanish loyalists in Cuba riot in Havana.

- 25 U.S. battleship *Maine* arrives at Havana Harbor.

February 1898

- 9 Enrique Dupuy de Lôme-Canalejas Letter is published in the *New York Journal*, which causes an instant sensation in the United States. Puerto Rico gains limited autonomy.
- 10 Spanish ambassador to the United States Dupuy de Lôme resigns and is replaced by Luis Polo de Bernabé on February 16.
- 15 Internal explosion destroys USS *Maine* in Havana Harbor, killing 266 U.S. seamen. Spain is suspected of sabotage, and the disaster fuels the fires of anti-Spanish sentiments in the United States.
- 17 A U.S. Naval Court of Inquiry is appointed to investigate the loss of the *Maine*.
- 19 The United States declines a Spanish offer of a joint investigation of the wreckage of the *Maine*.
- 20 The Spanish armored cruiser *Vizcaya* arrives New York Harbor on a goodwill visit.
- 25 The *Vizcaya* departs New York Harbor. Commodore George Dewey, commanding the American Asiatic Squadron, is ordered to prepare for possible war with Spain and to destroy the Spanish squadron in the Philippines. Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt issues the order while Secretary of the Navy John D. Long is at an afternoon appointment with his physical therapist.
- 26 The Spanish Cortes (parliament) is dissolved after voting 1 million additional pesetas for the Spanish Navy.

March 1898

- 3 From information obtained by Spanish intelligence operatives, Spanish governor-general of the Philippines Fernando Primo de Rivera y Sobremonte informs the Spanish minister for the colonies that the American Asiatic Squadron under Dewey has orders to attack Manila in the event of war.
- 5 Spanish squadron for duty in the Caribbean ordered to assemble at Cádiz, Spain, under the command of Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete.
- 7 The gunrunning tug *Dauntless*, on a filibustering mission, is seized by the United States while bound for Cuba.
- 9 McKinley signs \$50 million national defense appropriation bill.
- 11 The House Committee on Naval Affairs provides for the construction of three new battleships, one to be named the *Maine*.
- 12 U.S. European Squadron departs Lisbon, Portugal, to escort newly purchased warship and return to the United States.

- 13 Three Spanish destroyers and three torpedo boats leave Cádiz for the Canary Islands.
- 17 Small Spanish destroyers and torpedo boats arrive in the Canary Islands.
- 19 USS *Oregon* leaves San Francisco for the East Coast by steaming around Cape Horn, a voyage of some 14,000 miles. The ship is ordered to rendezvous with the North Atlantic Squadron as part of the naval blockade of Cuba.
- 22 Spanish destroyers and torpedo boats leave the Canary Islands, but because of breakdowns and coaling problems, they proceed to the Cape Verde Islands and not the West Indies.
- 24 Captain William Sampson is ordered to take command of the North Atlantic Squadron at Key West, Florida, and is promoted to rear admiral. The Bank of Spain announces a \$40 million loan to the Spanish government, presumably to execute a war with the United States if it occurs.
- 27 Sagasta's government wins parliamentary elections in Spain. Parliamentary elections in Puerto Rico take place.
- 28 McKinley submits a Naval Court of Inquiry report to Congress that concludes that an external sea mine destroyed the *Maine*. Commodore Winfield Schley takes command of the Flying Squadron.
- 29 Ultimatum from the United States delivered to the Spanish government demanding that the Spanish leave Cuba.
- 30 Entire Autonomy Council in Puerto Rico resigns.

April 1898

- 1 Spain replies to the March 29 U.S. ultimatum, saying it will accept the American demands over leaving Cuba. Spanish armored cruisers *Oquendo* and *Vizcaya* depart Havana with orders to rendezvous with Spanish torpedo craft steaming from the Canary Islands.
- 3 Rebellion breaks out on the island of Cebu in the Philippines.
- 4 Steamers dispatched from Key West begin evacuating Americans from Havana. Pope Leo XIII offers to mediate a settlement between the Spanish and the Cuban rebels.
- 5 U.S. consul general Fitzhugh Lee ordered to leave Havana.
- 7 Six ambassadors representing the major European powers in Washington, D.C., submit a diplomatic note to McKinley urging peace with Spain.
- 8 Cervera leaves Cádiz for the Cape Verde Islands with the armored cruisers *Cristóbal Colón* and *Maria Teresa*. Rear Admiral Manuel de la Cámara y Libermore commands the reserve squadron remaining at Cádiz and made up of largely unready warships.
- 9 Primo de Rivera replaced by Lieutenant-General Basilio Augustín as governor-general of the Philippines.

- Augustín will fail in his attempts to establish autonomy in the Philippines and to reconcile the Filipinos to Spanish rule.
- 11 McKinley sends war message to Congress.
- 14 Cervera arrives in the Cape Verde Islands. Italian negotiations with Spain to sell the armored cruiser *Garibaldi* suspended.
- 15 British government instructs Jamaica that coal will be considered contraband in the event of war between Spain and the United States.
- 19 Congress passes a joint resolution that is an ultimatum to the Spanish.
- 20 McKinley signs joint resolution and delivers the ultimatum to the Spanish government. The Spanish ambassador to the United States asks for his passport, and the Spanish legation departs for Canada. Commodore John Howell appointed to command the North Atlantic Patrol squadron.
- 21 Spain considers the U.S. congressional joint resolution as a declaration of war. Spain mobilizes 80,000 reserve troops and orders 5,000 troops to the Canary Islands. The American ambassador and his staff in Madrid depart for Paris.
- 22 Rear Admiral William Sampson orders the North Atlantic Squadron to impose a blockade on Cuba. The protected cruiser *Nashville* captures the Spanish merchant ship *Buenaventura* off Havana, which is the first capture of the war.
- 23 Spain officially declares war. President McKinley calls for 125,000 volunteers.
- 24 President Bartolomé Masó of the Cuban Republic in Arms issues the Manifiesto de Sebastopol calling for Cuban independence under the motto of "Independence or Death." Cervera ordered to proceed to the Caribbean, and ultimately Cuban waters, with his squadron.
- 25 Congress declares war on Spain, retroactively to April 21.
- 27 Commodore Dewey steams with the Asiatic Squadron from Mirs Bay in China for the Philippines. An American squadron bombards coastal defenses at Matanzas, Cuba.
- 29 The Spanish steamer *Argonauta* is captured off Cienfuegos, and a skirmish is fought between U.S. naval assets and a Spanish warship and shore batteries but with no result. It is nevertheless considered the first naval action of the war. Portugal declares itself neutral in the war. Cervera's Spanish squadron leaves the Cape Verde Islands for the West Indies. Torpedo boats are left behind, however, later to return to Spain.
- 30 Cuban governor-general Blanco ends truce with Cuban revolutionaries.

May 1898

- 1 Commodore George Dewey's squadron decimates the Spanish fleet, commanded by Rear Admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón, at the Battle of Manila Bay. Lieutenant Andrew S. Rowan delivers his "A Message to Garcia" to General Calixto García y Iñiguez at Bayamo, Cuba.
- 2 Congress authorizes an additional emergency war loan of more than \$35 million. President McKinley formally authorizes sending the U.S. Army to the Philippines. Forces would be sent in several convoys from the West Coast, principally from San Francisco, in the succeeding weeks. Dewey cuts the submarine cable linking Manila and Hong Kong. Cuban revolutionary general Máximo Gómez y Báez communicates with Rear Admiral William Sampson of the U.S. Navy.
- 3 Opposition forces in the Cortes demand an explanation for the stunning defeat of Spanish naval forces at Manila. Civil unrest in Spain results as news of the defeat spreads.
- 5 U.S. Senate passes a bill authorizing McKinley to supply munitions to Cuban rebels.
- 10 Spanish Cortes votes for additional war credits.
- 11 U.S. torpedo boat *Winslow* heavily damaged in operations off Cárdenas, Cuba. Ensign Worth Bagley, serving on the vessel, is the first American officer killed in the war. An American attempt to sever the undersea cable at Cárdenas is partially successful, and the Medal of Honor will be awarded to 49 troops who took part in the mission. Cervera's squadron arrives at Martinique.
- 12 Sampson's squadron bombards San Juan. Officials in Washington, D.C., receive report of the arrival of Cervera's squadron at Martinique. U.S. forces land near Port Cabañas, Cuba, with supplies for Cuban rebels, resulting in the first land skirmish with Spanish troops of the Spanish-American War.
- 14 Partially reconstructed Spanish battleship *Pelayo*, lacking armor plate on its secondary battery, is added to the Reserve Squadron in Spain in preparation for operations in the Far East.
- 15 In part due to riots in Spain and the defeat at Manila Bay, Spanish prime minister Práxedes Mateo Sagasta reshuffles his cabinet.
- 16 New army Department of the Pacific is formed, which includes the Philippines and is placed under the command of Major General Wesley Merritt.
- 18 New government cabinet under Sagasta is formed. McKinley orders Major General Merritt to occupy the Philippines.
- 19 Cervera's squadron arrives at Santiago de Cuba. Filipino general Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy arrives back on Luzon

- after his brief exile in Hong Kong and recommences his revolutionary movement against the Spanish.
- 20 American War Department begins recruiting six regiments from the South that are made up of men who are allegedly immune to yellow fever. Reports that Spanish rear admiral Cámara's squadron is rumored to have left Spain for the Philippines are given to Dewey.
- 21 The U.S. monitor *Monterey* along with a collier are ordered from San Diego to reinforce Dewey. A second large monitor would be dispatched shortly thereafter from the West Coast.
- 23 Beginning on this date and lasting until September 21, 70 secret messages are relayed from a Spanish Montreal-based spy ring to Madrid concerning American military operations and movements.
- 24 Aguinaldo establishes himself as president and dictator of the Filipino revolutionary government.
- 25 McKinley calls for an additional 75,000 volunteers.
- 26 Secretary of the Navy John D. Long orders Dewey not to form alliances with Filipino rebels.
- 28 Cámara's Reserve Squadron hold maneuvers off Cádiz, Spain.
- 29 Commodore Winfield S. Schley blockades Santiago de Cuba, bottling up Cervera's vessels in the harbor.
- 31 Naval skirmish off Santiago de Cuba between Schley's squadron and the *Cristóbal Colón* and Spanish coastal defenses.

June 1898

- 1 Sampson joins Schley off Santiago de Cuba with overwhelming naval strength.
- 3 Lieutenant Richmond Hobson, commanding a volunteer crew, fails to block the entrance to Santiago de Cuba by sinking the collier *Merrimac* in the sea channel. The entire crew is captured during the mission.
- 4 U.S. Secret Service first makes public the existence of a Spanish spy ring based in Canada.
- 6 Sampson bombards Santiago de Cuba's coastal defenses.
- 7 American naval squadron cuts submarine cable near Guantánamo Bay and bombards the shore.
- 9 U.S. marines land at Guantánamo Bay.
- 9–17 Marines and Cuban rebels skirmish with the Spanish at the Battle of Guantánamo.
- 12 Aguinaldo declares Filipino independence. German East Asian Squadron begins to concentrate in Manila Bay.
- 14 Major General William Shafter, V Corps commander, departs Tampa, Florida, for Cuba with an expeditionary force. Battle of Cuzco Well secures Guantánamo for the Americans and a steady supply of fresh water for the marines there.
- 15 First meeting of Anti-Imperialist League takes place in the United States.

- 16 Rear Admiral Cámara's naval squadron, bound for the Philippines, departs Cádiz for the Suez Canal.
- 18 Navy secretary Long orders Sampson to prepare a squadron with battleships to operate off the coast of Spain if Cámara's squadron passes through the Suez Canal. Commodore John Watson is placed in command. Leading merchants in Catalonia, Spain, issue a resolution calling for peace.
- 20 Shafter's expeditionary force arrives off the coast of Santiago de Cuba. Aserraderos Conference takes place between officials representing the U.S. Army, the U.S. Navy, and Cuban rebels under General García to work out goals and strategies for the unfolding campaign. The protected cruiser *Charleston* with three transports arrives at Spanish-controlled Guam. The island surrenders the next day without a shot being fired.
- 22 Shafter begins landing on the Cuban coast southeast of Santiago de Cuba near Daiquirí and Siboney, beginning the Cuba Campaign. Direct cable communication between Washington, D.C., and Guantánamo is established. Naval skirmish off San Juan results in minor damage to the Spanish destroyer *Terror*.
- 24 Battle at Las Guásimas, Cuba, clears the way for an American advance on Santiago de Cuba (Santiago de Cuba Land Campaign). Spanish Cortes is dissolved.
- 25 First American army troops arrive in the Philippines under Major General Merritt, commander of VIII Corps.
- 28 McKinley extends the Declaration of Blockade to all of Cuba and San Juan.
- 29 Brigadier General Simon Snyder's 2nd Division steams for Santiago de Cuba to reinforce Shafter's force.
- 30 First U.S. troop disembark at Cavite, Philippines.

July 1898

- 1 Battles of Kettle Hill, San Juan Hill, El Caney, and Aguadores take place. Cuban lieutenant general Arsenio Linares y Pombo, commanding at Santiago de Cuba, is severely wounded and replaced by Major General José Toral y Vázquez.
- 2 Spanish counterattacks against U.S.-captured positions fail.
- 3 Battle of Santiago de Cuba destroys Spanish squadron. Shafter gives notice to Toral that U.S. forces will likely bombard Santiago de Cuba and that women and children should leave the city for safety during a temporary truce.
- 7 Cámara's squadron is recalled to Spain. McKinley signs congressional resolution annexing the Hawaiian Islands.
- 8 Return of Cámara's squadron to Spain is confirmed by American Intelligence. Among several officers McKinley nominates for promotion is Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt to colonel.

- 8 Toral and Shafter enter into discussions on the surrender of Santiago de Cuba.
- 11 Major General Nelson Miles arrives at Santiago de Cuba and confers with Shafter and Sampson.
- 15 Because of continued civil unrest, the Spanish government issues a decree limiting the rights of citizens.
- 16 Spanish admiral Cervera and other captured Spanish officers are quartered at Annapolis, Maryland.
- 17 Santiago de Cuba surrenders to American forces, all but ending the fighting in Cuba.
- 18 Spain requests that France contact the U.S. government to broker a truce. Brigadier General Leonard Wood is appointed military governor of Santiago de Cuba.
- 20 Major General James Wilson departs Charleston, South Carolina, for Puerto Rico with the 1st Division.
- 21 American squadron bombards Nipe Bay, Cuba, and sinks two small Spanish warships.
- 25 Major General Nelson A. Miles commands army that invades Puerto Rico at Guánica. The resulting Puerto Rico Campaign is practically bloodless and will last barely three weeks. Autonomous parliament in Puerto Rico disbands. Spanish forces in Guantánamo region surrender.
- 26 Peace talks, through French offices, commence in Washington, D.C.
- 28 Ponce, Puerto Rico, falls to American forces. U.S. government requests that Shafter send back to the United States as many troops as possible, as quickly as possible, from the Santiago de Cuba area to avoid yellow fever epidemic.
- 29 American troops under Major General Merritt begin their march from Cavite to Manila.
- 30 McKinley presents truce terms acceptable to the United States to the Spanish.

August 1898

- 2 Spain, with some reservations concerning the Philippines, accepts American demands.
- 5 Battle of Guayama fought in Puerto Rico.
- 9 Battle at Asomante Hills takes place in Cuba. Battle of Coamo occurs in Puerto Rico.
- 10 Battles of Hormigueros and Mayagüez occur in Puerto Rico.
- 11 U.S. State Department and French ambassador to the United States Jules-Martin Cambon successfully negotiate the formal Protocol of Peace, which will effectively end hostilities.
- 12 Armistice takes effect and ends fighting. Manzanillo, Cuba, bombarded.
- 13 First Battle of Manila occurs, and Manila is captured by U.S. forces. Battle of Las Marías in Puerto Rico is the last battle between the Spanish and Americans.

- 14 Document for formal surrender of Manila signed.
- 26 McKinley issues secret decree that Puerto Rico will become a conquered territory of the United States.

September 1898

- 13 Spanish Cortes ratifies the Protocol of Peace.
- 15 Revolutionary Malolos (Philippines) Congress meets and later adopts a constitution.
- 26 Dodge Commission established to investigate mismanagement in the War Department.

October 1898

- 1 Peace talks in Paris commence.
- 18 San Juan formally handed over to the American forces, and Major General John Brooke becomes first military governor.
- 26 McKinley instructs his peace commissioners to demand the annexation of the Philippines at the peace negotiations.

November 1898

- 11 Rear Admiral Montojo arrives in Madrid for his court-martial. He would be convicted and would serve a short time in prison.
- 29 Constitution of the First Philippine Republic adopted by the Malolos Congress.

December 1898

- 10 Treaty of Paris formally ends the war. Cuba officially independent of Spain.
- 21 McKinley calls for the peaceful annexation of the Philippines.
- 23 U.S. Navy placed in control of Guam.

January 1899

- 1 Aguinaldo declared president by Malolos Congress. American officials establish provisional government in Cuba.
- 17 United States takes formal possession of Wake Island.

February 1899

- 4 Second Battle of Manila. First shots fired in Philippine-American War between Filipino rebels and U.S. forces. Luzon Campaign begins simultaneously, lasting until December 1899.
- 6 U.S. Senate ratifies Treaty of Paris in a 52 to 27 vote.
- 11 Visayan Campaigns commence, lasting until the early summer of 1901.

March 1899

- 19 Queen Regent María Cristina of Spain breaks stalemate in the Cortes by signing the Treaty of Paris herself.

May 1899

- 5 Secretary of State John Hay offers autonomy to the Philippines.

July 1899

- 3 Schools open in Philippines with Spanish, American, and Filipino teachers.

August 1899

- 10 Bates Treaty finalized between U.S. brigadier general John C. Bates and the sultan of Sulu, Jamalul Kiram II, in the southern Philippines.

September 1899

Secretary of State John Hay issues a series of diplomatic letters to the world's major colonial powers. The letters, which came to be known as the Open Door Notes, urge that all nations should have free and unfettered access to China's markets. The growing violence of the Boxer Rebellion in China will prompt him to send another letter in July 1900 asking that all nations honor China's territorial and political integrity.

- 1 General League of Cuban Workers is formed.

December 1899

- 18 Major General Henry Lawton is killed during the Battle of San Mateo in the Philippines.
- 20 Brigadier General Leonard Wood is appointed governor of Cuba.

January 1900

- 17 United States declares Wake Island an unincorporated territory.
- 26 Samar Campaign begins, lasting until April 27, 1902.

February 1900

- 22 Hawaii officially becomes a territory of the United States.

May 1900

To protect their citizens and economic interests in China, now endangered by the ongoing Boxer Rebellion, seven Western nations and Japan dispatch troops to the country to quell the unrest. The United States is one of the nations sending troops.

June 1900

- 16 First municipal elections in Cuba held since end of the war.

September 1900

- 13 Battle of Massiquisic is fought in the Philippines.

November 1900

- 5 Cuban Constitutional Assembly convenes.

March 1901

- 23 Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy captured by U.S. force led by Brigadier General Frederick Funston.

April 1901

- 1 Aguinaldo takes oath of allegiance to the United States in Manila.

September 1901

- 27–28 Balangiga Massacre takes place.

April 1902

- 16 Surrender of General Miguel Malvar, the last Filipino rebel resisting American occupation, along with his family.

May 1902

- Lake Lanao (Mindanao, Philippines) Campaigns begin, lasting until May 10, 1903.
- 2 Battle of Bayang (Moro Province) occurs, precipitating the Moro Campaigns that endure sporadically until 1913.
- 20 Cuba fully independent of American administration.

July 1902

- 1 U.S. Congress passes the Philippine Organic Act for administering the Philippines.
- 4 President Theodore Roosevelt declares an end to the Philippine-American War and offers amnesty.

1903

Resistance by Muslims in the southern Philippines (Jolo) begins. Springfield .30-caliber M1903, based on the Spanish Mauser, adopted by the U.S. Army.

January 1903

- 21 Militia Act of 1903 (Dick Act) enacted and transforms state militias.

March 1906

- 5–8 First Battle of Bud Dajo.

December 1911

Bud Dajo Campaign.

June 1913

- 11–15 Battle of Bud Bagsak ends Muslim resistance in Jolo.

March 1917

- 2 Jones-Shafroth Act, making Puerto Ricans citizens of the United States and establishing a native legislature, signed into law.

November 1935

- 15 Manuel Quezon inaugurated as first president of the Commonwealth of the Philippines. The Philippines will become independent in 1946.

JACK GREENE

Glossary

abaft	Farther aft than; in or toward the stern.		
accoutrements	A soldier's gear except for weapons and clothing.		
accrocher	French term meaning to board and grapple an enemy vessel.	aweigh	philosopher Henri Bergson, it held that offensive spirit and moral supremacy were everything in battle and that defensive operations could not be decisive.
aft	Near, toward, or at the stern of the ship.		Said of an anchor immediately when it is broken out of the ground and when its cable is up and down.
aide-de-camp	The chief military secretary to a superior officer.	ballast	Additional weight placed low in the hull to improve stability. Ballast can be external (outside the hull) or internal (within the ship) and either permanent (as in concrete) or temporary (as in saltwater tanks).
<i>aller à l'abordage</i>	A French term meaning to board an enemy vessel.		
amidships	The center part of the ship. This is both between the fore and aft sections and between the port and starboard sides.	ballistics	The science of projectiles, divided into interior and exterior ballistics. Its aim is to improve the design of shells or projectiles so that increased accuracy and predictability are the result.
amphibious warfare	Military activity that involves landing from ships, either directly or by means of landing craft.		
army	Military unit, usually consisting of at least 50,000 to 60,000 individuals and commanded by a commissioned officer, usually a general.	barrage	French term for a barrier formed by artillery fire (land) or an antisubmarine net or mine barrier (sea).
assumed position	Position at which the navigator assumes the ship to be when using the intercept method of celestial navigation. This can also be the ship's dead reckoning (DR) position or its estimated position.	battalion	Military unit, usually consisting of between 300 and 1,000 individuals and commanded by a commissioned officer, usually a lieutenant colonel.
astern	Behind a ship.	battery	Military unit corresponding to an infantry company, usually composed of about 100 individuals and commanded by a captain.
<i>attack à l'outrance</i>	French term for the doctrine of the offensive to the outer limit. Associated with French	benevolent assimilation	See entry.

berm	Built-up dirt wall used as a barrier against attack.		
bow chase	Cannon mounted on the fore part of the ship that are used in pursuit of an enemy vessel.	divided fire	Fire directed by one ship at multiple targets.
brigade	Military unit, usually consisting of between 3,000 and 5,000 individuals and commanded by a commissioned officer, usually a brigadier general (premodern times) or a colonel (modern times).	division	Military unit, usually consisting of between 10,000 and 20,000 individuals and commanded by a commissioned officer, usually a major general.
broadside	The firing of all guns on one side of a vessel as near simultaneously as possible.	economic warfare	Compelling an enemy to submit either by direct action against its economic base or indirectly through blockade or boycott.
cannonade	Application of artillery to naval warfare or a vessel's effort to attack an object.	enfilade	To fire upon the length rather than the face of an enemy position. Enfilading an enemy allows a varying range of fire to find targets while minimizing the amount of fire the enemy can return.
captain's mast	A hearing at which the captain of the ship dispenses nonjudicial punishments.	envelopment	To pour fire along the enemy's line. A double envelopment is an attack on both flanks of an enemy.
cease-fire	A partial or temporary cessation of hostilities. A cease-fire can also involve a general armistice or a total cessation of all hostilities.	estimated position	A vessel's position advanced on the chart from a previous fix of observed position.
"Civilize 'em with a Krag"	See entry.	executive officer	Second-in-command of a vessel, squadron, etc.
close hauled	When a vessel has the wind before its beam or is sailing as close to the wind as possible.	fathom	A unit of measure (often used to describe the depth of water) equal to six feet.
coastal defense	The defense of a nation's coast from an enemy sea invasion or blockade, accomplished with heavy artillery, mines, small warships, and nets.	flagship	Ship carrying an admiral who is in command of a fleet or squadron.
commissioned officer	An officer possessing authority over enlisted men and noncommissioned officers whose rank is conferred by a government document (commission).	flotilla	A grouping of warships, distinctive from a fleet by its smaller size.
company	Military unit, usually consisting of between 70 and 250 individuals and commanded by a commissioned officer, usually a captain.	forced march	In military usage, a rapid movement of troops over some distance to meet a crisis such as the imperative need to reinforce positions before or during a battle.
corps	Military unit, usually consisting of between 30,000 and 50,000 individuals and commanded by a commissioned officer, usually a lieutenant general.	gangway	An opening in a ship giving access to a brow or other ladder.
coup d'état	A sudden, decisive use of force in politics, especially in terms of a violent overthrow of an existing government by a small group often assisted by the military.	Gilded Age	See entry.
court-martial	To subject to a military trial with a court consisting of a board of commissioned officers.	give-way vessel	The vessel that must stay clear of another vessel (the stand-on vessel) in accordance with the rules of navigation.
dead reckoning	Determining the position of a vessel based on the course steered and distance sailed, not	guerrilla warfare	A form of irregular warfare that is highly flexible and often decentralized. Nontraditional tactics such as raids and ambushes are employed to compensate for a numerical or technological disadvantage.
		gunboat	A small armed vessel.
		gun deck	The main deck of a frigate that supports the frigate's battery.

gunner	An officer whose duties are to take charge of artillery and ammunition of the ship and to train the crew in the use of its guns.	noncommissioned officer (NCO)	An enlisted soldier who has been promoted to a position of control or authority that is between enlisted men and commissioned officers.
hegemony	The dominance of one nation over other nations based on the dominant nation's transfer of core values and basic societal institutions rather than through military conquest.	ordnance	Military supplies, particularly weapons and ammunition.
hull	Actual body of a vessel. Excludes superstructure, rigging, masts, and rudder.	overtaking	Coming up to another vessel from any point abaft the other vessel's beam.
hulled	Shot in the hull, normally fired at point-blank range.	petty officer	Naval rank equivalent to a noncommissioned officer (between officers and enlisted sailors).
in irons	Condition whereby through lack of wind a sailing ship is unable to move while heading into the wind and attempting to tack.	platoon	Military unit, usually consisting of between 30 and 50 individuals and commanded by a commissioned officer, usually a lieutenant.
in ordinary	Laid up in reserve (said of a ship).	pontoon bridge	A bridge whose deck is supported by flat-bottomed boats.
jetsam	Goods cast out of a ship.	presidio	Spanish fortress created to protect missions and other important areas.
jingoisism	See entry.	procurement	The act of purchasing. It often refers to the government's purchasing of military equipment or other supplies.
junta	Rule by a group of military officers who came to national power through a military coup.	quarterdeck	Part of the deck that is designated for both official and ceremonial functions. It is also where crew members board the ship by gangways.
league	A unit of measure roughly equivalent to three miles.	quartermaster	A commissioned officer whose duty is to provide clothing and subsistence for a body of troops.
lee shore	A shore toward which the wind is blowing (therefore a dangerous shore).	regiment	Military unit, usually consisting of between 2,000 and 3,000 individuals and commanded by a commissioned officer, usually a colonel.
leeward	Downwind, away from the wind.	relative bearing	A bearing measure with reference to the ship's longitudinal axis.
line of position	A line drawn on a chart to determine a ship's position in relation to an object. The intersection of two or more lines of position (LOPs) provides a fix.	relative course	Course steered by another ship when expressed as the angle that course makes with the course of one's own ship.
magnetic bearing	Bearing of an object when determined by a compass, the needle of which is aligned with magnetic north.	rudder	Device for steering vessels, usually fitted at the stern.
main battery	A ship's battery made up of its biggest guns or missiles.	salvo	The simultaneous firing of a number of guns.
Manifest Destiny	See entry.	scuttling	The intentional letting of water into a ship's hull in order to sink it.
martial law	Temporary military governance of a civilian population when the civil government has become unable to sustain order.	sea lines of communication	Essential sea routes for military operations.
militarism	The view that military power and efficiency is the supreme ideal of the state.	social Darwinism	See entry.
mobilization	The organization of the armed forces of a nation for active military service in time of war or other national emergency.	squad	Military unit, usually consisting of between 8 and 14 individuals and commanded by a noncommissioned officer.
Monroe Doctrine	See entry.		
Moros	See entry.		
nautical mile	Unit of measurement at sea, equal to 6,076 feet.		

standing army	A permanent military unit of paid soldiers that exists during both peacetime and wartime.
starboard	The right side of a vessel when standing aboard facing forward.
stern chaser	A gun that fires directly astern of the ship.
strike (colors)	To surrender in naval combat by lowering the vessel's flag.
Tagalogs	See entry.
turret ship	Warship carrying main armaments in a turret or turrets.
typhoid fever	See entry.
USS	United States ship; the designation used for vessels of the U.S. Navy.

weather gauge	A windward (upwind) and hence desirable position in relation to an adversary, thus giving the vessel with the weather gauge the advantage of catching the wind first, dictating the speed of approach and the time of engaging.
white man's burden	See entry.
windward	Toward the wind.
yellow fever	See entry.
yellow journalism	See entry.

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1. Monroe Doctrine, December 2, 1823 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Although the Monroe Doctrine is not an actual law, it has profoundly influenced the making of U.S. foreign policy. On December 2, 1823, President James Monroe announced in his annual message to Congress the doctrine that he had drafted with the help of Secretary of State (and future president) John Quincy Adams. The United States had just acquired Florida from Spain in 1819, but Spain remained in control of present-day Texas. Concerned that Spain or Russia might lay claim to additional territory in the Western Hemisphere, Monroe issued a general warning to European powers that they were not to consider colonizing any part of the Americas. Although the United States declined Great Britain's offer to issue a joint statement, all parties understood that the doctrine was unenforceable without British sea power. Subsequent presidents, most notably Theodore Roosevelt, modified and extended the Monroe Doctrine. In the so-called Roosevelt Corollary of 1904, Roosevelt declared that the United States should exercise "international police power" to maintain stability in the nations of Latin America. The Monroe Doctrine remained a major component of U.S. foreign policy, and subsequent presidents used it as justification for intervening in Western Hemisphere affairs.

Primary Source

[...]

At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the Minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and in-

structions have been transmitted to the Minister of the United States at St. Petersburg, to arrange, by amicable negotiation, the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal has been made by His Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous, by this friendly proceeding, of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his Government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Powers.

[...]

It was stated at the commencement of the last session, that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked, that the result has been, so far, very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which we have so much intercourse, and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly, in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers, in matters

relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so. It is only when our rights are invaded, or seriously menaced, that we resent injuries, or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere, we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied Powers is essentially different, in this respect, from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments. And to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers, to declare, that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power, we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintain it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration, and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling, in any other manner, their destiny, by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. In the war between those new Governments and Spain, we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur, which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change, on the part of the United States, indispensable to their security.

The late events in Spain and Portugal, show that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact, no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied Powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed, by force, in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question in which all independent Powers whose Governments differ from theirs, are interested; even those most remote, and surely none of them more so than the United States. Our policy, in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its Powers; to consider the Government *de facto* as the legitimate Government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting, in all instances the just claims of every Power; submitting to injuries from none. But, in regard to those continents, circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied Powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent, without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can

anyone believe that our Southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in hope that other Powers will pursue the same course.

[...]

Source: *The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States* . . . (Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1856).

2. Ostend Manifesto, 1854

Introduction

The first half of the nineteenth century had been a time of expansion for the United States and retreat for Spain. In 1819, Spain relinquished all claim to Florida and Oregon. Two years later, in 1821, Mexico won its independence from Spain. By 1846, the United States had won a vast territory from Mexico. In 1854, U.S. president Franklin Pierce sought to annex Cuba by buying the island from Spain. At the time, slaveholding and abolitionist interests vied for control of the many territories being added to the United States. Cuba was considered vital to U.S. slaveholding interests. The American ministers to Spain, Great Britain, and France conferred in Ostend, Belgium, and drafted a plan for acquiring Cuba. Their plan called for the United States to make an offer to purchase Cuba. If Spain refused to sell Cuba, the document asserted that the United States would be justified in taking Cuba by force because Cuba was vital to national interests. This document was intended to be confidential, but it was leaked and published in a New York newspaper. Thus, it became known as the Ostend Manifesto. The document's advocacy of expansion by force sparked widespread outrage and accusations of a plot to expand slavery. Its exposure forced Pierce to reject the plan.

Primary Source

Aix-La-Chapelle: October 18, 1854

SIR:—The undersigned, in compliance with the wish expressed by the President in the several confidential despatches you have addressed to us, respectively, to that effect, have met in conference, first at Ostend, in Belgium, on the 8th, 10th, and 11th instant, and then at Aix la Chapelle in Prussia, on the days next following, up to the date hereof.

There has been a full and unresolved interchange of views and sentiments between us, which we are most happy to inform you has resulted in a cordial coincidence of opinion on the grave and important subjects submitted to our consideration.

We have arrived at the conclusion, and are thoroughly convinced, that an immediate and earnest effort ought to be made by the government of the United States to purchase Cuba from Spain at any price for which it can be obtained, not exceeding the sum of.

The proposal should, in our opinion, be made in such a manner as to be presented through the necessary diplomatic forms to the Supreme Constituent Cortes about to assemble. On this momentous question, in which the people both of Spain and the United States are so deeply interested, all our proceedings ought to be open, frank, and public. They should be of such a character as to challenge the approbation of the world.

We firmly believe that, in the progress of human events, the time has arrived when the vital interests of Spain are as seriously involved in the sale, as those of the United States in the purchase of the island and that the transaction will prove equally honorable to both nations.

Under these circumstances we cannot anticipate a failure, unless possibly through the malign influence of foreign powers who possess no right whatever to interfere in the matter.

We proceed to state some of the reasons which have brought us to this conclusion, and, for the sake of clearness, we shall specify them under two distinct heads:

I. The United States ought, if practicable, to purchase Cuba with as little delay as possible.

II. The probability is great that the government and Cortes of Spain will prove willing to sell it, because this would essentially promote the highest and best interests of the Spanish people.

Then, I. It must be clear to every reflecting mind that, from the peculiarity of its geographical position, and the considerations attendant on it, Cuba is as necessary to the North American republic as any of its present members, and that it belongs naturally to that great family of States of which the Union is the providential nursery.

From its locality it commands the mouth of the Mississippi and the immense and annually increasing trade which must seek this avenue to the ocean.

On the numerous navigable streams, measuring an aggregate course of some thirty thousand miles, which disembogue themselves through this magnificent river into the Gulf of Mexico, the increase of the population within the last ten years amounts to more than that of the entire Union at the time Louisiana was annexed to it.

The natural and main outlet to the products of this entire population, the highway of their direct intercourse with the Atlantic and

the Pacific States, can never be secure, but must ever be endangered whilst Cuba is a dependency of a distant power in whose possession it has proved to be a source of constant annoyance and embarrassment to their interests.

Indeed, the Union can never enjoy repose, nor possess reliable security, as long as Cuba is not embraced within its boundaries.

Its immediate acquisition by our government is of paramount importance, and we cannot doubt but that it is a consummation devoutly wished for by its inhabitants.

The intercourse which its proximity to our coasts begets and encourages between them and the citizens of the United States, has, in the progress of time, so united their interests and blended their fortunes that they now look upon each other as if they were one people and had but one destiny.

Considerations exist which render delay in the acquisition of this island exceedingly dangerous to the United States.

The system of immigration and labor lately organized within its limits, and the tyranny and oppression which characterize its immediate rulers, threaten an insurrection at every moment which may result in direful consequences to the American people.

Cuba has thus become to us an unceasing danger, and a permanent cause of anxiety and alarm.

But we need not enlarge on these topics. It can scarcely be apprehended that foreign powers, in violation of international law, would interpose their influence with Spain to prevent our acquisition of the island. Its inhabitants are now suffering under the worst of all possible governments, that of absolute despotism, delegated by a distant power to irresponsible agents, who are changed at short intervals, and who are tempted to improve the brief opportunity thus afforded to accumulate fortunes by the basest means.

As long as this system shall endure, humanity may in vain demand the suppression of the African slave trade in the island. This is rendered impossible whilst that infamous traffic remains an irresistible temptation and a source of immense profit to needy and avaricious officials, who, to attain their ends, scruple not to trample the most sacred principles under foot. The Spanish government at home may be well disposed, but experience has proved that it cannot control these remote depositaries of its power.

Besides, the commercial nations of the world cannot fail to perceive and appreciate the great advantages which would result to their people from a dissolution of the forced and unnatural connexion between Spain and Cuba, and the annexation of the latter to the United States. The trade of England and France with Cuba would,

in that event, assume at once an important and profitable character, and rapidly extend with the increasing population and prosperity of the island.

But if the United States and every commercial nation would be benefited by this transfer, the interests of Spain would also be greatly and essentially promoted.

She cannot but see what such a sum of money as we are willing to pay for the island would effect in the development of her vast natural resources.

Two-thirds of this sum, if employed in the construction of a system of railroads, would ultimately prove a source of greater wealth to the Spanish people than that opened to their vision by Cortez. Their prosperity would date from the ratification of that treaty of cession.

France has already constructed continuous lines of railways from Havre, Marseilles, Valenciennes, and Strasbourg, via Paris, to the Spanish frontier, and anxiously awaits the day when Spain shall find herself in a condition to extend these roads through her northern provinces to Madrid, Seville, Cadiz, Malaga, and the frontiers of Portugal.

This object once accomplished, Spain would become a centre of attraction for the travelling world, and secure a permanent and profitable market for her various productions. Her fields, under the stimulus given to industry by remunerating prices, would teem with cereal grain, and her vineyards would bring forth a vastly increased quantity of choice wines. Spain would speedily become, what a bountiful Providence intended she should be, one of the first nations of Continental Europe—rich, powerful, and contented.

Whilst two-thirds of the price of the island would be ample for the completion of her most important public improvements, she might, with the remaining forty millions, satisfy the demands now pressing so heavily upon her credit, and create a sinking fund which would gradually relieve her from the overwhelming debt now paralyzing her energies.

Such is her present wretched financial condition, that her best bonds are sold upon her own Bourse at about one-third of their par value; whilst another class, on which she pays no interest, have but a nominal value, and are quoted at about one-sixth of the amount for which they were issued.

Besides, these latter are held principally by British creditors who may, from day to day, obtain the effective interposition of their own government for the purpose of coercing payment. Intimations to that effect have been already thrown out from high quarters, and unless some new source of revenue shall enable Spain to provide

for such exigencies, it is not improbable that they may be realized.

Should Spain reject the present golden opportunity for developing her resources, and removing her financial embarrassments, it may never again return.

Cuba, in its palmiest days, never yielded her exchequer after deducting the expenses of its government a clear annual income of more than a million and a half of dollars. These expenses have increased to such a degree as to leave a deficit chargeable on the treasury of Spain to the amount of six hundred thousand dollars.

In a pecuniary point of view, therefore, the island is an incubance, instead of a source of profit, to the mother country.

Under no probable circumstances can Cuba ever yield to Spain one per cent on the large amount which the United States are willing to pay for its acquisition. But Spain is in imminent danger of losing Cuba, without remuneration.

Extreme oppression, it is now universally admitted, justifies any people in endeavoring to relieve themselves from the yoke of their oppressors. The sufferings which the corrupt, arbitrary, and unrelenting local administration necessarily entails upon the inhabitants of Cuba, cannot fail to stimulate and keep alive that spirit of resistance and revolution against Spain, which has, of late years, been so often manifested. In this condition of affairs it is vain to expect that the sympathies of the people of the United States will not be warmly enlisted in favor of their oppressed neighbors.

We know that the President is justly inflexible in his determination to execute the neutrality laws; but should the Cubans themselves rise in revolt against the oppression which they suffer, no human power could prevent citizens of the United States and liberal minded men of other countries from rushing to their assistance. Besides, the present is an age of adventure, in which restless and daring spirits abound in every portion of the world.

It is not improbable, therefore, that Cuba may be wrested from Spain by a successful revolution; and in that event she will lose both the island and the price which we are now willing to pay for it—a price far beyond what was ever paid by one people to another for any province.

It may also be remarked that the settlement of this vexed question, by the cession of Cuba to the United States, would forever prevent the dangerous complications between nations to which it may otherwise give birth.

It is certain that, should the Cubans themselves organize an insurrection against the Spanish government, and should other independent nations come to the aid of Spain in the contest, no human

power could, in our opinion, prevent the people and government of the United States from taking part in such a civil war in support of their neighbors and friends.

But if Spain, dead to the voice of her own interest, and actuated by stubborn pride and a false sense of honor, should refuse to sell Cuba to the United States, then the question will arise, What ought to be the course of the American government under such circumstances? Self-preservation is the first law of nature, with States as well as with individuals. All nations have, at different periods, acted upon this maxim. Although it has been made the pretext for committing flagrant injustice, as in the partition of Poland and other similar cases which history records, yet the principle itself, though often abused, has always been recognized.

The United States have never acquired a foot of territory except by fair purchase, or, as in the case of Texas, upon the free and voluntary application of the people of that independent State, who desired to blend their destinies with our own.

Even our acquisitions from Mexico are no exception to this rule, because, although we might have claimed them by the right of conquest in a just war, yet we purchased them for what was then considered by both parties a full and ample equivalent.

Our past history forbids that we should acquire the island of Cuba without the consent of Spain, unless justified by the great law of self-preservation. We must, in any event, preserve our own conscious rectitude and our own self-respect.

Whilst pursuing this course we can afford to disregard the censures of the world, to which we have been so often and so unjustly exposed.

After we shall have offered Spain a price for Cuba far beyond its present value, and this shall have been refused, it will then be time to consider the question, does Cuba, in the possession of Spain, seriously endanger our internal peace and the existence of our cherished Union?

Should this question be answered in the affirmative, then, by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain if we possess the power, and this upon the very same principle that would justify an individual in tearing down the burning house of his neighbor if there were no other means of preventing the flames from destroying his own home.

Under such circumstances we ought neither to count the cost nor regard the odds which Spain might enlist against us. We forbear to enter into the question, whether the present condition of the island would justify such a measure? We should, however, be recreant to our duty, be unworthy of our gallant forefathers, and commit base treason against our posterity, should we permit Cuba to be African-

ized and become a second St. Domingo, with all its attendant horrors to the white race, and suffer the flames to extend to our own neighboring shores, seriously to endanger or actually to consume the fair fabric of our Union.

We fear that the course and current of events are rapidly tending towards such a catastrophe. We, however, hope for the best, though we ought certainly to be prepared for the worst.

We also forbear to investigate the present condition of the questions at issue between the United States and Spain. A long series of injuries to our people have been committed in Cuba by Spanish officials and are unredressed. But recently a most flagrant outrage on the rights of American citizens and on the flag of the United States was perpetrated in the harbor of Havana under circumstances which, without immediate redress, would have justified a resort to measures of war in vindication of national honor. That outrage is not only unatoned, but the Spanish government has deliberately sanctioned the acts of its subordinates and assumed the responsibility attaching to them.

Nothing could more impressively teach us the danger to which those peaceful relations it has ever been the policy of the United States to cherish with foreign nations are constantly exposed than the circumstances of that case. Situated as Spain and the United States are, the latter have forborne to resort to extreme measures.

But this course cannot, with due regard to their own dignity as an independent nation, continue; and our recommendations, now submitted, are dictated by the firm belief that the cession of Cuba to the United States, with stipulations as beneficial to Spain as those suggested, is the only effective mode of settling all past differences and of securing the two countries against future collisions.

We have already witnessed the happy results for both countries which followed a similar arrangement in regard to Florida.

Yours, very respectfully,
JAMES BUCHANAN
J. Y. MASON
PIERRE SOULÉ

Source: *The Ostend Manifesto*, 1854 (New York: A. Lovell, 1892).

3. Herbert Spencer, "Progress: Its Law and Causes," 1857

Introduction

Herbert Spencer, one of Great Britain's most famous social philosophers during the nineteenth century, believed that society naturally

divided into classes, with the most capable and able members occupying the highest echelons while those undeserving or inept sank to the bottom of the social order. Spencer published this explanation of his ideas in 1857, an excerpt of which appears below. His theories apparently received confirmation with Charles Darwin's publication of *On the Origin of Species* two years later, which presented the theory of evolution and the notion that nature favors the survival of the fittest. In truth, Darwin never attempted to apply his theories to the social order, maintaining instead that it pertained exclusively to biology. Nevertheless, Spencer and his adherents became known as social Darwinists. Spencer's theories exerted a significant impact on social policy in the late nineteenth century. Their influence can be seen in the aftermath of the war with Spain, when many white Americans questioned—on racial grounds—the ability of Cubans and Filipinos to govern themselves.

Primary Source

The current conception of Progress is somewhat shifting and indefinite. Sometimes it comprehends little more than simple growth—as of a nation in the number of its members and the extent of territory over which it has spread. Sometimes it has reference to quantity of material products—as when the advance of agriculture and manufactures is the topic. Sometimes the superior quality of these products is contemplated; and sometimes the new or improved appliances by which they are produced. When again we speak of moral or intellectual progress, we refer to the state of the individual or people exhibiting it; whilst, when the progress of Knowledge, of Science, of Art, is commented upon, we have in view certain abstract results of human thought and action. Not only, however, is the current conception of Progress more or less vague, but it is in great measure erroneous. It takes in not so much the reality of Progress as its accompaniments—not so much the substance as the shadow. That progress in intelligence which takes place during the evolution of the child into the man, or the savage into the philosopher, is commonly regarded as consisting in the greater number of facts known and laws understood: whereas the actual progress consists in the produce of a greater quantity and variety of articles for the satisfaction of men's wants; in the increasing security of person and property; in the widening freedom of action enjoyed whereas, rightly understood, social progress consists in those changes of structure in the social organism which have entailed these consequences. The current conception is a teleological one. The phenomena are contemplated solely as bearing on human happiness. Only those changes are held to constitute progress which directly or indirectly tend to heighten human happiness. And they are thought to constitute progress simply because they tend to heighten human happiness. But rightly to understand Progress, we must inquire what is the nature of these changes, considered apart from our interests. Ceasing, for example, to regard the successive geological modifications that have taken place in the Earth, as modifications that have gradually fitted it for the habitation of Man, and as therefore a geological progress, we must seek to determine the character common

to these modifications—the law to which they all conform. And similarly in every other case. Leaving out of sight concomitants and beneficial consequences, let us ask what Progress is in itself.

In respect to that progress which individual organisms display in the course of their evolution, this question has been answered by the Germans. The investigations of Wolff, Goethe, and Van Baer have established the truth that the series of changes gone through during the development of a seed into a tree, or an ovum into an animal, constitute an advance from homogeneity of structure to heterogeneity of structure. In its primary stage, every germ consists of a substance that is uniform throughout, both in texture and chemical composition. The first step in its development is the appearance of a difference between two parts of this substance; or, as the phenomenon is described in physiological language—a differentiation. Each of these differentiated divisions presently begins itself to exhibit some contrast of parts; and by these secondary differentiations become as definite as the original one. This progress is continuously repeated—is simultaneously going on in all parts of the growing embryo; and by endless multiplication of these differentiations there is ultimately produced that complex combination of tissues and organs constituting the adult animal or plant. This is the course of evolution followed by all organisms whatever. It is settled beyond dispute that organic progress consists in a change from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous.

Now, we propose in the first place to show, that this law of organic progress is the law of all progress. Whether it be in the development of the Earth, in the development of Life upon its surface, the development of Society, of Government, of Manufactures, of Commerce, of Language, Literature, Science, Art, this same evolution of the simple into the complex, through a process of continuous differentiation, holds throughout. From the earliest traceable cosmical changes down to the latest results of civilization, we shall find that the transformation of the homogeneous into the heterogeneous, is that in which Progress essentially consists. . . .

Whether an advance from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous is or is not displayed in the biological history of the globe, it is clearly enough displayed in the progress of the latest and most heterogeneous creature—Man. It is alike true that, during the period in which the Earth has been peopled, the human organism has become more heterogeneous among the civilized divisions of the species—and that the species, as a whole, has been growing more heterogeneous in virtue of the multiplication of races and the differentiation of these races from each other. . . .

In the course of ages, there arises, as among ourselves, a highly complex political organization of monarch, ministers, lords and commons, with their subordinate administrative departments, courts of justice, revenue offices, &c., supplemented in the provinces by municipal governments, county governments, parish or union govern-

ments—all of them more or less elaborated. By its side there grows up a highly complex religious organization, with its various grades of officials from archbishops down to sextons, its colleges, convocations, ecclesiastical courts, &c.; to all which must be added the ever-multiplying independent sects, each with its general and local authorities. And at the same time there is developed a highly complex aggregation of customs, manners, and temporary fashions, enforced by society at large, and serving to control those minor transactions between man and man which are not regulated by civil and religious law. Moreover it is to be observed that this ever-increasing heterogeneity in the governmental appliances of each nation, has been accompanied by an increasing heterogeneity in the governmental appliances of different nations all of which are more or less unlike in their political systems and legislation in their creeds and religious institutions, in their customs and ceremonial usages.

Simultaneously there has been going on a second differentiation of a still more familiar kind; that, namely, by which the mass of the community has become segregated into distinct classes and orders of workers. While the governing part has been undergoing the complex development above described, the governed part has been undergoing an equally complex development, which has resulted in that minute division of labour characterizing advanced nations. It is needless to trace out this progress from its first stages, up through the caste divisions of the East and the incorporated guilds of Europe, to the elaborate producing and distributing organization existing among ourselves. Political economists have made familiar to all, the evolution which, beginning with a tribe whose members severally perform the same actions each for himself, ends with a civilized community whose members severally perform different actions for each other; and they have further explained the evolution through which the solitary producer of any one commodity, is transformed into a combination of producers who united under a master, take separate parts in the manufacture of such commodity. But there are yet other and higher phases of this advance from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous in the industrial structure of the social organism. Long after considerable progress has been made in the division of labour among different classes of workers, there is still little or no division of labour among the widely separated parts of the community: the nation continues comparatively homogeneous in the respect that in each district the same occupations are pursued. But when roads and other means of transit become numerous and good, the different districts begin to assume different functions, and to become mutually dependent. The calico manufacture locates itself in this county, the woollen-cloth manufacture in that; silks are produced here, lace there; stockings in one place, shoes in another; pottery, hardware, cutlery, come to have their special towns; and ultimately every locality becomes more or less distinguished from the rest by the leading occupation carried on in it. Nay, more, this subdivision of functions shows itself not only among the different parts of the same nation, but among different nations. That exchange of commodities which free-trade promises so greatly to increase, will ultimately have the effect of specializing, in a greater or less

degree, the industry of each people. So that beginning with a barbarous tribe, almost if not quite homogeneous in the functions of its members, the progress has been, and still is, towards an economic aggregation of the whole human race, growing ever more heterogeneous in respect of the separate functions assumed by separate nations, the separate functions assumed by the local sections of each nation, the separate functions assumed by the many kinds of makers and traders in each town, and the separate functions assumed by the workers united in producing each commodity.

Not only is the law thus clearly exemplified in the evolution of the social organism, but it is exemplified with equal clearness in the evolution of all products of human thought and action; whether concrete or abstract, real or ideal. . . .

We might trace out the evolution of Science; beginning with the era in which it was not yet differentiated from Art, and was, in union with Art, the handmaid of Religion; passing through the era in which the sciences were so few and rudimentary, as to be simultaneously cultivated by the same philosophers; and ending with the era in which the genera and species are so numerous that few can enumerate them, and no one can adequately grasp even one genus. Or we might do the like with Architecture, with the Drama, with Dress. But doubtless the reader is already weary of illustrations; and our promise has been amply fulfilled. We believe we have shown beyond question, that that which the German physiologists have found to be the law of organic development, is the law of all development. The advance from the simple to the complex, through a process of successive differentiations, is seen alike in the earliest changes of the Universe to which we can reason our way back, and in the earliest changes which we can inductively establish; it is seen in the geologic and climatic evolution of the Earth, and of every single organism on its surface; it is seen in the evolution of Humanity, whether contemplated in the civilized individual, or in the aggregation of races; it is seen in the evolution of Society in respect both of its political and economical organization; and it is seen in the evolution of all those endless concrete and abstract products of human activity which constitute the environment of our daily life. From the remotest past which Science can fathom, down to the novelties of yesterday, that in which Progress essentially consists, is the transformation of the homogeneous into the heterogeneous.

Source: Herbert Spencer, "Progress: Its Law and Causes," *Westminster Review* 67 (April 1857): 445–447.

4. Geneva Convention, 1864 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The Geneva Convention, also called the Red Cross Convention, is the widely used name for a series of treaties signed at Geneva, Switzerland. The full title of the first agreement, signed August 22,

1864, is “Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded in Armies in the Field.” After witnessing the appalling plight of untended wounded soldiers during a battle in 1859, Swiss reformer Henri Dunant called for an international conference and founded the Red Cross in 1864. The convention conferred neutral status on field hospitals and ambulances as well as medical personnel and equipment. It established a red cross on a white background as the symbol of neutrality, to be marked on ambulances or worn as armbands. Civilians who assisted the wounded and the wounded themselves also received protected status. Twelve European delegates signed the convention, and other nations were invited to join them. The United States signed on to the Geneva Convention in 1882. At the start of the Spanish-American War, the U.S. State Department issued a statement of intention to adhere to the convention. Later versions of the Geneva Convention replaced the original in 1906, 1929, and 1949, extending protection to combatants at sea, prisoners of war, and civilians.

Primary Source

Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War
Adopted on 12 August 1949 by the Diplomatic Conference for the
Establishment of International Conventions for the Protection of
Victims of War, held in Geneva from 21 April to 12 August, 1949
entry into force 21 October 1950

[...]

PART II

GENERAL PROTECTION OF PRISONERS OF WAR

Article 12

Prisoners of war are in the hands of the enemy Power, but not of the individuals or military units who have captured them. Irrespective of the individual responsibilities that may exist, the Detaining Power is responsible for the treatment given them.

Prisoners of war may only be transferred by the Detaining Power to a Power which is a party to the Convention and after the Detaining Power has satisfied itself of the willingness and ability of such transferee Power to apply the Convention. When prisoners of war are transferred under such circumstances, responsibility for the application of the Convention rests on the Power accepting them while they are in its custody.

Nevertheless if that Power fails to carry out the provisions of the Convention in any important respect, the Power by whom the prisoners of war were transferred shall, upon being notified by the Protecting Power, take effective measures to correct the situation or shall request the return of the prisoners of war. Such requests must be complied with.

Article 13

Prisoners of war must at all times be humanely treated. Any unlawful act or omission by the Detaining Power causing death or seriously endangering the health of a prisoner of war in its custody is

prohibited, and will be regarded as a serious breach of the present Convention. In particular, no prisoner of war may be subjected to physical mutilation or to medical or scientific experiments of any kind which are not justified by the medical, dental or hospital treatment of the prisoner concerned and carried out in his interest.

Likewise, prisoners of war must at all times be protected, particularly against acts of violence or intimidation and against insults and public curiosity.

Measures of reprisal against prisoners of war are prohibited.

Article 14

Prisoners of war are entitled in all circumstances to respect for their persons and their honour. Women shall be treated with all the regard due to their sex and shall in all cases benefit by treatment as favourable as that granted to men. Prisoners of war shall retain the full civil capacity which they enjoyed at the time of their capture. The Detaining Power may not restrict the exercise, either within or without its own territory, of the rights such capacity confers except in so far as the captivity requires.

Article 15

The Power detaining prisoners of war shall be bound to provide free of charge for their maintenance and for the medical attention required by their state of health.

Article 16

Taking into consideration the provisions of the present Convention relating to rank and sex, and subject to any privileged treatment which may be accorded to them by reason of their state of health, age or professional qualifications, all prisoners of war shall be treated alike by the Detaining Power, without any adverse distinction based on race, nationality, religious belief or political opinions, or any other distinction founded on similar criteria.

[...]

PART V

INFORMATION BUREAUX AND RELIEF SOCIETIES FOR PRISONERS OF WAR

Article 122

Upon the outbreak of a conflict and in all cases of occupation, each of the Parties to the conflict shall institute an official Information Bureau for prisoners of war who are in its power. Neutral or non-belligerent Powers who may have received within their territory persons belonging to one of the categories referred to in Article 4, shall take the same action with respect to such persons. The Power concerned shall ensure that the Prisoners of War Information Bureau is provided with the necessary accommodation, equipment and staff to ensure its efficient working. It shall be at liberty to employ prisoners of war in such a Bureau under the conditions laid down in the Section of the present Convention dealing with work by prisoners of war.

Within the shortest possible period, each of the Parties to the conflict shall give its Bureau the information referred to in the fourth, fifth and sixth paragraphs of this Article regarding any enemy person belonging to one of the categories referred to in Article 4, who has fallen into its power. Neutral or non-belligerent Powers shall take the same action with regard to persons belonging to such categories whom they have received within their territory.

The Bureau shall immediately forward such information by the most rapid means to the Powers concerned, through the intermediary of the Protecting Powers and likewise of the Central Agency provided for in Article 123.

This information shall make it possible quickly to advise the next of kin concerned. Subject to the provisions of Article 17, the information shall include, in so far as available to the Information Bureau, in respect of each prisoner of war, his surname, first names, rank, army, regimental, personal or serial number, place and full date of birth, indication of the Power on which he depends, first name of the father and maiden name of the mother, name and address of the person to be informed and the address to which correspondence for the prisoner may be sent.

The Information Bureau shall receive from the various departments concerned information regarding transfers, releases, repatriations, escapes, admissions to hospital, and deaths, and shall transmit such information in the manner described in the third paragraph above.

Likewise, information regarding the state of health of prisoners of war who are seriously ill or seriously wounded shall be supplied regularly, every week if possible.

The Information Bureau shall also be responsible for replying to all enquiries sent to it concerning prisoners of war, including those who have died in captivity; it will make any enquiries necessary to obtain the information which is asked for if this is not in its possession.

All written communications made by the Bureau shall be authenticated by a signature or a seal.

The Information Bureau shall furthermore be charged with collecting all personal valuables, including sums in currencies other than that of the Detaining Power and documents of importance to the next of kin, left by prisoners of war who have been repatriated or released, or who have escaped or died, and shall forward the said valuables to the Powers concerned. Such articles shall be sent by the Bureau in sealed packets which shall be accompanied by statements giving clear and full particulars of the identity of the person to whom the articles belonged, and by a complete list of the contents of the parcel. Other personal effects of such prisoners of war shall be transmitted under arrangements agreed upon between the Parties to the conflict concerned.

Article 123

A Central Prisoners of War Information Agency shall be created in a neutral country. The International Committee of the Red Cross

shall, if it deems necessary, propose to the Powers concerned the organization of such an Agency.

The function of the Agency shall be to collect all the information it may obtain through official or private channels respecting prisoners of war, and to transmit it as rapidly as possible to the country of origin of the prisoners of war or to the Power on which they depend. It shall receive from the Parties to the conflict all facilities for effecting such transmissions.

The High Contracting Parties, and in particular those whose nationals benefit by the services of the Central Agency, are requested to give the said Agency the financial aid it may require.

The foregoing provisions shall in no way be interpreted as restricting the humanitarian activities of the International Committee of the Red Cross, or of the relief Societies provided for in Article 125.

Article 124

The national Information Bureaux and the Central Information Agency shall enjoy free postage for mail, likewise all the exemptions provided for in Article 74, and further, so far as possible, exemption from telegraphic charges or, at least, greatly reduced rates.

Article 125

Subject to the measures which the Detaining Powers may consider essential to ensure their security or to meet any other reasonable need, the representatives of religious organizations, relief societies, or any other organization assisting prisoners of war, shall receive from the said Powers, for themselves and their duly accredited agents, all necessary facilities for visiting the prisoners, distributing relief supplies and material, from any source, intended for religious, educational or recreative purposes, and for assisting them in organizing their leisure time within the camps. Such societies or organizations may be constituted in the territory of the Detaining Power or in any other country, or they may have an international character.

The Detaining Power may limit the number of societies and organizations whose delegates are allowed to carry out their activities in its territory and under its supervision, on condition, however, that such limitation shall not hinder the effective operation of adequate relief to all prisoners of war.

The special position of the International Committee of the Red Cross in this field shall be recognized and respected at all times.

As soon as relief supplies or material intended for the above-mentioned purposes are handed over to prisoners of war, or very shortly afterwards, receipts for each consignment, signed by the prisoners' representative, shall be forwarded to the relief society or organization making the shipment. At the same time, receipts for these consignments shall be supplied by the administrative authorities responsible for guarding the prisoners.

[...]

Source: "Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War," Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, <http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/91.htm>.

5. Mark Twain, *The Gilded Age*, 1873

[Excerpt]

Introduction

The decades following the American Civil War witnessed unprecedented growth in industrial output and wealth. Railroads crossed the continent, giving people a path to unclaimed lands and opportunities in the West. In 1873 Mark Twain, in collaboration with his friend Charles Dudley Warner, tried to capture the boundless optimism of these years in a novel—their first—that also satirized land speculation and the corruption begat by the potential for obtaining huge amounts of money. In just three months, the authors created a cast of characters that included honest and hard-working people, gullible dreamers, and smooth-talking schemers who took advantage of them. The title that Twain gave to the resulting novel, *The Gilded Age*, became the name of this era in American history. Twain adapted the novel for the stage, and the play enjoyed wide popularity. These sample passages satirize land speculation, the easy availability of credit, and corrupt congressmen. The post-Civil War era of growth in American wealth and power engendered the confidence that led the American public to call for an invasion of Cuba.

Primary Source

While the engineer corps went to the field, to run back a couple of miles and ascertain, approximately, if a road could ever get down to the Landing, and to sight ahead across the Run, and see if it could ever get out again, Col. Sellers and Harry sat down and began to roughly map out the city of Napoleon on a large piece of drawing paper.

“I’ve got the refusal of a mile square here,” said the Colonel, “in our names, for a year, with a quarter interest reserved for the four owners.”

They laid out the town liberally, not lacking room, leaving space for the railroad to come in, and for the river as it was to be when improved.

The engineers reported that the railroad could come in, by taking a little sweep and crossing the stream on a high bridge, but the grades would be steep. Col. Sellers said he didn’t care so much about the grades, if the road could only be made to reach the elevators on the river. The next day Mr. Thompson made a hasty survey of the stream for a mile or two, so that the Colonel and Harry were enabled to show on their map how nobly that would accommodate the city. Jeff took a little writing from the Colonel and Harry for a prospective share. . . .

Beautiful credit! The foundation of modern society. Who shall say that this is not the golden age of mutual trust, of unlimited reliance upon human promises? That is a peculiar condition of society which enables a whole nation to instantly recognize point and meaning in the familiar newspaper anecdote, which puts into the mouth of a distinguished speculator in lands and mines this re-

mark: “I wasn’t worth a cent two years ago, and now I owe two millions of dollars.”

[. . .]

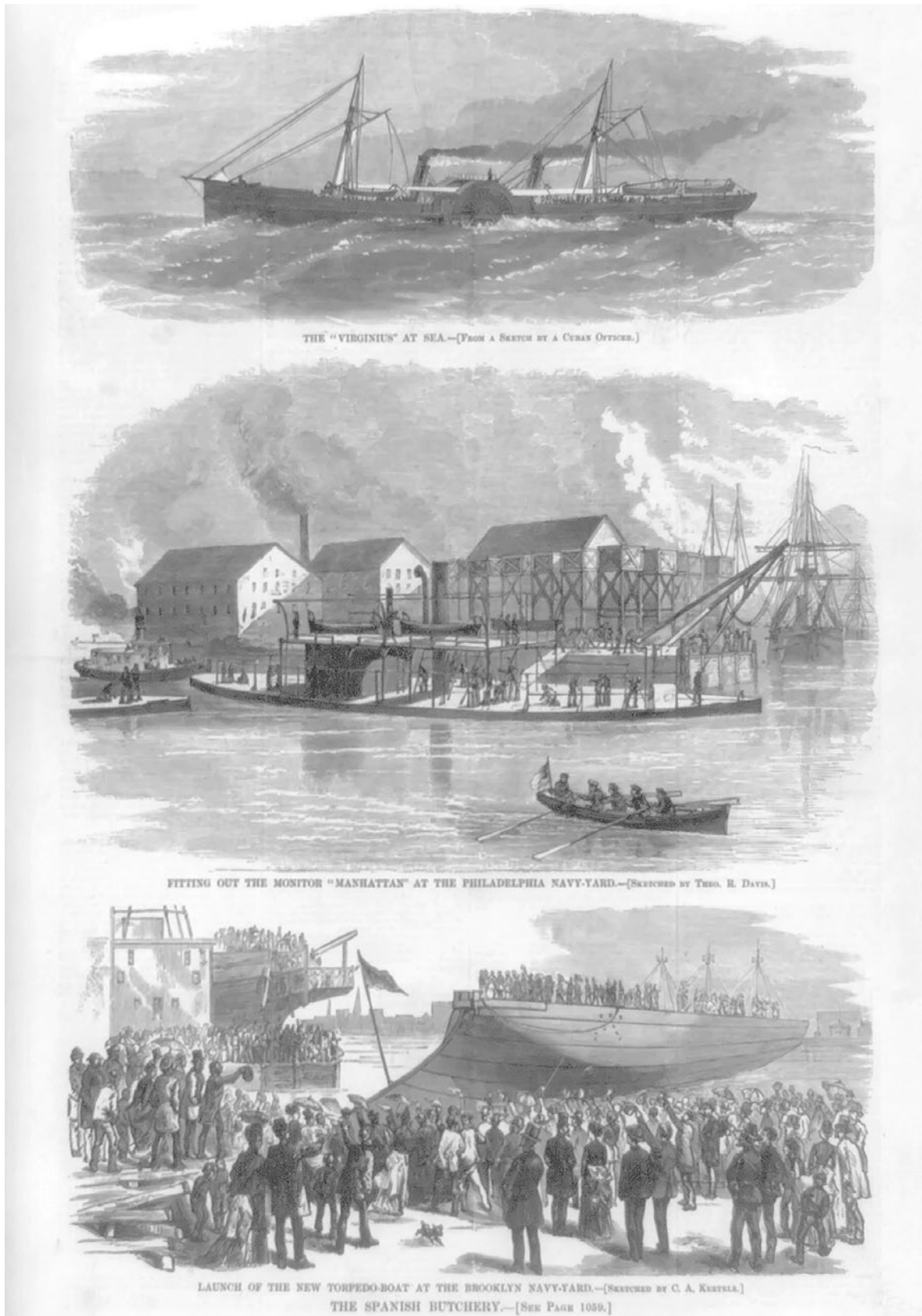
Why the matter is simple enough. A Congressional appropriation costs money. Just reflect, for instance. A majority of the House committee, say \$10,000 apiece—\$40,000; a majority of the Senate committee, the same each—say \$40,000; a little extra to one or two chairmen of one or two such committees, say \$10,000 each—\$20,000; and there’s \$100,000 of the money gone, to begin with. Then, seven male lobbyists, at \$3,000 each—\$21,000; one female lobbyist, \$10,000; a high moral Congressman or Senator here and there—the high moral ones cost more, because they give tone to a measure—say ten of these at \$3,000 each, is \$30,000; then a lot of small-fry country members who won’t vote for anything whatever without pay—say twenty at \$500 apiece, is \$10,000; a lot of dinners to members—say \$10,000 altogether; lot of jimcracks for Congressmen’s wives and children—those go a long way—you can’t spend too much money in that line—well, those things cost in a lump, say \$10,000—along there somewhere. . . .

Source: Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, *The Gilded Age* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1904).

6. *Harper’s Weekly*, “The Spanish Butchery,” November 29, 1873

Introduction

Cuba mounted three rebellions against Spanish rule: the Ten Years’ War (1868–1878), the Small War (1879–1880), and the insurrection that culminated in the Spanish-American War (1895–1898). The steamer *Virginius*, a former blockade-runner during the American Civil War, was privately purchased in 1870 by an American. Flying the U.S. flag, the *Virginius* smuggled people and goods into Cuba for the Cuban insurgents. This was one of many such illegal voyages launched from U.S. soil. These voyages were known as filibustering expeditions, after the Spanish word for pirate, *filibustero*. On October 31, 1873, a Spanish vessel captured the *Virginius* at sea and took it to Cuba. On board were about 100 Cuban passengers and 50 American and British crew, commanded by former U.S. naval officer Joseph Fry. Spanish authorities quickly tried and executed 53 crew and passengers—Fry among them—for piracy. Spain and the United States nearly went to war over the incident. As an example of the resulting outcry in the press, *Harper’s Weekly* published this series of drawings under the title “The Spanish Butchery.” The situation was resolved when the United States acknowledged that the *Virginius* should not have been flying the American flag, and Spain paid substantial damages to the families of the executed American and British citizens.



7. British Song That Gave Rise to the Concept of “Jingoism,” 1878

Introduction

Americans who objected to U.S. foreign policy, the war with Spain, and expansionism mocked its supporters as jingoes and criticized their jingoism. Jingoism was a relatively newly coined word, dating back only to 1878, and meant excessive patriotism and support of a belligerent foreign policy. The words “by jingo” appeared in a popular British drinking song written to support Great Britain’s intervention against Russia in the 1877–1878 war between Russia and Turkey. At the time, during the reign of Queen Victoria, the British Empire was extending its power and influence over India and the Middle East. British supporters of intervention rioted because they wanted to prevent Russia from gaining control of Turkey and the Balkan nations and possibly curtailing British influence in the region. They sang this song and thus became known as history’s first jingoes. The word came into use in the United States by the mid-1890s, when the press began applying it to expansionist politicians.

Primary Source

“The Dogs of War” are loose and the rugged Russian Bear,

Full bent on blood and robbery, has crawl’d out of his lair;
It seems a thrashing now and then, will never help to tame
That brute, and so he’s out upon the “same old game.”

The Lion did his best to find him some excuse
To crawl back to his den again, all efforts were no use;
He hunger’d for his victim, he’s pleased when blood is shed,
But let us hope his crimes may all recoil on his own head.

CHORUS: We don’t want to fight but by jingo if we do,
We’ve got the ships, we’ve got the men, and got the money
too!

We’ve fought the Bear before and while we’re Britons true
The Russians shall not have Constantinople.

Source: G. W. Hunt, *Macdermott’s War Song* (London: Hopwood and Crew, 1877).

8. Joe Hayden, “Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight,” 1886

Introduction

The marching tune “There’ll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight” was played so frequently by military bands during the Spanish-American War that an American humorist referred to it as the U.S. national anthem and credited it with forcing the

Spanish to surrender. Theodore Metz, bandleader for the McIntyre and Heath minstrel troupe, composed the tune around 1886, inspired by the sight of children playing with matches in Old Town, Louisiana. Minstrel shows, musical acts featuring highly stylized and stereotypical portrayals of black people, grew popular in the United States before the American Civil War. Their popularity persisted until the early 1900s, at which time vaudeville acts took their place. Metz’s minstrel band played the tune in shows and when it marched in parades. A few years later, Joe Hayden wrote words for the tune. When the tune was adopted as a theme song by Theodore Roosevelt’s Rough Riders during the war, its popularity surged throughout the U.S. armed forces. Navy bands played it on board ships in Cuba and the Philippines, army bands played it on the march, and soldiers sang it in their camps.

Primary Source

Come along, get you ready Wear your bran’, bran’ new gown
For there’s gwine to be a meeting In that good, good old town
Where you knowd everybody And they all knowd you
And you’ve got a rabbit’s foot To keep away de hoo-doo.

When you hear that the preaching does begin
Bend down low for to drive away your sin
And when you gets religion, you want to shout and sing
There’ll be a hot time in the old town tonight, My baby

CHORUS:
When you hear dem a bells go ding ling ling
All join ’round and sweetly you must sing
And when the verse am through in the chorus all join in
There’ll be a hot time in the old town tonight.

There’ll be girls for ev’ry body: In that good, good old town,
For there’s Miss Consola Davis And there’s Miss Gondolia
Brown
And there’s Miss Johanna Beasley She am dressed all in red,
I just hugged her and I kissed her And to me then she said:

Please oh please, oh do not let me fall,
You’re all mine and I love you best of all,
And you must be my man, or I’ll have no man at all,
There’ll be a hot time in the old town tonight, My baby

Source: Joe Hayden and Theodore A. Metz, *Hot Time in the Old Town* (New York: Willis Woodford and Co., 1896).

9. José Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere*, 1887

[Excerpt]

Introduction

Author José Rizal is cherished in the Philippines as an early martyr to the cause of Philippine independence. Rizal was born in Manila in 1861 to a prosperous family. He traveled to Europe in 1882 to pursue higher education and earned a medical degree. There he met intellectuals who supported Philippine independence from Spain. He began writing his first novel, *Noli Me Tangere* (Latin for “touch me not,” a biblical allusion), in 1884. He published it at his own expense in Germany in 1887. The novel’s open criticism of Spanish colonial authorities and Catholic friars established Rizal as a champion of the people and marked him as a criminal in the eyes of the Spanish. Although the book was officially banned, copies soon surfaced in the Philippines, stirring up local anti-Spanish sentiment and drawing denunciations from the pulpit. A second novel was also banned. Rizal’s family was persecuted by the authorities, and Rizal himself was imprisoned on an island after he returned home in 1891. When he volunteered to go to Cuba as a doctor in service of the Spanish Army, he was prevented from leaving and was accused of subversion. On December 30, 1896, after the briefest of trials, Rizal was executed by firing squad.

Primary Source

[. . .]

“You are unfair to me!” exclaimed Ibarra with bitter reproach. “You forget that scarcely had I arrived here when I set myself to seek its welfare.”

“Don’t be offended, sir, I was not reproaching you at all. Would that all of us could imitate you! But I do not ask impossibilities for you and I mean no offense when I say that your heart deceives you. You loved your country because your father taught you to do so; you loved it because in it you had affection, fortune, youth, because everything smiled on you, your country had done you no injustice; you loved it as we love anything that makes us happy. But the day in which you see yourself poor and hungry, persecuted, betrayed, and sold by your own countrymen, on that day you will disown yourself, your country, and all mankind.”

“Your words pain me,” said Ibarra resentfully.

Elias bowed his head and meditated before replying. “I wish to disillusion you, sir, and save you from a sad future. Recall that night when I talked to you in this same banka under the light of this same moon, not a month ago. Then you were happy, the plea of the unfortunates did not touch you; you disdained their complaints because they were the complaints of criminals; you paid more attention to their enemies, and in spite of my arguments and peti-

tions, you placed your self on the side of their oppressors. On you then depended whether I should turn criminal or allow myself to be killed in order to carry out a sacred pledge, but God has not permitted this because the old chief of the outlaws is dead. A month has hardly passed and you think otherwise.”

“You’re right, Elias, but man is a creature of circumstances! Then I was blind, annoyed—what did I know? Now misfortune has torn the bandage from my eyes; the solitude and misery of my prison have taught me; now I see the horrible cancer which feeds upon this society, which clutches its flesh, and which demands a violent rooting out. They have opened my eyes, they have made me see the sore, and they force me to be a criminal! Since they wish it, I will be a filibuster, a real filibuster, I mean. I will call together all the unfortunates, all who feel a heart beat in their breasts, all those who were sending you to me. No, I will not be a criminal, never is he such who fights for his native land, but quite the reverse! We, during three centuries, have extended them our hands, we have asked love of them, we have yearned to call them brothers, and how do they answer us? With insults and jests, denying us even the chance character of human beings. There is no God, there is no hope, there is no humanity; there is nothing but the right of might!” Ibarra was nervous, his whole body trembled.

As they passed in front of the Captain-General’s palace they thought that they could discern movement and excitement among the guards.

“Can they have discovered your flight?” murmured Elias. “Lie down, sir, so that I can cover you with zacate. Since we shall pass near the powder-magazine it may seem suspicious to the sentinel that there are two of us.”

The banka was one of those small, narrow canoes that do not seem to float but rather to glide over the top of the water. As Elias had foreseen, the sentinel stopped him and inquired whence he came.

“From Manila, to carry zacate to the judges and curates,” he answered, imitating the accent of the people of Pandakan.

A sergeant came out to learn what was happening. “Move on!” he said to Elias. “But I warn you not to take anybody into your banka. A prisoner has just escaped. If you capture him and turn him over to me I’ll give you a good tip.”

“All right, sir. What’s his description?”

“He wears a sack coat and talks Spanish. So look out!” The banka moved away. Elias looked back and watched the silhouette of the sentinel standing on the bank of the river.

“We’ll lose a few minutes’ time,” he said in a low voice. “We must go into the Beata River to pretend that I’m from Peñafrancia. You will see the river of which Francisco Baltazar sang.”

The town slept in the moonlight, and Crisostomo rose up to admire the sepulchral peace of nature. The river was narrow and the level land on either side covered with grass. Elias threw his cargo out on the bank and, after removing a large piece of bamboo, took from under the grass some empty palm-leaf sacks. Then they continued on their way.

[...]

Source: José Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere*, translated by Charles Derbyshire (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1912), 473–475.

10. Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, 1890 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Alfred Thayer Mahan was America's foremost naval strategist and scholar during the nineteenth century. In 1890 he published a book of his Naval War College naval history lectures, an excerpt of which appears below. Mahan was a brilliant student. He entered the United States Naval Academy at age 16 and graduated second in his class. He proved to be a better theoretical thinker than practical sailor. Although he served in the American Civil War and spent many years at sea, he actually hated the sea and nearly caused several shipwrecks. When he was placed in an academic post, his true talent once again found expression. The basic premise of Mahan's book was that the United States must turn its back on isolationism and take a more active role in world affairs, a function for which the U.S. Navy would be perfectly suited if it had the proper government backing. This book had a major impact on key officials. As a result, the U.S. Navy was far more prepared for the war with Spain than was the undermanned U.S. Army, which was scattered among far-flung western outposts in the aftermath of the Indian Wars. Unfortunately, the navy saw fit to again place Mahan in command of a ship in 1893, and this time his vessel was involved in a minor accident. Mahan retired in 1896 but was recalled as a national naval adviser in 1898. His later writings were equally influential and promoted an expansionist U.S. foreign policy.

Primary Source

The definite object proposed in this work is an examination of the general history of Europe and America with particular reference to the effect of sea power upon the course of that history. Historians generally have been unfamiliar with the conditions of the sea, having as to it neither special interest nor special knowledge; and the profound determining influence of maritime strength upon great issues has consequently been overlooked. This is even more true of particular occasions than of the general tendency of sea power. It is

easy to say in a general way, that the use and control of the sea is and has been a great factor in the history of the world; it is more troublesome to seek out and show its exact bearing at a particular juncture. Yet, unless this be done, the acknowledgment of general importance remains vague and unsubstantial; not resting, as it should, upon a collection of special instances in which the precise effect has been made clear, by an analysis of the conditions at the given moments. . . .

The history of Sea Power is largely, though by no means solely, a narrative of contests between nations, of mutual rivalries, of violence frequently culminating in war. The profound influence of sea commerce upon the wealth and strength of countries was clearly seen long before the true principles which governed its growth and prosperity were detected. To secure to one's own people a disproportionate share of such benefits, every effort was made to exclude others, either by the peaceful legislative methods of monopoly or prohibitory regulations, or, when these failed, by direct violence. The clash of interests, the angry feelings roused by conflicting attempts thus to appropriate the larger share, if not the whole, of the advantages of commerce, and of distant unsettled commercial regions, led to wars. On the other hand, wars arising from other causes have been greatly modified in their conduct and issue by the control of the sea. Therefore the history of sea power, while embracing in its broad sweep all that tends to make a people great upon the sea or by the sea, is largely a military history; and it is in this aspect that it will be mainly, though not exclusively, regarded in the following pages.

A study of the military history of the past, such as this, is enjoined by great military leaders as essential to correct ideas and to the skilful conduct of war in the future. Napoleon names among the campaigns to be studied by the aspiring soldier, those of Alexander, Hannibal, and Caesar, to whom gunpowder was unknown; and there is a substantial agreement among professional writers that, while many of the conditions of war vary from age to age with the progress of weapons, there are certain teachings in the school of history which remain constant, and being, therefore, of universal application, can be elevated to the rank of general principles. For the same reason the study of the sea history of the past will be found instructive, by its illustration of the general principles of maritime war, notwithstanding the great changes that have been brought about in naval weapons by the scientific advances of the past half century, and by the introduction of steam as the motive power.

It is doubly necessary thus to study critically the history and experience of naval warfare in the days of sailing-ships, because while these will be found to afford lessons of present application and value, steam navies have as yet made no history which can be quoted as decisive in its teaching. Of the one we have much experimental knowledge; of the other, practically none. Hence theories about the naval warfare of the future are almost wholly presumptive. . . .

It is not therefore a vain expectation, as many think, to look for useful lessons in the history of sailing-ships as well as in that of galleys. Both have their points of resemblance to the modern ship: both have also points of essential difference, which make it impossible to cite their experiences or modes of action as tactical *precedents* to be followed. But a precedent is different from and less valuable than a principle. The former may be originally faulty, or may cease to apply through change of circumstances; the latter has its root in the essential nature of things, and, however various its application as conditions change, remains a standard to which action must conform to attain success. War has such principles; their existence is detected by the study of the past, which reveals them in successes and in failures, the same from age to age. Conditions and weapons change, but to cope with the one or successfully wield the others, respect must be had to these constant teachings of history in the tactics of the battlefield, or in those wider operations of war which are comprised under the name of strategy.

It is however in these wider operations, which embrace a whole theatre of war, and in a maritime contest may cover a large portion of the globe, that the teachings of history have a more evident and permanent value, because the conditions remain more permanent. The theatre of war may be larger or smaller, its difficulties more or less pronounced, the contending armies more or less great, the necessary movements more or less easy, but these are simply differences of scale, of degree, not of kind. As a wilderness gives place to civilization, as means of communication multiply, as roads are opened, rivers bridged, food-resources increased, the operations of war become easier, more rapid, more expensive; but the principles to which they must be conformed remain the same. When the march on foot was replaced by carrying troops in coaches, when the latter in turn gave place to railroads, the scale of distances was increased, or, if you will, the scale of time diminished; but the principles which dictated the point at which the army should be concentrated, the direction in which it should move, the part of the enemy's position which it should assail, the protection of communications, were not altered. So, on the sea, the advance from the galley timidly creeping from port to port to the sailing-ship launching out boldly to the ends of the earth, and from the latter to the steamship of our own time, has increased the scope and the rapidity of naval operations without necessarily changing the principles which should direct them; and the speech of Hermodrates twenty-three hundred years ago, before quoted, contained a correct strategic plan, which is as applicable in its principles now as it was then. Before hostile armies or fleets are brought into contact (a word which perhaps better than any other indicates the dividing line between tactics and strategy), there are a number of questions to be decided, covering the whole plan of operations throughout the theatre of war. Among these are the proper function of the navy in the war; its true objective; the point or points upon which it should be concentrated; the establishment

of depots of coal and supplies; the maintenance of communications between these depots and the home base; the military value of commerce-destroying as a decisive or a secondary operation of war; the system upon which commerce-destroying can be most efficiently conducted, whether by scattered cruisers or by holding in force some vital centre through which commercial shipping must pass. All these are strategic questions, and upon all these history has a great deal to say. There has been of late a valuable discussion in English naval circles as to the comparative merits of the policies of two great English admirals, Lord Howe and Lord St. Vincent, in the disposition of the English navy when at war with France. The question is purely strategic, and is not of mere historical interest; it is of vital importance now, and the principles upon which its decision rests are the same now as then. St. Vincent's policy saved England from invasion, and in the hands of Nelson and his brother admirals led straight up to Trafalgar.

It is then particularly in the field of naval strategy that the teachings of the past have a value which is in no degree lessened. They are there useful not only as illustrative of principles, but also as precedents, owing to the comparative permanence of the conditions. This is less obviously true as to tactics, when the fleets come into collision at the point to which strategic considerations have brought them. The unrelenting progress of mankind causes continual change in the manner of fighting,—in the handling and disposition of troops or ships on the battlefield. Hence arises a tendency on the part of many connected with maritime matters to think that no advantage is to be gained from the study of former experiences; that time so used is wasted. This view, though natural, not only leaves wholly out of sight those broad strategic considerations which lead nations to put fleets afloat, which direct the sphere of their action, and so have modified and will continue to modify the history of the world, but is one-sided and narrow even as to tactics. The battles of the past succeeded or failed according as they were fought in conformity with the principles of war; and the seaman who carefully studies the causes of success or failure will not only detect and gradually assimilate these principles, but will also acquire increased aptitude in applying them to the tactical use of the ships and weapons of his own day. He will observe also that changes of tactics have not only taken place *after* changes in weapons, which necessarily is the case, but that the interval between such changes has been unduly long. This doubtless arises from the fact that an improvement of weapons is due to the energy of one or two men, while changes in tactics have to overcome the inertia of a conservative class; but it is a great evil. It can be remedied only by a candid recognition of each change, by careful study of the powers and limitations of the new ship or weapon, and by a consequent adaptation of the method of using it to the qualities it possesses, which will constitute its tactics. History shows that it is vain to hope that military men generally will be at the pains to do this, but that the one who does will go into battle with a great advantage,—a lesson in itself of no mean value.

We may therefore accept now the words of a French tactician, Morogues, who wrote a century and a quarter ago: "Naval tactics are based upon conditions the chief causes of which, namely the arms, may change; which in turn causes necessarily a change in the construction of ships, in the manner of handling them, and so finally in the disposition and handling of fleets." His further statement, that "it is not a science founded upon principles absolutely invariable," is more open to criticism. It would be more correct to say that the application of its principles varies as the weapons change. The application of the principles doubtless varies also in strategy from time to time, but the variation is far less; and hence the recognition of the underlying principle is easier. This statement is of sufficient importance to our subject to receive some illustrations from historical events. . .

[. . .]

Source: Alfred T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1890).

11. José Martí, "Our America," 1891

Introduction

José Martí, a renowned author and dedicated Cuban patriot, wrote this essay, "Our America," in 1891. At the age of 16, Martí had been imprisoned, then exiled, for insurrection during the first Cuban rebellion of 1868–1878. He returned home after the war but was again forced into exile for persisting in criticizing the Spanish. He lived in the United States and continued to agitate for Cuban independence. In 1895 he issued the manifesto that set off the Cuban War of Independence. He returned to Cuba in 1895 to lead the revolution, but within days he died in one of the first battles. Martí's lyrical style of prose did much to foster the modern literature movement in Latin America, and his reputation was only enhanced by his patriotic death. In "Our America," he urged Cuban patriots to put aside their differences and cooperate in fighting Spain. He argued that the people of the Americas were a new breed that could not be governed by European-style governments, and he criticized those who tried to adhere to European thought and fashions. He went on to assert that only by making common cause with Native Americans and blacks could Cubans form a government that truly served their interests as Americans.

Primary Source

The villager fondly believes that the world is contained in his village, and he thinks the universal order good if he can be mayor, humiliate the rival who stole his sweetheart, or add to the savings in his sock—unaware of the giants with seven-league boots who can crush him under foot, or the strife in the heavens between comets, which streak through space, devouring worlds. What remains of

the parochial in America must awake. These are not times for sleeping in a nightcap, but rather with weapons for a pillow, like the warriors of Juan de Castellanos: weapons of the mind, which conquer all others. Barricades of ideas are worth more than barricades of stone.

There is no prow that can cleave a cloud-bank of ideas. An energetic idea, unfurled in good season before the world, turns back a squadron of iron-sides with the power of the mystic banner of the judgment day. Nations that do not know one another should make haste to do so, as brothers-in-arms. Those who shake their fists at each other, like jealous brothers who covet the same land, or the cottager who envies the squire his manor, should clasp hands until they are one. Those who allege the sanction of a criminal tradition to lop off the lands of their brother, with a sword dipped in his own blood, had best return the lands to the brother punished far beyond his due, if they do not want to be called thieves. The honorable do not seek money in satisfaction of debts of honor, at so much a slap. We can no longer be a people like foliage, living in the air, heavy with blossoms, bursting and fluttering at the whim of light's caress, or buffeted and tossed by the tempest: the trees must form ranks so the giant with the seven-league boots shall not pass! It is the hour of muster and the united march. We must advance shoulder to shoulder, one solid mass like the silver lodes in the depth of the Andes.

Only the seven-month birthling will lack the courage. Those who do not have faith in their country are seven-month men. They cannot reach the first limb with their puny arms, arms with painted nails and bracelets, arms of Madrid or Paris; and they say the lofty tree cannot be climbed. The ships must be loaded with these destructive insects, who gnaw the marrow of the country that nourishes them. If they are Parisians or Madrilenians, let them stroll along the Prado under the lamplights, or take sherbet at Tortoni's. These carpenter's sons who are ashamed of their father for his trade! These American sons who are ashamed of the mother that loves them because she wears an Indian apron, and disown their sick mother, the scoundrels, abandoning her on her sick bed! Well, who is the man worthy of the name? The one who stays with his mother to nurse her in her sickness, or the one who puts her to work out of the sight of the world and lives off her labors in the decadent lands, affecting fancy cravats, cursing the womb that carried him, displaying the sign of traitor on the back of his paper cassock? These children of our America, which will be saved by its Indians, and goes from less to more, these deserters who take up arms in the armies of North America, which drowns its Indians in blood, and goes from more to less! These delicate beings, who are men but do not want to do the work of men! The Washington who forged this land, did he go to live with the English, to live with them during the years in which he saw them coming against his own country? These *incroyables* of their honor, who trail it through alien lands, like their counterparts in the French Revolution, with their dancing, their affectations, their drawling speech!

For in what lands can a man take greater pride than in our long-suffering republics of America, raised up from among the mute Indian masses by the bleeding arms of a hundred apostles to the sounds of battle between the book and the thurible. Never in history have such advanced and unified nations been forged in less time from such disordered elements. The fool in his pride believes that the earth was created to serve him as a pedestal because words flow easily from his pen, or his speech is colorful, and he charges his native land with being worthless and beyond salvation because its virgin jungles do not provide him with a means to travel continually abroad, driving Parisian ponies and lavishing champagne, like a tycoon. The incapacity does not lie with the nascent country, which seeks suitable forms and greatness that will serve, but with those who attempt to rule nations of a unique character, and singular, violent composition, with laws that derive from four centuries of operative liberty in the United States, and nineteen centuries of French monarchy. A decree by Hamilton does not halt the charge of the *llanero's* pony. A phrase of Sièyes does nothing to quicken the stagnant blood of the Indian race. One must see things as they are, to govern well; the good governor in America is not one who knows how government is conducted in France or Germany, but who knows the elements of which his country is composed and how they can be marshaled so that by methods and institutions native to the country the desirable state may be attained wherein every man realizes himself, and all share in the abundance that Nature bestowed for the common benefit on the nation they enrich with their labor and defend with their lives. The government must be the child of the country. The spirit of the government must be the same as that of the country. The form of government must conform to the natural constitution of the country. Good government is nothing more than the true balance between the natural elements of the nation.

For that reason, the foreign book has been conquered in America by the natural man. The natural men have vanquished the artificial, lettered men. The native-born half-breed has vanquished the exotic Creole. The struggle is not between barbarity and civilization, but between false erudition and nature. The natural man is good. He respects and rewards superior intelligence, as long as his submission is not turned against him, or he is not offended by being disregarded, a thing the natural man does not forgive, prepared as he is to regain by force the respect of whoever has wounded his pride or threatened his interests. Tyrants in America have risen to power serving these scorned natural elements of their countries, to derive from them the proper form of government, and govern accordingly. To be a governor of a new country means to be a creator.

In nations of cultured and uncultured elements, the uncultured will govern, because it is their habit to strike and resolve all doubts by force, whenever the cultured prove incapable in office. The uncultured mass is lazy, and timid in matters of the mind. It asks only to be well-governed. But if the government hurts it, it rebels and governs itself. How can the universities be expected to produce gover-

nors, if there is not one university in America that teaches the rudimentary in the art of government, which is the analysis of the elements peculiar to America? Young men go out into the world wearing Yankee or French spectacles, and hope to govern by guesswork a nation they do not know. In the political race, all entries should be scratched who do not demonstrate a knowledge of the political rudiments. The prize in literary contests should not go to the best ode, but to the best study of the political factors in one's country. Newspapers, universities, and schools should foment the study of their country's dynamic factors. They have only to be stated, straightforward and in plain language. For whoever disregards any portion of the truth, whether by ignorance or design, is doomed to fall; the truth he lacked grows in the negligence and brings down whatever was erected without it. It is easier to determine the elements and attack the problem, than to attack the problem without knowing the elements. The natural man arrives, indignant and strong, and topples the authority based on books because he was not governed according to the obvious realities of the country. Knowledge holds the key. To know one's country, and govern it with that knowledge, is the only alternative to tyranny. The European university must give way to the American university. The history of America, from the Incas to the present, must be taught until it is known by heart, even if the Archons of the Greeks go by the board. Our Greece must take priority over the Greece that is not ours: we need it more. Nationalist statesmen must replace cosmopolitan statesmen. Let the world be grafted on our republics; but the trunk must be our own. And let the vanquished pedant hold his tongue: for there are no lands in which a man can take greater pride than in our long-suffering American republics.

With the rosary as our guide, our head white and our body mottled, both Indian and Creole, we intrepidly entered the community of nations. We set out to conquer liberty under the standard of the Virgin. A priest, a handful of lieutenants, and a woman raised the Mexican Republic on the shoulders of the Indians. A few heroic students, instructed in French liberty by a Spanish cleric, raised Central America against Spain under a Spanish general. In the oriflamed habits of monarchy, Venezuelans and Argentinians set out, from north and south, to deliver nations. When the two heroes collided, and the continent almost rocked, one, and not the lesser, turned back. But when the wars ended, heroism, by being less glorious, became rarer; it is easier for men to die with honor than to think with order. It was discovered that it is simpler to govern when sentiments are exalted and united, than in the wake of battle when divisive, arrogant, exotic, and ambitious ideas emerge. The forces routed in the epic conflict sought, with the feline cunning of their species, and utilizing the weight of realities, to undermine the new structure, which embraced at once the rude and singular provinces of our half-breed America, and the cities of silken hose and Parisian frock coat, beneath the unfamiliar flag of reason and liberty, borrowed from nation skilled in the arts of government. The hierarchical constitution of the colonies resisted the democratic

organization of the republics. The capitals of stock and collar kept the countryside of horse-hide boots cooling its heel in the vestibule. The cultured leaders did not realize that the revolution had triumphed because their words had unshackled the soul of the nation, and that they had to govern with that soul, and not against it or without it. America began to suffer, and still suffers, from the effort of trying to find an adjustment between the discordant and hostile elements it inherited from a despotic and perverse colonizer, and the imported ideas and forms which have retarded the logical government because of their lack of local reality. The continent, disjointed by three centuries of a rule that denied men the right to use their reason, embarked on a form of government based on reason, without thought or reflection on the unlettered hordes which had helped in its redemption; it was to be the reason of all in matters of general concern, not the reason of the university over the reason of the province. The problem of the Independence was not the change in forms, but the change in spirit.

It was necessary to make common cause with the downtrodden, to secure the new system against the interests and habits of rule of the oppressors. The tiger, frightened off by the powder flash, returns at night to the haunts of his prey. When he dies, it is with flames shooting from his eyes and claws unsheathed. But his step cannot be heard, for he comes on velvet paws. When the prey awakes, the tiger is upon him. The colony lives on in the republic; and our America is saving itself from its grave errors—the arrogance of the capital cities, the blind triumph of the scorned country people, the influx of foreign ideas and formulas, the wicked and unpolitic disdain in which the aboriginal race is held—through the superior virtue, backed by the necessary conviction, of the republic that struggles against the colony. The tiger lurks behind each tree, waiting at every turn. He will die with his claws unsheathed and flames shooting from his eyes.

But "these countries will be saved," as the Argentine Rivadavia announced, whose sin was to be gentlemanly in crude times; a silk scabbard does not become the *machete*, nor can the lance be discarded in a country won by the lance, for it becomes angry, and presents itself at the door of Iturbide's congress demanding that "the blond one be made emperor." These countries will be saved because a genius for moderation, found in Nature's imperturbable harmony, seems to prevail in the continent of light, where there emerges a new realistic man schooled for these realistic times in the critical philosophy, which in Europe has succeeded the literature of sect and opinion in which the previous generation was steeped.

We were a strange sight with the chest of an athlete, the hands of a coxcomb, and the brain of a child. We were a masquerade in English trousers, Parisian vest, North American jacket, and Spanish hat. The Indian circled about us in silent wonder, and went to the mountains to baptize his children. The runaway Negro poured out

the music of his heart on the night air, alone and unknown among the rivers and wild beasts. The men of the land, the creators, rose up in blind indignation against the scornful city, against their own child. We were all epaulets and tunics in countries that came into the world with hemp sandals on their feet and headbands for hats. The stroke of genius would have been to couple the headband and tunic with the charity of heart and daring of the founding father; to rescue the Indian; to make a place for the able Negro, to fit liberty to the body of those who rose up and triumphed in its name. We were left with the judge, the general, the scholar and the prebendary. As if caught in the tentacles of an octopus, the angelic young men lunged toward Heaven, only to fall back, crowned with clouds, in sterile glory. The natural people, driven by instinct, swept away the golden staffs of office in blind triumph. The European or Yankee book could not provide the answer to the Hispanic-American enigma. Hate was tried, and the countries wasted away, year by year. Exhausted by the senseless struggle between the book and the lance, of reason against dogma, of the city against the country, of the impossible rule by rival city cliques over the natural nation alternately tempestuous and inert, we begin almost without realizing it to try love. The nations stand up and salute each other. "What are we like?" they ask; and they begin to tell one another what they are like. When a problem arises in Cojimar, they do not send to Danzig for the answer. The frock coat is still French, but thought begins to be American. The youth of America roll up their sleeves and plunge their hands into the dough; it rises with the leavening of their sweat. They understand that there is too much imitation, and that creation holds the key to salvation. "Create" is the password of this generation. The wine is from the plantain, and if it proves sour, it is our wine! It is understood that the forms of government must accommodate themselves to the natural elements of the country, that absolute ideas must take relative forms if they are to escape emasculation by the failure of the form, that liberty, if it is to be viable, must be sincere and complete, that the republic which does not open its arms to all, and move ahead with all, must die. The tiger within enters through the fissure, and the tiger from without. The general restrains his cavalry to a pace that suits his infantry, for if the infantry be left behind, the cavalry is surrounded by the enemy. Politics is strategy. Nations should live in continual self-criticism, because criticism is healthy; but always with one heart and one mind. Go down to the unfortunate and take them in your arms! Dissolve what is clotted in America with the fire of the heart! Make the natural blood of the nations course and throb through their veins! Erect, with the happy, sparkling eyes of workingmen, the new Americans salute one another from country to country. The natural statesman appears, schooled in the direct study of Nature. He reads to apply what he reads, not to copy. Economists study the problems at their origin. Orators begin to be lofty. Dramatists bring native characters to the stage. Academies consider practical subjects. Poetry shears off its romantic locks and hangs its red vest on the glorious tree. Prose, lively and discriminating, is charged with ideas. Governors study Indian in republics of Indians.

America is escaping all its dangers. The octopus still sleeps on some republics; but others, in contrast, drain the ocean from their lands with a furious, sublime haste, as if to make up for lost centuries. Some, forgetting that Juárez rode in a mule-drawn coach, hitch their coach to the wind and entrust the reins to a soap-bubble; poisonous luxury, the enemy of liberty, corrupts the frivolous and opens the door to the outlander. In others, where independence is threatened, an epic spirit produces a heightened manliness. Still others spawn a rabble-in-arms in rapacious wars against their neighbors which may yet turn and devour them. But there is yet another danger which does not come from within, but from the difference in origins, methods and interests between the two halves of the continent. The hour is fast approaching when our America will be confronted by an enterprising and energetic nation seeking close relations, but with indifference and scorn for us and our ways. And since strong countries, self-made by the rifle and the law, love, and love only, strong countries; since the hour of recklessness and ambition, of which North America may be freed if that which is purest in her blood predominates, or on which she may be launched by her vengeful and sordid masses, her tradition of expansion or the ambition of some powerful leader, is not so near at hand, even to the most timorous eye, that there is not time to show the self-possessed and unwavering pride that would confront and dissuade her; since her good name as a republic in the eyes of the world puts on the America of the North a brake which cannot be removed even by the puerile grievances, the pompous arrogance, or parricidal discords of our American nations, the pressing need for our America, is to show herself as she is, one in soul and purpose, swift conqueror of a suffocating tradition, stained only by the blood drawn from hands that struggle to clear away ruins, and the scars left us by our masters. The scorn of our formidable neighbor, who does not know us, is the greatest danger for our America; and it is imperative that our neighbor know us and know us soon, so she shall not scorn us, for the day of the visit is at hand. Through ignorance, she might go so far as to lay hands on us. From respect, once she came to know us, she would remove her hands. One must have faith in the best in men and distrust the worst. If not, the worst prevails. Nations should have a pillory for whoever fans useless hates; and another for whoever does not tell them the truth in time.

There can be no racial hate, because there are no races. The rachitic thinkers and theorists juggle and warm over the library-shelf races, which the open-minded traveler and well-disposed observer seek in vain in Nature's justice, where the universal identity of man leaps forth from triumphant love and the turbulent lust for life. The soul emanates equal and eternal, from bodies distinct in shape and color. Whoever foments and propagates antagonism and hate between races, sins against Humanity. But as nations take shape among other different nations, they acquire distinctive and vital characteristics of thought and habit, of expansion and conquest, of vanity and greed, which from the latent

state of national preoccupation could be converted in a period of internal unrest, or precipitation of the accumulated character of the nation, into a serious threat to the neighboring countries, isolated and weak, which the strong country declares perishable and inferior. The thought is father to the deed. But it must not be supposed, from a parochial animus, that there is a fatal and ingrained evil in the blond nation of the continent, because it does not speak our tongue, nor see the world as we do, nor resemble us in its political faults, which are of a different order, nor favorably regard the excitable, dark-skinned people, nor look charitably, from its still uncertain eminence, on those less favored by History, who climb the road of republicanism by heroic stages. The self-evident facts of the problem should not be obscured for it can be resolved, to the benefit of peaceful centuries yet to come, by timely study and the tacit, immediate union of the continental soul. The hymn of oneness sounds already; the actual generation carries a purposeful America along the road enriched by their sublime fathers; from the Rio Grande to the straits of Magellan, the Great Semi, seated on the flank of the condor, sows the seeds of the new America through the romantic nations of the continent and the sorrowful islands of the sea!

Source: José Martí, "Nuestra America," *Revista Ilustrada*, January 1, 1891.

12. Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," 1893 [Excerpt]

Introduction

In July 1893, U.S. historian Frederick Jackson Turner delivered a paper to the American Historical Association, which was meeting at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. That paper served as the foundation for this essay, which was published shortly thereafter. Citing the 1890 U.S. Census report that announced the end of the western frontier, Turner emphasized the vital role played by the existence of the frontier on the formation of American society. He argued that the availability of open land in the West, by always offering the opportunity for a fresh start, had fostered equal opportunity and democratic government. Turner also described how taking up residence beyond the frontier turned Europeans into Americans and how the frontier initially toughened and transformed settlers before they in turn transformed the frontier into an outpost of a uniquely American civilization. Thus, the closing of the frontier would change the course of American history in unknown ways. Turner was the first historian to express these now-familiar ideas. Later historians have attributed the American public's enthusiasm for the war with Spain and subsequent expansionism to the collective need for a new frontier.

Primary Source

(On the occasion of the World's Columbian Exhibition)

Up to our own day American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the Great West. The existence of an area of free land, continuous recession, and the advance of American settlements westward, explain American development.

Behind institutions, behind constitutional forms and modifications lie the vital forces that call these organs into life and shape them to meet changing conditions. The peculiarity of American institutions is the fact that they have been compelled to adapt themselves to the changes of an expanding people—to the changes involved in crossing a continent, this winning a wilderness, and in developing at each area of this progress out of the primitive economic and political conditions of the frontier into the complexity of city life.

Thus American development has exhibited not merely advance along a single line, but a return to primitive conditions on a continually advancing frontier line, and a new development for that area. American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character. The true point of view in the history of this nation is not the Atlantic coast, it is the West.

The frontier is the line of most rapid and effective Americanization. The wilderness masters the colonist. It finds him a European in dress, industries, tools, modes of travel, and thought. It takes him from the railroad car and puts him in the birch canoe. It strips off the garments of civilization and arrays him in the hunting shirt and the moccasin. It puts him in the log cabin of the Cherokee and Iroquois and runs an Indian palisade around him. Before long he has gone to planting Indian corn and plowing with a sharp stick; he shouts the war cry and takes the scalp in orthodox Indian fashion. In short, at the frontier the environment is at first too strong for the man. He must accept the conditions which it furnishes, or perish, and so he fits himself into the Indian clearings and follows the Indian trails. Little by little he transforms the wilderness but the outcome is not the old Europe, not simply the development of Germanic germs, any more than the first phenomenon was a case of reversion to the Germanic mark. The fact is, that here is a new product that is American. At first, the frontier was the Atlantic coast. It was the frontier of Europe in a very real sense. Moving westward, the frontier became more and more American. As successive terminal moraines result from successive glaciations, so each frontier leaves its traces behind it, and when it becomes a settled area the region still partakes of the frontier characteristics. Thus the advance of the frontier has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines. And to study this advance, the men who grew up under these conditions, and the political, economic, and social results of it, is to study the really American part of our history.

Since the days when the fleet of Columbus sailed into the waters of the New World, America has been another name for opportunity, and the people of the United States have taken their tone from the incessant expansion which has not only been open but has been forced upon them. He would be a rash prophet who should assert that the expansive character has now entirely ceased. Movement has been its dominant fact, and unless this training has no effect upon a people, the American energy will continually demand a wider field for its exercise. But never again will such gifts of free land offer themselves. For a moment, at the frontier, the bonds of custom are broken and unrestraint is triumphant. There is not *tabula rasa*. The stubborn American environment is there with its imperious summons to accept its conditions; the inherited ways of doing things are also there; and yet, in spite of environment, and in spite of custom, each frontier did indeed furnish a new field of opportunity, a gate of escape from the bondage of the past; and freshness and confidence, and scorn of older society, impatience of its restraints and its ideas, and indifference to its lessons, have accompanied the frontier. What the Mediterranean Sea was to the Greeks, breaking the bond of custom, offering new experiences, calling out new institutions and activities, that, and more, the ever retreating frontier has been to the United States directly, and to the nations of Europe more remotely. And now, four centuries from the discovery of America, at the end of a hundred years of life under the Constitution, the frontier has gone, and with its going has closed the first period in American history.

[...]

Source: Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, December 14, 1893.

13. Pullman Strikers' Statement, June 15, 1894

Introduction

As an industrialized nation, the United States held a significant advantage over Spain in its preparations for war. The decades of industrialization during the latter half of the nineteenth century had changed American society in numerous ways. One such change was the widening gap between the rich and the poor and between labor and management. Labor unions organized in the attempt to improve conditions for workers. Strikes occurred that sometimes ended in violence. One such strike was brought about when George Pullman, a manufacturer of railroad cars, slashed his workers' wages in response to an economic downturn but did not lower the rents and food prices he charged them in his company town. Such practices caused immense hardship and left laborers permanently in debt. This statement details the workers' grievances. When the

1894 strike brought railway traffic to a standstill, the federal government obtained an injunction against the strike and called out National Guard troops to enforce it. The ensuing confrontation left 12 workers dead, and a leading strike organizer received a prison term. The federal government continued to break strikes in this manner for many years.

Primary Source

Mr. President and Brothers of the American Railway Union: We struck at Pullman because we were without hope. We joined the American Railway Union because it gave us a glimmer of hope. Twenty thousand souls, men, women, and little ones, have their eyes turned toward this convention today, straining eagerly through dark despondency for a glimmer of the heaven-sent message you alone can give us on this earth.

In stating to this body our grievances it is hard to tell where to begin. You all must know that the proximate cause of our strike was the discharge of two members of our grievance committee the day after George M. Pullman, himself, and Thomas H. Wickes, his second vice-president, had guaranteed them absolute immunity. The more remote causes are still imminent. Five reductions in wages, in work, and in conditions of employment swept through the shops at Pullman between May and December, 1893. The last was the most severe, amounting to nearly 30 percent, and our rents had not fallen. We owed Pullman \$70,000 when we struck May 11. We owe him twice as much today. He does not evict us for two reasons: One, the force of popular sentiment and public opinion; the other because he hopes to starve us out, to break through in the back of the American Railway Union, and to deduct from our miserable wages when we are forced to return to him the last dollar we owe him for the occupancy of his houses.

Rents all over the city in every quarter of its vast extent have fallen, in some cases to one-half. Residences, compared with which ours are hovels, can be had a few miles away at the prices we have been contributing to make a millionaire a billionaire. What we pay \$15 for in Pullman is leased for \$8 in Roseland; and remember that just as no man or woman of our 4,000 toilers has ever felt the friendly pressure of George M. Pullman's hand, so no man or woman of us all has ever owned or can ever hope to own one inch of George M. Pullman's land. Why, even the very streets are his. . . . And those streets; do you know what he has named them? He says after the four great inventors in methods of transportation. And do you know what their names are? Why, Fulton, Stephenson, Watt, and Pullman. . . .

When we went to tell him our grievances he said we were all his "children." Pullman, both the man and the town, is an ulcer on the body politic. He owns the houses, the schoolhouses, and churches of God in the town he gave his once humble name. The revenue he derives from these, the wages he pays out with one hand—the Pullman Palace Car Company, he takes back with the other—the Pullman Land Association. He is able by this to bid under any contract car shop in this country. His competitors in business, to meet this,

must reduce the wages of their men. This gives him the excuse to reduce ours to conform to the market. His business rivals must in turn scale down; so must he. And thus the merry war—the dance of skeletons bathed in human tears—goes on, and it will go on, brothers, forever, unless you, the American Railway Union, stop it; end it; crush it out.

Our town is beautiful. In all these thirteen years no word of scandal has arisen against one of our women, young or old. What city of 20,000 persons can show the like? Since our strike, the arrests, which used to average four or five a day, has dwindled down to less than one a week. We are peaceable; we are orderly, and but for the kindly beneficence of kindly-hearted people in and about Chicago we would be starving. We are not desperate today, because we are not hungry, and our wives and children are not begging for bread. But George M. Pullman, who ran away from the public opinion that has arisen against him, like the genie from the bottle in the Arabian Nights, is not feeding us. He is patiently seated beside his millions waiting for what? To see us starve. We have grown better acquainted with the American Railway Union these convention days, and as we have heard sentiments of the noblest philanthropy fall from the lips of our general officers—your officers and ours—we have learned that there is a balm for all our troubles, and that the box containing it is in your hands today only awaiting opening to disseminate its sweet savor of hope.

George M. Pullman, you know, has cut our wages from 30 to 70 percent. George M. Pullman has caused to be paid in the last year the regular quarterly dividend of 2 percent on his stock and an extra slice of 1 1/2 percent, making 9 1/2 percent on \$30,000,000 of capital. George M. Pullman, you know, took three contracts on which he lost less than \$5,000. Because he loved us? No. Because it was cheaper to lose a little money in his freight car and his coach shops than to let his workingmen go, but that petty loss, more than made up by us from money we needed to clothe our wives and little ones, was his excuse for effecting a gigantic reduction of wages in every department of his great works, of cutting men and boys and girls; with equal zeal, including everyone in the repair shops of the Pullman Palace cars on which such preposterous profits have been made. . . .

We will make you proud of us, brothers, if you will give us the hand we need. Help us make our country better and more wholesome. Pull us out of our slough of despond. Teach arrogant grinders of the faces of the poor that there is still a God in Israel, and if need be a Jehovah—a God of battles. Do this, and on that last great day you will stand, as we hope to stand, before the great white throne "like gentlemen unafraid."

Source: U.S. Strike Commission, *Report on the Chicago Strike of June–July, 1894*, by the United States Strike Commission, 53rd Cong., 3rd sess., Ex Doc. no. 7 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1895).

14. Korean-Japanese Treaty, 1894

Introduction

The Monroe Doctrine of 1823, while asserting U.S. hegemony over the Americas, had conversely stated its noninterference in the Far East. Therefore, the United States played no role in this treaty signed by representatives from Korea and Japan on July 25, 1894. The treaty called for Korea to assist Japanese forces in expelling Chinese forces from the country. The stated goal was an independent Korea. The Japanese had been gaining power in Asia for years and were just preparing to launch a concerted effort to increase their territorial holdings and influence within the region particularly as the previous dominant power, China, seemed to be crumbling. Long an extension of China, Korea fell under increasing Japanese control during this period. Much had changed by 1904 when Japan went to war against Russia, which was challenging its influence in Korea. The Spanish-American War and the U.S. acquisition of the Philippines had given Americans the opportunity to wield influence over Asian affairs. The United States brokered the Japanese-Russian peace treaty and made a side deal with Japan pledging noninterference with Korea in return for Japan's noninterference in the Philippines. Japan formally annexed Korea in 1910.

Primary Source

The Korean Government hereby commissions the envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of Japan, who resides at Seoul, Korea, to expel the Chinese forces from the Korean Kingdom on behalf of the Korean Government.

Both Governments having agreed mutually to aid each other and help in attacking the Chinese and in defending themselves. And in order to insure the success of this joint action of both countries, the undersigned commissioners of each country are given full power to ratify the treaty, as follows:

ARTICLE I

This treaty is an agreement to expel the Chinese forces from the Korean Kingdom, and to strongly establish; the independence of Korea, as well as to fulfill the privileges and immunities which are enjoyed by both countries.

ARTICLE II

As Japan has undertaken to attack the Chinese, Korea shall have to exert the utmost efforts in all possible ways to facilitate the movements of the Japanese troops to and fro and in preparing provisions for these troops.

ARTICLE III

This treaty shall be abolished on the date of making a treaty of amity with China.

Wherefore the commissioners of both countries have hereunto set their seals and signatures this 26th day of the seventh moon of the five hundred and third year of Ta Chosen (Korea) and the 29th day of August of the twenty-seventh year of Meiji (August 25, 1894).

Kim YUN-SIK, (Korean) Minister for Foreign Affairs.

K. OTori, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Japan to Korea.

Source: *Treaties between China and Foreign States*, Vol. 2. 2nd ed. (Shanghai: By Order of the Inspector General of Customs, 1917), 590–596.

15. Treaty of Shimonoseki, 1895

Introduction

The Monroe Doctrine of 1823, while asserting U.S. hegemony over the Americas, had conversely stated its noninterference in the Far East. Therefore, the United States did not play a role in the war ended by this treaty signed in Japan on April 17, 1895. The Treaty of Shimonoseki brought the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 to a close. China had previously been the dominant power in the region, but Japan maneuvered to increase its influence. Japan emerged from the fighting as the undisputed victor, forcing China to make several concessions. The war and the subsequent treaty established Japan as the dominant military power in Asia and contributed to Japan's vision of expanding its influence throughout the region. Much had changed by 1899, when the United States and Europe feared that Japan would disrupt trade with China. The Spanish-American War and the U.S. acquisition of the Philippines had given Americans the opportunity and the desire to wield influence over Asian affairs. In 1900, the United States deployed troops from the Philippines to intervene—in cooperation with British, French, German, Russian, and Japanese forces—in China's Boxer Rebellion.

Primary Source

His Majesty the Emperor of China and His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, desiring to restore the blessings of peace to their countries and subjects and to remove all cause for future complications, have named as their Plenipotentiaries for the purpose of concluding a Treaty of peace; that is to say, His Majesty the Emperor of China, Li Hung-chang, Senior Tutor to the Heir Apparent, Senior Grand Secretary of State, Minister Superintendent of Trade for the Northern Ports of China, Viceroy of the Province of Chihli, and Earl of the First Rank, and Li Ching-fong, Ex-minister of the Diplomatic Service, of the Second Official Rank;

And His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, Count Ito Hirobumi, Junii, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of Paullownia, Minister President of State, and Viscount Mutsu Munemitsu, Junii, First Class of

the Imperial Order of the Sacred Treasure, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs;

Who, after having exchanged their full powers, which were found to be in good and proper form, have agreed to the following articles:—

ARTICLE I.

Independence of Korea.—China recognizes definitely the full and complete independence and autonomy of Korea, and in consequence the payment or tribute amid the performance of ceremonies and formalities by Korea to China, in derogation of such independence and autonomy, shall wholly cease for the future.

ARTICLE II.

Cession of part of Fengtien Province.—China cedes to Japan in perpetuity and full sovereignty the following territories, together with all fortifications, arsenals, and public property thereon:

a) The southern portion of the province of Fengtien, within the following boundaries:—The line of demarcation begins at the mouth of the River Yalu and ascends that stream to the mouth of the River An-ping; from thence the line runs to Feng-huang; from thence to Haicheng; from thence to Ying-kow, forming a line which describes the southern portion of the territory. The places above named are included in the ceded territory. When the line reaches the River Liao at Ying-kow, it follows the course of that stream to its mouth where it terminates. The midchannel of the River Liao shall be taken as the line of demarcation. This cession also includes all islands appertaining or belonging to the province of Fengtien, situated in the eastern portion of the Bay of Liao-tung and in the northern part of the Yellow Sea.

(b) The island of Formosa, together with all islands appertaining or belonging to said island of Formosa.

(c) The Pescadores Group, that is to say, all: islands lying between the 119th and 120th degrees of longitude east of Greenwich and the 23rd and 24th degrees of north latitude.

ARTICLE III.

Delimitation of ceded territory.—The alignments of the frontiers in the preceding Article and shown on the annexed map, shall be subject to the verification and demarcation on the spot, by a Joint Commission of Delimitation consisting of two or more Chinese and two or more Japanese Delegates to be appointed immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this Act. In case the boundaries laid down in this act are found to be defective at any point, either on account of topography or in consideration of good

administration, it shall also be the duty of the Delimitation Commission to rectify the same.

The Delimitation Commission will enter upon its duties as soon as possible and will bring its labors to a conclusion within the period of one year after appointment. The alignments laid down in this Act shall, however, be maintained until the rectifications of the Delimitation Commission, if any are made, shall have received the approval of the Governments of China and Japan.

ARTICLE IV.

War Indemnity to Japan.—China agrees to pay to Japan as a war indemnity the sum of 200,000,000 Kuping Taels. The said sum is to be paid in eight installments. The first installment of 50,000,000 Taels to be paid within six months, and the second installment of 50,000,000 Taels to be paid within twelve months after the exchange of the ratifications of this Act. The remaining sum to be paid in six equal annual installments, as follows: The first of such equal annual installments to be paid within two years; the second within three years; the third within four years; the fourth within five years; the fifth within six years, and the sixth within seven years, after the exchange of the ratifications of this Act. Interest at the rate of 5 per centum per annum shall begin to run on all unpaid portions of the said indemnity from the date the first installment falls due.

China shall, however, have the right to pay by anticipation at any time any or all of said installments. In case the whole amount of the said indemnity is paid within three years after the exchange of the ratifications of the present Act, all interest shall be waived and the interest for two years and a half or for any less period if then already paid, shall be included as a part of the principal amount of the indemnity.

ARTICLE V.

Inhabitants of ceded territory.—The inhabitants of the territory ceded to Japan, who wish to take up their residence outside the ceded districts, shall be at liberty to sell their real property and retire.

For this purpose a period of two years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present Act, shall be granted. At the expiration of that period those of the inhabitants who shall not have left such territories shall at the option of Japan, be deemed to be Japanese subjects.

Each of the two Governments shall immediately upon the exchange of the ratifications of the present Act, send one or more Commissioners to Formosa (Taiwan) to effect a final transfer of that Province and within the space of two months after the exchange of the ratifications of this Act, such transfer shall be completed.

ARTICLE VI.

Treaty of commerce and navigation to be negotiated.—All treaties between China and Japan having come to an end in consequence of war, China engages immediately upon the exchange of the ratifications of this Act, to appoint Plenipotentiaries to conclude, with the Japanese Plenipotentiaries, a Treaty of Commerce and Navigations and a Convention to regulate Frontier Intercourse and Trade. The Treaties, Conventions, and Regulations now subsisting between China and European Powers shall serve as a basis for the said Treaty and Convention between China and Japan. From the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this Act until the said Treaty and Convention are brought into actual operation, the Japanese Government; its officials; commerce; navigation; frontier intercourse and trade; industries; ships, and subjects, shall, in every respect, be accorded by China most-favored-nation treatment.

China makes in addition the following concessions, to take effect six months after the date of the present Act:

1st—Opening of new localities in China to trade.—The following cities, towns, and ports, in addition to those already opened, shall be opened to the trade, residence, industries, and manufactures of Japanese subjects, under the same conditions and with the same privileges and facilities as exist at the present open cities, towns, and ports of China.

- (1) Shashih, in the province of Hupeh.
- (2) Chungking, in the province of Szechuan.
- (3) Suchow, in the province of Kiangsu.
- (4) Hang-chow, in the province of Chekiang.

The Japanese Government shall have the right to station Consuls at any or all of the above-named places.

2nd—Navigation on Chinese inland waters, steam navigation for vessels under the Japanese flag for the conveyance of passengers and cargo shall be extended to the following places:

- (1) On the upper Yangtsze River, from I-chang to Chung-king.
- (2) On the Woo-sung River and the Canal, from Shanghai to Suchow and Hang-chow. The Rules and Regulations which now govern the navigation of the inland waters of China by foreign vessels shall, so far as applicable, be enforced in respect of the above named routes until new Rules and Regulations are conjointly agreed to.

3rd—Renting warehouses.—Japanese subjects purchasing goods or produce in the interior of China or transporting imported mer-

chandise into the interior of China, shall have the right temporarily to rent or hire warehouses for the storage of the articles so purchased or transported, without the payment of any taxes or exactions whatever.

4th—Right to manufacture in open localities. Japanese subjects shall be free to engage in all kinds of manufacturing industries in all the open cities, towns, and ports of China, and shall be at liberty to import into China all kinds of machinery paying only the stipulated duties thereon. All articles manufactured by Japanese subjects in China, shall in respect of inland transit and internal taxes, duties, charges and exactions of all kinds and also in respect of warehousing and storage facilities in the interior of China, stand upon the same footing and enjoy the same privileges and exemptions as merchandise imported by Japanese subjects into China.

In the event additional Rules and Regulations are necessary in connection with these concessions, they shall be embodied in the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation provided for by this Article.

ARTICLE VII.

Evacuation of China.—Subject to the provisions of the next succeeding Article, the evacuation of China by the armies of Japan, shall be completely effected within three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present Act.

ARTICLE VIII.

Temporary military occupation of Wei-hai-wei.—As a guarantee of the faithful performance of the stipulations of this Act, China consents to the temporary occupation by the military forces of Japan, of Wei-hai-wei in the Province of Shantung. Upon the payment of the first two installments of the war indemnity herein stipulated for and the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, the said place shall be evacuated by the Japanese forces; provided the Chinese Government consent to pledge, under suitable and sufficient arrangements, the Customs Revenue of China as a security for the payment of the principal and interest of the remaining installments of said indemnity. In the event no such arrangements are concluded, such evacuation shall only take place upon the payment of the final installment of said indemnity. It is, however, expressly understood that no such evacuation shall take place until after the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation.

ARTICLE IX.

Prisoners of war.—Immediately upon the exchange of the ratifications of this Act, all prisoners of war then held shall be restored and China undertakes not to ill-treat or punish prisoners of war so re-

stored to her by Japan. China also engages to at once release all Japanese subjects accused of being military spies or charged with any other military offenses. China further engages not to punish in any manner nor to allow to be punished, those Chinese subjects who have in any manner been compromised in their relations with the Japanese army during the war.

ARTICLE X.

Cessation of military operations:—All offensive military operations shall cease upon the exchange of the ratifications of this Act.

ARTICLE XI.

The present Act shall be ratified by their Majesties the Emperor of China and the Emperor of Japan, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Chefoo, on the 14th day of the 4th month of the 21st year of Kwang Hsu corresponding to the 8th day of the 5th month of the 28th year of Meiji. (May 8th, 1895.)

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Shimonoseki, in duplicate, this 23rd day of the 3rd month of the 21st year of Kwang Hsu, corresponding to the 17th day of the 4th month of the 28th year of Meiji. (April 17th, 1895.)

SEPARATE ARTICLES.

ARTICLE I.

Military force to occupy Wei-hai-wei. The Japanese military forces which are, under Article VTII of the treaty of peace signed this day, to temporarily occupy Wei-hai-wei shall not exceed one Brigade and from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the said treaty of peace, China shall pay annually, one-fourth of the amount of the expenses of such temporary occupation that is to say, at the rate of 500,000 Kuping Taels per annum.

ARTICLE II.

Territory occupied at Wei-hai-wei. The territory temporarily occupied at Wei-hai-wei shall comprise the island of Liu-kung and a belt of land 5 Japanese Ri wide along the entire coast line of the Bay of Wei-hai-wei.

No Chinese troops shall be permitted to approach or occupy any place within a zone of 5 Japanese Ri wide beyond the boundaries of the occupied territory.

ARTICLE III.

Chinese to retain civil administration.—The civil administration of the occupied territory shall remain in the hands of the Chinese Authorities. But such Authorities shall at all times be obliged to conform to the orders which the Commander of the Japanese Army of occupation may deem it necessary to give in the interest of the health, maintenance, safety, distribution or discipline of the Troops.

All military offences committed within the occupied territory shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the Japanese Military Authorities.

The foregoing Separate Articles shall have the same force, value and effect as if they had been, word for word, inserted in the Treaty of Peace signed this day.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Shimonoseki, in duplicate, this 23rd day of the 3rd month of the 21st year of Kwang Hsu, corresponding to the 17th day of the 4th month of the 28th year of Meiji. (April 17th, 1895.)

Source: *Treaties between China and Foreign States*, Vol. 2. 2nd ed. (Shanghai: By Order of the Inspector General of Customs, 1917), 590–596.

16. William Jennings Bryan, “Cross of Gold” Speech, 1896

Introduction

At the Democratic National Convention of 1896 in Chicago, presidential contender William Jennings Bryan delivered this speech on July 8, advocating the adoption of a free silver policy in the United States. He maintained that such a policy would allow the United States to coin money based on both silver and gold and thus relieve debtors in the economic depression that was then seizing the nation. Many Democrats objected to Bryan and free silver, however, and left the party when Bryan was chosen as the Democratic nominee. These breakaway Democrats formed their own party, the National Democratic Party. In turn, Republicans who supported silver deserted their party to support Bryan. Bryan ultimately lost the presidency to Republican William McKinley. In 1900 the two candidates faced off again, and Bryan insisted on sticking to his position on the divisive silver issue. The candidates also differed on the issue of imperialism raised by the acquisition of Cuba and the Philippines in the Spanish-American War. McKinley won reelection. Bryan again ran unsuccessfully for president in 1908. He later served as secretary of state under President Woodrow Wilson.

Bryan is most remembered for the famous 1925 trial in which he prosecuted John Scopes for teaching the theory of evolution.

Primary Source

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:

I would be presumptuous, indeed, to present myself against the distinguished gentlemen to whom you have listened if this were a mere measuring of abilities; but this is not a contest between persons. The humblest citizen in all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause, is stronger than all the hosts of error. I come to speak to you in defence of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty—the cause of humanity.

When this debate is concluded, a motion will be made to lay upon the table the resolution offered in commendation of the Administration, and also the resolution offered in condemnation of the Administration. We object to bringing this question down to the level of persons. The individual is but an atom; he is born, he acts, he dies; but principles are eternal; and this has been a contest over a principle.

Never before in the history of this country has there been witnessed such a contest as that through which we have just passed. Never before in the history of American politics has a great issue been fought out as this issue has been, by the voters of a great party. On the fourth of March, 1895, a few Democrats, most of them members of Congress, issued an address to the Democrats of the nation, asserting that the money question was the paramount issue of the hour; declaring that a majority of the Democratic party had the right to control the action of the party on this paramount issue; and concluding with the request that the believers in the free coinage of silver in the Democratic party should organize, take charge of, and control the policy of the Democratic party. Three months later, at Memphis, an organization was perfected, and the silver Democrats went forth openly and courageously proclaiming their belief, and declaring that, if successful, they would crystallize into a platform the declaration which they had made. Then began the conflict. With a zeal approaching the zeal which inspired the Crusaders who followed Peter the Hermit, our silver Democrats went forth from victory unto victory until they are now assembled, not to discuss, not to debate, but to enter up the judgment already rendered by the plain people of this country. In this contest brother has been arrayed against brother, father against son. The warmest ties of love, acquaintance, and association have been disregarded; old leaders have been cast aside when they have refused to give expression to the sentiments of those whom they would lead, and new leaders have sprung up to give direction to this cause of truth. Thus has the contest been waged, and we have assembled here under as binding and solemn instructions as were ever imposed upon representatives of the people.

We do not come as individuals. As individuals we might have been glad to compliment the gentleman from New York, but we know that the people for whom we speak would never be willing to put him in a position where he could thwart the will of the Democratic party. I say it was not a question of persons; it was a question of principle, and it is not with gladness, my friends, that we find ourselves brought into conflict with those who are now arrayed on the other side.

The gentleman who preceded me [ex-Governor Russell] spoke of the state of Massachusetts; let me assure him that not one present in all this Convention entertains the least hostility to the people of the state of Massachusetts, but we stand here representing people who are the equals, before the law, of the greatest citizens in the state of Massachusetts. When you [turning to the gold delegates] come before us and tell us that we are about to disturb your business interests, we reply that you have disturbed our business interests by your course.

We say to you that you have made the definition of a business man too limited in its application. The man who is employed for wages is as much a business man as his employer; the attorney in a country town is as much a business man as the corporation counsel in a great metropolis; the merchant at the cross-roads store is as much a business man as the merchant of New York; the farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day, who begins in spring and toils all summer, and who by the application of brain and muscle to the natural resources of the country creates wealth, is as much a business man as the man who goes upon the Board of Trade and bets upon the price of grain; the miners who go down a thousand feet into the earth, or climb two thousand feet upon the cliffs, and bring forth from their hiding places the precious metals to be poured into the channels of trade are as much business men as the few financial magnates who, in a back room, corner the money of the world. We come to speak of this broader class of business men.

Ah, my friends, we say not one word against those who live upon the Atlantic Coast, but the hardy pioneers who have braved all the dangers of the wilderness, who have made the desert to blossom as the rose—the pioneers away out there [pointing to the West], who rear their children near to Nature's heart, where they can mingle their voices with the voices of the birds—out there where they have erected schoolhouses for the education of their young, churches where they praise their creator, and cemeteries where rest the ashes of their dead—these people, we say, are as deserving of the consideration of our party as any people in this country. It is for these that we speak. We do not come as aggressors. Our war is not a war of conquest; we are fighting in the defence of our homes, our families, and posterity. We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned; we have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded; we have begged, and they have mocked when our calamity

came. We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them!

The gentleman from Wisconsin has said that he fears a Robespierre. My friends, in this land of the free you need not fear that a tyrant will spring up from among the people. What we need is an Andrew Jackson to stand, as Jackson stood, against the encroachments of organized wealth.

They tell us that this platform was made to catch votes. We reply to them that changing conditions make new issues; that the principles upon which Democracy rests are as everlasting as the hills, but that they must be applied to new conditions as they arise. Conditions have arisen, and we are here to meet those conditions. They tell us that the income tax ought not to be brought in here; that it is a new idea. They criticise us for our criticism of the Supreme Court of the United States. My friends, we have not criticised; we have simply called attention to what you already know. If you want criticisms, read the dissenting opinions of the court. There you will find criticisms. They say that we passed an unconstitutional law; we deny it. The income tax law was not unconstitutional when it was passed; it was not unconstitutional when it went before the Supreme Court for the first time; it did not become unconstitutional until one of the judges changed his mind, and we cannot be expected to know when a judge will change his mind. The income tax is just. It simply intends to put the burdens of government justly upon the backs of the people. I am in favor of an income tax. When I find a man who is not willing to bear his share of the burdens of the government which protects him, I find a man who is unworthy to enjoy the blessings of a government like ours.

They say that we are opposing national bank currency; it is true. If you will read what Thomas Benton said, you will find he said that, in searching history, he could find but one parallel to Andrew Jackson; that was Cicero, who destroyed the conspiracy of Catiline and saved Rome. Benton said that Cicero only did for Rome what Jackson did for us when he destroyed the bank conspiracy and saved America. We say in our platform that we believe that the right to coin and issue money is a function of government. We believe it. We believe that it is a part of sovereignty, and can no more with safety be delegated to private individuals than we could afford to delegate to private individuals the power to make penal statutes or levy taxes. Mr. Jefferson, who was once regarded as good Democratic authority, seems to have differed in opinion from the gentleman who has addressed us on the part of the minority. Those who are opposed to this proposition tell us that the issue of paper money is a function of the bank, and that the government ought to go out of the banking business. I stand with Jefferson rather than with them, and tell them, as he did that the issue of money is a function of government, and that the banks ought to go out of the governing business.

They complain about the plank which declares against life tenure in office. They have tried to strain it to mean that which it does not mean. What we oppose by that plank is the life tenure which is being built up in Washington and which excludes from participation in official benefits the humbler members of society.

Let me call your attention to two or three important things. The gentleman from New York says that he will propose an amendment to the platform providing that the proposed change in our monetary system shall not affect contracts already made. Let me remind you that there is no intention of affecting those contracts which, according to present laws, are made payable in gold; but if he means to say that we cannot change our monetary system without protecting those who have loaned money before the change was made, I desire to ask him where, in law or in morals, he can find justification for not protecting the debtors when the act of 1873 was passed, if he now insists that we must protect the creditors.

He says he will also propose an amendment which will provide for the suspension of free coinage if we fail to maintain a parity within a year. We reply that when we advocate a policy which we believe will be successful we are not compelled to raise a doubt as to our own sincerity by suggesting what we shall do if we fail. I ask him, if he would apply his logic to us, why he does not apply it to himself. He says he wants this country to try to secure an international agreement. Why does he not tell us what he is going to do if he fails to secure an international agreement? There is more reason for him to do that than there is for us to provide against the failure to maintain the parity. Our opponents have tried for twenty years to secure an international agreement, and those are waiting for it most patiently who does not want it at all.

And now, my friends, let me come to the paramount issue. If they ask us why it is that we say more on the money question than we say upon the tariff question, I reply that, if protection has slain its thousands, the gold standard has slain its tens of thousands. If they ask us why we do not embody in our platform all the things that we believe in, we reply that when we have restored the money of the Constitution all other necessary reforms will be possible; but that until this is done there is no other reform that can be accomplished.

Why is it that within three months such a change has come over the country? Three months ago when it was confidently asserted that those who believe in the gold standard would frame our platform and nominate our candidates, even the advocates of the gold standard did not think that we could elect a President. And they had good reason for their doubt, because there is scarcely a state here to-day asking for the gold standard which is not in the absolute control of the Republican party. But note the change. Mr. McKinley was nominated at St. Louis upon a platform which declared for the maintenance of the gold standard until it can be

changed into bimetallism by international agreement. Mr. McKinley was the most popular man among the Republicans, and three months ago everybody in the Republican party prophesied his election. How is it to-day? Why, the man who was once pleased to think that he looked like Napoleon—that man shudders to-day when he remembers that he was nominated on the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo. Not only that, but as he listens he can hear with ever-increasing distinctness the sound of the waves as they beat upon the lonely shores of St. Helena.

Why this change? Ah, my friends, is not the reason for the change evident to any one who will look at the matter? No private character, however pure, no personal popularity, however great, can protect from the avenging wrath of an indignant people a man who will declare that he is in favor of fastening the gold standard upon this country, or who is willing to surrender the right of self-government and place the legislative control of our affairs in the hands of foreign potentates and powers.

We go forth confident that we shall win. Why? Because upon the paramount issue of this campaign there is not a spot of ground upon which the enemy will dare to challenge battle. If they tell us that the gold standard is a good thing, we shall point to their platform and tell them that their platform pledges the party to get rid of the gold standard and substitute bimetallism. If the gold standard is a good thing, why try to get rid of it? I call your attention to the fact that some of the very people who are in this Convention to-day and who tell us that we ought to declare in favor of international bimetallism—thereby declaring that the gold standard is wrong and that the principle of bimetallism is better—these very people four months ago were open and avowed advocates of the gold standard, and were then telling us that we could not legislate two metals together, even with the aid of all the world. If the gold standard is a good thing, we ought to declare in favor of its retention and not in favor of abandoning it; and if the gold standard is a bad thing, why should we wait until other nations are willing to help us to let go? Here is the line of battle, and we care not upon which issue they force the fight; we are prepared to meet them on either issue or on both. If they tell us that the gold standard is the standard of civilization, we reply to them that this, the most enlightened of all the nations of the earth, has never declared for a gold standard and that both the great parties this year are declaring against it. If the gold standard is the standard of civilization, why, my friends, should we not have it? If they come to meet us on that issue we can present the history of our nation. More than that; we can tell them that they will search the pages of history in vain to find a single instance where the common people of any land have ever declared themselves in favor of the gold standard. They can find where the holders of fixed investments have declared for a gold standard, but not where the masses have.

Mr. Carlisle said in 1878 that this was a struggle between "the idle holders of idle capital" and "the struggling masses, who produce the

wealth and pay the taxes of the country"; and, my friends, the question we are to decide is: Upon which side will the Democratic party fight; upon the side of "the idle holders of idle capital" or upon the side of "the struggling masses"? That is the question which the party must answer first, and then it must be answered by each individual hereafter. The sympathies of the Democratic party, as shown by the platform, are on the side of the struggling masses who have ever been the foundation of the Democratic party. There are two ideas of government. There are those who believe that, if you will only legislate to make the well-to-do prosperous, their prosperity will leak through on those below. The Democratic idea, however, has been that if you legislate to make the masses prosperous, their prosperity will find its way up through every class which rests upon them.

You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard; we reply that the great cities rest upon our broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic; but destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in the country.

My friends, we declare that this nation is able to legislate for its own people on every question, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation on earth; and upon that issue we expect to carry every state in the Union. I shall not slander the inhabitants of the fair state of Massachusetts nor the inhabitants of the state of New York by saying that, when they are confronted with the proposition, they will declare that this nation is not able to attend to its own business. It is the issue of 1776 over again. Our ancestors, when but three millions in number had the courage to declare their political independence of every other nation; shall we, their descendants, when we have grown to seventy millions, declare that we are less independent than our forefathers?

No, my friends, that will never be the verdict of our people. Therefore, we care not upon what lines the battle is fought. If they say bimetallism is good, but that we cannot have it until other nations help us, we reply that, instead of having a gold standard because England has, we will restore bimetallism, and then let England have bimetallism because the United States has it. If they dare to come out in the open field and defend the gold standard as a good thing, we will fight them to the uttermost. Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.

Source: William Jennings Bryant, "Cross of Gold" Speech, Democratic National Convention, Chicago, July 9, 1896.

17. War Song of the Cuban Patriots, 1896

Introduction

Spain had ruled Cuba as a colony since Christopher Columbus claimed it in 1492. Spain relinquished Florida in 1819 and was ousted from Mexico in 1821, and the United States grew increasingly interested in annexing Cuba. At various times over the course of the nineteenth century, Cuban exiles and American agitators mounted illegal expeditions from U.S. soil in the hope of sparking a Cuban uprising. The United States even offered to purchase Cuba in 1854. Finally in 1868, lack of political power and heavy taxation brought about a Cuban rebellion. The rebels formed a government and declared independence from Spain. Known as the Ten Years' War (1868–1878), the first of three insurrections garnered sympathy in the United States, and Congress debated recognition of Cuba. The motion failed, and Spain eventually quashed the rebellion. The Cubans rose up twice more, in the Small War (1879–1880) and the insurrection that culminated in the Spanish-American War (1895–1898). By the time rebellion broke out again in 1895, sympathy for the Cubans and loathing of Spain ran high. Cuban exile Gonzalo de Quesada published a book about Cuba's struggle for freedom. The 1896 volume included the words and music to the Cuban patriots' battle hymn.

Source: Gonzalo de Quesada, *The War in Cuba* (N.p.: Liberty Publishing Co., 1896).

18. Maurice Thompson, "For Cuba," 1896

Introduction

Spain had ruled Cuba as a colony since Christopher Columbus claimed it in 1492. Spain relinquished Florida in 1819 and was ousted from Mexico in 1821, and the United States grew increasingly interested in annexing Cuba. At various times over the course of the nineteenth century, Cuban exiles and American agitators mounted illegal expeditions from U.S. soil in the hope of sparking a Cuban uprising. The United States even offered to purchase Cuba in 1854. Finally in 1868, lack of political power and heavy taxation brought about a Cuban rebellion. The rebels formed a government and declared independence from Spain. Known as the Ten Years' War (1868–1878), the first of three insurrections garnered sympathy in the United States, and Congress debated recognition of Cuba. The motion failed, and Spain eventually quashed the rebellion. The Cubans rose up twice more, in the Small War (1879–1880) and the insurrection that culminated in the Spanish-American War (1895–1898). By the time rebellion broke out again in 1895, sympathy for the Cubans and loathing of

Spain ran high. Cuban exile Gonzalo de Quesada published a book about Cuba's struggle for freedom. The 1896 volume included this poem by an Indiana poet and novelist.

Primary Source

Have you heard the call from Cuba
Coming northward on the breeze?
Have you seen the dark cloud hanging
To the southward o'er the seas?

It is a gasp for liberty,
That shudders on the air;
Spain has relit her torture-fires,
And men are writhing there.

Oppression's tempest gathers force,
Its tidal wave rolls high;
Old Europe's shadow dims the stars
We kindled in the sky.

The time is come for action,
Now let the right prevail;
Shall all our boasted sympathy
With slaves downtrodden fail?

Shall we be mockers of the faith
By which our course was set?
Shall we deny what we received
From men like Lafayette?

Help! help! the swarthy patriots cry,
While Spaniards beat them down,
Because they will not bend the knee
To one who wears a crown.

The hoary, mediaeval lie,
That robes the power of kings,
And rivets chains on bleeding hands.
Once more its logic brings.

At subtle diplomatic pleas
Let free-born statesmen scoff;
Poor, drowning Cuba grips our skirt,—
Shall Freedom shake her off?

Oh no! fling out the fleet and flag,
To shield her from the storm,
And let that splendid Island feel
The clasp of Freedom's arm.

Source: Gonzalo de Quesada, *The War in Cuba* (N.p.: Liberty Publishing Co., 1896).

WAR-SONG OF THE CUBAN PATRIOTS.

HIMNO BAYAMÉS.



Source: Library of Congress

19. Karl Decker, Account of the Rescue of Evangelina Cisneros, 1898 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Public opinion, stoked by yellow journalism, led the United States into war against Spain despite the better judgment of more moderate forces among the two nations' leadership. The *New York Journal's* highly romanticized coverage of the imprisonment of Evangelina Cisneros, the winsome 18-year-old niece of Cuba's insurgent president, moved an American public already outraged by stories of Spanish atrocities committed against Cubans. Accused of participating in the uprising, Cisneros was facing a likely 20-year sentence in a squalid penal colony in Africa. Numerous prominent American women sent appeals and petitions to the pope and to the queen regent of Spain, all to no avail. The *New York Journal* commissioned its reporter Karl Decker to enter Cuba and rescue her from prison by stealth. Decker succeeded in his mission, and Cisneros, disguised as a young man, boarded an American steamer. On her arrival in America, the public treated her as a celebrity. The *New York Journal* hailed Decker as a hero and boasted that "An American newspaper has shown America what she ought to do." Firsthand accounts of the escape by both Cisneros and Decker (excerpted here) appeared in an 1898 book, the proceeds of which went to support Cisneros. She married another

HIMNO BAYAMÉS. Concluded.



Cuban exile and was quickly granted U.S. citizenship. The couple returned to Cuba after the war.

Primary Source

[...]

The fact that the Havana arsenal, always under a strong guard, stretched its long front across the end of O'Farrill street on the other side of Egido street, and that the barracks of a company of the *Orden Publicos* was located just back of *Recojidas* on Compostela street, made this plan decidedly uncertain as to results. And it was abandoned.

As it appeared at this time absolutely impossible either to get into the jail ourselves or to get Miss Cisneros out, it was considered to have become a case of *untar las manos*, and a sturdy attempt was made to reach some of the guards or keepers with bribes, but nothing effected. Finally, when it appeared as if the only possible way to secure the escape of the beautiful Cuban would be to dynamite a part of the building, a note was smuggled in to her, as a last resort, asking if she could make any suggestion that could help us.

In answer she sent the following message, in Spanish:

My plan is the following: To escape to the roof with the aid of a rope, descending by the front of the house at a given hour and signal. For this I require acid to destroy the bars of the windows and opium

or morphine so as to set to sleep my companions. The best way to use it is in sweets, and thus I can also set to sleep the vigilants.

Three of you come and stand at the corners. A lighted cigar will be the signal of alarm for which I may have to delay, and a white handkerchief will be the agreed signal by which I can safely descend. I will only bring with me the necessary clothes tied around my waist. This is my plan: let me know if it is convenient.

Accompanying this letter was a plan drawn by herself showing the exact location of the window referred to. It was at the end of a second story apartment running along Sigua street on the side of the prison, but not extending clear to its front. The *azotea*, or flat roof, on which it opens is about twenty feet wide, and a high parapet along the front of the building hid this window from sight in the street.

No time was lost in acting on her suggestion.

The idea of eating through an iron bar with acid was dismissed and the question then naturally presented itself as to how the bars of the window could be cut so as to permit her to crawl through. The height of the building also precluded the idea of letting her attempt to come down by herself. Her plan was to use the rope on the flag-staff.

Consequently it became absolutely necessary for us to gain access to the *azotea* if we were to succeed. To do this, it became immediately apparent, would necessitate the use of a house in the crooked little alley running around the jail. By the rarest good fortune I found on my next visit to the vicinity a vacant house immediately adjoining the jail on the north side of O'Farrill street.

By the end of the next day the house was in our possession. As *La Lucha*, an Havana newspaper, naively remarked: "The lessees could find no one to become responsible for them, so paid two months in advance."

Our gold pieces made this O'Farrill street palace ours for two months should we care to occupy it that long. Next day the deal was closed. A colored Habanero was sent to the house to whitewash, and besides the lime and brush he carried a light ladder about twelve feet long. . . .

Source: Evangelina Cisneros, *The Story of Evangelina Cisneros Told by Herself* (New York: Continental Publishing Company, 1898), 72–75.

20. Ramón Blanco and Valeriano Weyler, Orders Regarding the Spanish Reconcentration System on Cuba, 1896 and 1898

Introduction

Spain had ruled Cuba as a colony since Christopher Columbus claimed it in 1492. The United States grew increasingly interested in annexing Cuba. At various times over the course of the nine-

teenth century, Cuban exiles and American agitators mounted illegal expeditions from U.S. soil in the hope of sparking a Cuban uprising. The United States even offered to purchase Cuba in 1854. By the time the Cubans rose up for the third time, in 1895, sympathy for the Cubans and loathing of Spain ran high. The New York press outraged the American public with stories of Spanish atrocities committed against Cubans. Spanish authorities, facing simultaneous rebellions in Cuba and the Philippines, in 1896 sent General Valeriano Weyler to Cuba to put down the rebellion by any means possible. Weyler became known as "the Butcher" for his pitiless rule. The centerpiece of his crackdown on the rebels was his reconcentration order of October 21, 1896. All Cubans living in the countryside were forced to relocate into towns in order to prevent anyone from assisting the freedom fighters. Living under guard in history's first known concentration camps in squalid makeshift warehouses and shantytowns and forbidden access to their crops and to food, thousands of noncombatant men, women, and children died of starvation or of diseases brought about by lack of sanitation. U.S. newspapers no longer had to exaggerate the horrors of Spanish rule over Cubans to stir up public outrage.

Primary Source

Don Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, Marquis of Tenerife, Governor-General and Captain-General of this Island, and General-in-Chief of its Army, etc.

I order and command:

First. All the inhabitants of the country or outside of the line of fortifications of the towns shall within the period of eight days reconcentrate themselves in the towns occupied by the troops. Any individual who after the expiration of this period is found in the uninhabited parts will be considered a rebel and tried as such.

Second. The extraction of provisions from the towns and their transportation from one town to another by land or water without permission of the military authority of the point of departure is absolutely prohibited. The infringers will be tried and punished as abettors of the rebellion.

Third. The owners of beeves should transport them to the towns or their vicinity, to which end they will be given proper protection.

Fourth. At the expiration of the period of eight days, which in each municipal district shall be counted from the publication of this proclamation in the head town of same, all insurgents who present themselves shall be placed at my disposal for the purpose of fixing them the place where they shall reside, serving them as a recommendation if they furnish news of the enemy which can be made use of, if the presentation is made with firearms, and more especially if it be collective.

Fifth. The provisions of this proclamation are only applicable to the Province of Pinar del Rio.

Havana, October 21, 1896.

VALERIANO WEYLER.

Don Ramon Blanco v Erenas, Marquis of Pena Plata, Governor-General, Captain-General and General-in-Chief of the Army of this Island:

The pacification of the four western provinces of the island being considerably advanced by the comprehensive military operations and by the natural results of the establishment of a new régime, the work of the harvesting of the sugar crop being effected in the open country under conditions of security, the cultivation of tobacco having acquired great impetus, and the near approach of the season which offers especial advantages for the minor field work, on which depend in large part the public subsistence, I judge the time has arrived for completely restoring the normal conditions of life in the rural districts and for causing to disappear the unfortunate conditions under which the country people suffer while gathered in the towns and suburbs, thus putting an end to the reconcentration of such country people and leaving them in full liberty to return to the rural district and to engage themselves there in labors which they may deem practicable.

As, notwithstanding this ample authorization, there will necessarily remain in the old centers of reconcentration a remnant of country people and their families, who for lack of means, resources, or farming implements may not be able to make a living by agricultural labor, the cabinet council (consejo de secretarios) will submit to me, with the urgency which the case demands, means of initiating and establishing a system of public works which, while seconding the aid afforded by the magistrates and protective juntas (juntas protectoras) and by the establishment of economical kitchens, shall accomplish the double purpose of bringing reconcentration to an end and remedying its effects and consequences, thus restoring the normal condition of rural labor and relieving the misery of the masses, as well as making reproductive and of use to the country the expenses which the fulfilment of these arrangements may occasion.

With which purpose and in virtue of the extraordinary powers which are conferred upon me as Governor and Captain-General and general in chief of the army, I have proclaimed in force the following:

ARTICLE 1. From the publication of the present order in the *Gaceta de la Habana*, the reconcentration of the inhabitants of the rural districts is abolished throughout the entire island, such country people and their families being permitted to return freely to the places which they may deem convenient and to engage in all kinds of agricultural work.

ART. 2. The protective juntas and all the civil and military authorities shall facilitate by all the means in their reach the return of

the rural inhabitants to their former places of residence or to those which they may newly elect, extending to them all the assistance which they can respectively command.

ART. 3. Under direction of the cabinet council (consejo de secretarios) and through the secretary of public works shall proceed the preparation and immediate establishment of all the public works necessary or useful to give employment and subsistence to the country people and their families who, for lack of resources, opportunities for work or farming implements, are not able to return immediately to the country; as also for the establishment of economical kitchens, which may make normal and cheapen these labors.

ART. 4. The expenses resulting from the execution of the regulations of the present order, so far as they may exceed the resources at the command of the protective juntas, may be charged to the extraordinary war credit.

ART. 5. All the orders heretofore published upon the reconcentration of the rural population, and all those which are opposed to the execution of this order, are hereby abolished.

Habana, March 30, 1898.

RAMON BLANCO.

Source: U.S. Congress, *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States with the Annual Message of the President Transmitted to Congress December 5, 1898* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901), 738–739.

21. Fitzhugh Lee, Letter Regarding the Effects of Weyler's Reconcentration Policy in Cuba, January 8, 1898

Introduction

By the time the Cubans began their third insurrection against Spanish rule in 1895, sympathy for the Cubans and loathing of Spain ran high in the United States. The New York press outraged the American public with stories of Spanish atrocities committed against Cubans. Spanish authorities, facing simultaneous rebellions in Cuba and the Philippines, in 1896 sent General Valeriano Weyler to Cuba to put down the rebellion by any means possible. Weyler became known as “the Butcher” for his pitiless rule. The centerpiece of his crackdown on the rebels was his reconcentration order of October 21, 1896. All Cubans living in the countryside were forced to relocate into towns in order to prevent anyone from assisting the freedom fighters. Living under guard in squalid makeshift camps, warehouses, and shantytowns and forbidden access to their crops and to food, thousands of noncombatant men, women, and children starved to death. Fitzhugh Lee, former Confederate general in the American Civil War and now the U.S. consul general in Cuba, reported to the U.S. secretary of state that some 400,000 rural people were forced to move. Their homes and fields

were burned, and half of them, mostly women and children, died in the concentration camps. When war broke out, Lee—a man in his sixties—entered the army as a major general in charge of VII Corps.

Primary Source

UNITED STATES CONSULATE-GENERAL,

HAVANA, *January 8, 1898.*

SECRETARY OF STATE:

SIR.—I have the honor to state, as a matter of public interest, that the “reconcentrado order” of General Weyler, formerly Governor-General of this island, transferred about 400,000 self-supporting people, principally women and children, into a multitude, to be sustained by the contributions of others or die of starvation or of fevers, resulting from a low physical condition, and being massed in large bodies, without change of clothing and without food.

Their houses were burned, their fields and plant beds destroyed, and their livestock driven away or killed.

I estimate that probably 200,000 of the rural population in the provinces of Pinar del Rio, Havana, Matanzas, and Santa Clara, have died of starvation or from resultant causes, and the deaths of whole families almost simultaneously or within a few days of each other, and of mothers praying for their children to be relieved of their horrible sufferings by death, are not the least of the many pitiable scenes which were ever present. In the provinces of Puerto Principe and Santiago de Cuba, where the “reconcentrado order” could not be enforced, the great mass of the people are self-sustaining.

A daily average of ten cents’ worth of food to 200,000 people would be an expenditure of \$20,000 per day, and, of course, the most humane efforts upon the part of our citizens can not hope to accomplish such a gigantic relief, and a great portion of these people will have to be abandoned to their fate.

I am, etc.,

FITZHUGH LEE.

Source: Fitzhugh Lee, *Cuba’s Struggle against Spain . . .* (New York: American Historical Press, 1899), 202–203.

22. Grover Flint, Description of Spanish Atrocities in Cuba, 1898 [Excerpt]

Introduction

By the time the Cubans began their third insurrection against Spanish rule in 1895, sympathy for the Cubans and loathing of Spain ran high in the United States. The New York press outraged the American public with stories of Spanish atrocities committed against Cubans. In 1896, American reporter Grover Flint traveled to Havana and made his way to the rebel forces fighting to overthrow the Spanish. He published detailed accounts, along with his own graphic illustrations, of instances in which Spanish troops massacred noncombatants. In February 1896 the insurgents had withdrawn after a skirmish at a plantation, and the Spanish killed about two dozen unarmed people, the plantation hands as well as their children. They then torched the buildings and threw the bodies into the flames. Traveling with the Cuban insurgents, Flint visited the plantation in May and made these drawings of burned and mummified bodies. Although the laborers had most likely hidden during the fighting, the troops retaliated against them on the suspicion that they had been sheltering the rebels. A few months later, General Valeriano Weyler issued his infamous reconcentration order, forcing the rural noncombatants into concentration camps where they could not aid the rebels.

Primary Source

[. . .]

At Olayita, in the latter part of February, 1896, the Cuban forces of Quintin Bandera skirmished with two Spanish columns under the command of Colonel Arce. The insurgents took up a position about the ingenio of the Olayita plantation, and retired southward, after having inflicted a heavy loss on the Spanish troops. As soon as the insurgent column had marched away, the Spanish infantry made a general charge on the sugar-house and its surrounding buildings. There were no less than twenty-three pacificos, innocent non-combatants, plantation hands and their families, employed on the estate. The administrator was M. Braulio Duarte, a French citizen, and the proprietor was a certain Domingo Bertharte.

Here is the story of the massacre, as told without variation by peasants of the neighborhood.

On the approach of the Spaniards, M. Duarte locked himself in his house, a small, two-storied frame building, lay down on his bed, and wrapped himself in the French flag. The troops burst in the door, dragged M. Duarte outside, and cut him to pieces with their machetes on his own doorstep. The flag of France was soaked in blood.

An indiscriminate slaughter of the plantation hands and their families was now begun. Men, women, and small children were dragged from their homes and cut down in the usual brutal man-

ner. The ingenio and all the surrounding buildings, the storehouses and the cottages of the plantation negroes, were set on fire, and the bodies of the victims, dead or dying, were thrown among the flames. Only one escaped, a Chinese coolie, who succeeded in making the woods near by with six Mauser bullet holes in him.

None of the pacificos, as I have it from insurgent officers who were there, had taken any part in the skirmish, but lay, quaking with fear, in their houses as long as the firing continued.

On the sixth day of May, I rode with the cavalry squadron of Colonel Robau and Major Saienz over the fields of the massacre. It was a hurried visit, for a column was then after us, and I could devote but thirty minutes to a study of the remains of the butchery that still existed. The sites of the cottages and outhouses were gray heaps of ashes. Of the sugar-house itself, a tin roof still remained, covering a mass of rusty machinery and charred timber.

In the trunk, under the great driving wheel, I counted the charred bodies of seven victims; upper-most of all, wedged between the wheel and the masonry, lay a negro woman, with a baby in her arms. Her clothing had been burned away, but the charred flesh remained, and a portion of one of her leather slippers. Of those parts of the body that had been most exposed to the flames, the bones were visible. The negress lay in an almost natural position, clasping the infant tight to her breast with a hugging, clutching embrace that death had only intensified. The body of the child was but little disintegrated by the flames. The other bodies in the pit were reduced to charred skeletons. The negress and her child had evidently been the last thrown in, and their remains had dried without decaying.

There were other bodies, they told me, in the debris of the central part of the building, which had fallen in, but I had not time to look for them. I was also told that the bodies of two other women and two little girls had been thrown into the burning cottages and entirely consumed.

Beneath the ingenio there was a cellar, in which were furnaces for heating the great sugar-boilers above. There was a little bakeshop in this cellar. I went down a short flight of steps to the chamber where the furnaces were, and there I found the remains of a Chinaman, one of the coolies employed about the place, perfectly preserved in a mummified state.

I examined the body very carefully. There were wounds of the machete about the back and legs, as though the coolie had been driven into the cellar with blows, but none of them fatal. The body was writhed in intense agony, and the face fixed in an expression of extreme horror. Parts of the clothing, a loose linen coat and trousers, were singed, and there was every indication that the man had been locked in, and forced to die from the heat of the burning ingenio above. The flesh had become parchment, and each muscle and line of facial expression, drawn by suffering, was intensified by the shrinkage of the flesh.

In the passage that led to the bakeshop lay the body of another Chinaman with a gash of the machete in the back of his head. His expression and the contortion of his body were similar to those of

the first, and distinctly indicated that he must have died under the same conditions. On the floor by his side lay a paper score of the loaves of bread baked for the settlement that morning. Though the wound in the back of his head was deep and some stains of blood remained on the floor, it was evident that he died by the torture of heat. Three months had passed, and these bodies had dried without the slightest trace of decomposition.

[. . .]

Source: Grover Flint, *Marching with Gomez: A War Correspondent's Field Note-Book Kept during Four Months with the Cuban Army* (Boston: Lamson, Wolfe, 1898), 102–107.

23. Richard Harding Davis, Description of the Spanish Treatment of Cuban Pacifists, 1897 [Excerpt]

Introduction

By the time the Cubans began their third insurrection against Spanish rule in 1895, sympathy for the Cubans and loathing of Spain ran high in the United States. A number of American newspaper reporters slipped into Cuba at some risk to themselves. Although both sides fought with brutality and ferocity, the reporters focused on Spanish atrocities committed against Cubans and fanned the flames of public outrage. One of the most famous war correspondents was the dashing Richard Harding Davis who, accompanied by the popular artist Frederic Remington, entered Cuba to cover the insurrection. Like other reporters of the era, Davis did not hesitate to lace his reporting with generous helpings of his own opinions. His dispatches are collected in his 1898 book *Cuba in War Time* with illustrations by Remington. In this excerpt, Davis details General Valeriano Weyler's treatment of the noncombatant Cuban population, called *pacificos*. Davis describes Weyler's use of scorched earth warfare, concentration camps, and starvation to subdue the population. Weyler had expected to defeat the insurgents through these measures, but instead men escaped from the camps to join their cause.

Primary Source

The wholesale devastation of the island was an idea of General Weyler's. If the captain of a vessel, in order to put down a mutiny on board, scuttled the ship and sent everybody to the bottom, his plan of action would be as successful as General Weyler's has proved to be. After he had obtained complete control of the cities he decided to lay waste the country and starve the revolutionists into submission. So he ordered all pacificos, as the non-belligerents are called, into the towns and burned their houses, and issued orders to have all fields where potatoes or corn were planted dug up and these food products destroyed.

These pacificos are now gathered inside of a dead line, drawn one hundred and fifty yards around the towns, or wherever there is a fort. Some of them have settled around the forts that guard a bridge, others around the forts that guard a sugar plantation; wherever there are forts there are pacificos.

In a word, the situation in Cuba is something like this: The Spaniards hold the towns, from which their troops daily make predatory raids, invariably returning in time for dinner at night. Around each town is a circle of pacificos doing no work, and for the most part starving and diseased, and outside, in the plains and mountains, are the insurgents. No one knows just where any one band of them is today or where it may be tomorrow. Sometimes they come up to the very walls of the fort, lasso a bunch of cattle and ride off again, and the next morning their presence may be detected ten miles away, where they are setting fire to a cane field or a sugar plantation.

[...]

As is already well known in the United States, General Weyler issued an order some months ago commanding the country people living in the provinces of Pinar del Rio, Havana and Matanzas to betake themselves with their belongings to the fortified towns. His object in doing this was to prevent the pacificos from giving help to the insurgents, and from sheltering them and the wounded in their huts. So flying columns of guerrillas and Spanish soldiers were sent to burn these huts, and to drive the inhabitants into the suburbs of the cities. When I arrived in Cuba sufficient time had passed for me to note the effects of this order, and to study the results as they are to be found in the provinces of Havana, Matanzas and Santa Clara, the order having been extended to embrace the latter province.

It looked then as though General Weyler was reaping what he had sown, and was face to face with a problem of his own creating. As far as a visitor could judge, the results of this famous order seemed to furnish a better argument to those who think the United States should interfere in behalf of Cuba, than did the fact that men were being killed there, and that both sides were devastating the island and wrecking property worth millions of dollars.

The order, apart from being unprecedented in warfare, proved an exceedingly short-sighted one, and acted almost immediately after the manner of a boomerang. The able-bodied men of each family who had remained loyal or at least neutral, so long as they were permitted to live undisturbed on their few acres, were not content to exist on the charity of a city, and they swarmed over to the insurgent ranks by the hundreds, and it was only the old and infirm and the women and children who went into the towns, where they at once became a burden on the Spanish residents, who were already distressed by the lack of trade and the high prices asked for food.

The order failed also in its original object of embarrassing the insurgents, for they are used to living out of doors and to finding food for themselves, and the destruction of the huts where they had been made welcome was not a great loss to men who, in a few minutes, with the aid of a machete, can construct a shelter from a palm tree.

So the order failed to distress those against whom it was aimed, but brought swift and terrible suffering to those who were and are absolutely innocent of any intent against the government, as well as to the adherents of the government.

It is easy to imagine what happened when hundreds of people, in some towns thousands, were herded together on the bare ground, with no food, with no knowledge of sanitation, with no covering for their heads but palm leaves, with no privacy for the women and young girls, with no thought but as to how they could live until to-morrow.

It is true that in the country, also, these people had no covering for their huts but palm leaves, but those huts were made stoutly to endure. When a man built one of them he was building his home, not a shelter tent, and they were placed well apart from one another, with the free air of the plain or mountain blowing about them, with room for the sun to beat down and drink up the impurities, and with patches of green things growing in rows over the few acres. I have seen them like that all over Cuba, and I am sure that no disease could have sprung from houses built so admirably to admit the sun and the air.

I have also seen them, I might add in parenthesis, rising in sluggish columns of black smoke against the sky, hundreds of them, while those who had lived in them for years stood huddled together at a distance, watching the flames run over the dry rafters of their homes, roaring and crackling with delight, like something human or inhuman, and marring the beautiful sunlit landscape with great blotches of red flames.

The huts in which these people live at present lean one against the other, and there are no broad roads nor green tobacco patches to separate one from another. There are, on the contrary, only narrow paths, two feet wide, where dogs and cattle and human beings tramp over daily growing heaps of refuse and garbage and filth, and where malaria rises at night in a white winding sheet of poisonous mist.

The condition of these people differs in degree; some are living the life of gypsies, others are as destitute as so many shipwrecked emigrants, and still others find it difficult to hold up their heads and breathe.

In Jaruco, in the Havana province, a town of only two thousand inhabitants, the deaths from small-pox averaged seven a day for the month of December, and while Frederic Remington and I were

there, six victims of small-pox were carried past us up the hill to the burying ground in the space of twelve hours. There were Spanish soldiers as well as pacificos among these, for the Spanish officers either know or care nothing about the health of their men.

[...]

In Cardenas, one of the principal seaport towns of the island, I found the pacificos lodged in huts at the back of the town and also in abandoned warehouses along the water front. The condition of these latter was so pitiable that it is difficult to describe it correctly and hope to be believed.

The warehouses are built on wooden posts about fifty feet from the water's edge. They were originally nearly as large in extent as Madison Square Garden, but the half of the roof of one has fallen in, carrying the flooring with it, and the adobe walls and one side of the sloping roof and the high wooden piles on which half of the floor once rested are all that remain.

Some time ago an unusually high tide swept in under one of these warehouses and left a pool of water a hundred yards long and as many wide, around the wooden posts, and it has remained there undisturbed. This pool is now covered a half-inch thick with green slime, colored blue and yellow, and with a damp fungus spread over the wooden posts and up the sides of the walls.

Over this sewage are now living three hundred women and children and a few men. The floor beneath them has rotted away, and the planks have broken and fallen into the pool, leaving big gaps, through which rise day and night deadly stenches and poisonous exhalations from the pool below.

The people above it are not ignorant of their situation. They know that they are living over a death-trap, but there is no other place for them. Bands of guerrillas and flying columns have driven them in like sheep to this city, and, with no money and no chance to obtain work, they have taken shelter in the only place that is left open to them.

With planks and blankets and bits of old sheet iron they have, for the sake of decency, put up barriers across these abandoned warehouses, and there they are now sitting on the floor or stretched on heaps of rags, gaunt and hollow-eyed. Outside, in the angles of the fallen walls, and among the refuse of the warehouses, they have built fireplaces, and, with the few pots and kettles they use in common, they cook what food the children can find or beg.

Source: Richard Harding Davis, *Cuba in War Time* (New York: R. H. Russell, 1898).

24. Enrique Dupuy de Lôme, Scandalous Letter to a Spanish Politician, December 1897

Introduction

Enrique Dupuy de Lôme was Spain's ambassador to the United States. In late 1897 he wrote a personal letter to a friend. Unknown persons intercepted and stole the letter, whose wide-ranging insults of such entities as the press, the British, and the Cuban insurgents also touched on President William McKinley, essentially calling him spineless. The letter surfaced among Cuban exiles in New York where, inevitably, William Randolph Hearst's newspaper published it on February 9, 1898. The public outcry quickly led to the official demand—relayed through diplomatic channels—for Spanish authorities to recall Dupuy de Lôme. Dupuy de Lôme tendered his resignation within 48 hours of the letter's publication. U.S. officials eventually obtained the letter and forwarded it, with a politely worded note, to its originally intended recipient, Spanish journalist Don Jose Canalejas. The incident exacerbated the already strained relations between the United States and Spain. Days later, the U.S. battleship *Maine* exploded in Havana Harbor, effectively ending any chance for the diplomatic incident to blow over.

Primary Source

RETIREMENT OF SEÑOR DON ENRIQUE DUPUY DE LOME, SPANISH MINISTER AT WASHINGTON.

[Translation of letter written by Señor Don Enrique Dupuy de Lôme to Señor Don José Canalejas. Undated, but from internal evidence probably written about the middle of December, 1897.]

LEGATION OF SPAIN, Washington.

His Excellency Don José CANALEJAS.

My DISTINGUISHED AND DEAR FRIEND: You have no reason to ask my excuses for not having written to me. I ought also to have written to you, but I have put off doing so because overwhelmed with work and nous sommes quittes.

The situation here remains the same. Everything depends on the political and military outcome in Cuba. The prologue of all this, in this second stage (phase) of the war, will end the day when the colonial cabinet shall be appointed and we shall be relieved in the eyes of this country of a part of the responsibility for what is happening in Cuba, while the Cubans, whom these people think so immaculate, will have to assume it.

Until then, nothing can be clearly seen, and I regard it as a waste of time and progress, by a wrong road, to be sending emissaries to the rebel camp, or to negotiate with the autonomists who have as yet no legal standing, or to try to ascertain the intentions and plans of this Government. The [Cuban] refugees will keep on returning one by

one, and as they do so will make their way into the sheepfold, while the leaders in the field will gradually come back. Neither the one nor the other class had the courage to leave in a body and they will not be brave enough to return in a body.

The message has been a disillusionment to the insurgents, who expected something different; but I regard it as bad (for us).

Besides the ingrained and inevitable bluntness (groseria) with which is repeated all that the press and public opinion in Spain have said about Weyler, it once more shows what McKinley is weak and a bidder for the admiration of the crowd, besides being a would-be politician (politicastró) who tries to leave a door open behind himself while keeping on good terms with the jingoes of his party.

Nevertheless, whether the practical results of it [the message] are to be injurious and adverse depends only upon ourselves I am entirely of your opinions; without a military end of the matter nothing will be accomplished in Cuba, and without a military and political settlement there will always be the danger of encouragement being given to the insurgents by a part of the public opinion if not by the Government.

I do not think sufficient attention has been paid to the part England is playing.

Nearly all the newspaper rabble that swarms in your hotels are Englishmen, and while writing for the Journal they are also correspondents of the most influential journals and reviews of London. It has been so ever since this thing began. As I look at it, England's only object is that the Americans should amuse themselves with us and leave her alone, and if there should be a war, that would the better stave off the conflict which she dreads but which will never come about.

It would be very advantageous to take up, even if only for effect, the question of commercial relations, and to have a man of some prominence sent hither in order that I may make use of him here to carry on a propaganda among the Senators and others in opposition to the junta and to try to win over the refugees.

So, Amblard is coming. I think he devotes himself too much to petty politics, and we have got to do something very big or we shall fail.

Adela returns your greeting, and we all trust that next year you may be a messenger of peace and take it as a Christmas gift to poor Spain.

Ever your attached friend and servant,
ENRIQUE DUPUY DE LÔME.

Mr. Day to Mr. Woodford.
[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, February 9, 1898.

There has appeared in the public prints a letter, addressed early in December last by the Spanish minister to Mr. Canalejas, and which the minister admits was written by him. It contains expressions concerning the President of the United States of such character as to end the minister's utility as a medium for frank and sincere intercourse between this country and Spain. You are, therefore, instructed to at once say to the minister of state that the immediate recall of the minister is expected by the President.

DAY, Acting.

Mr. Woodford to Mr. Sherman.
[Telegram.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Madrid, February 11, 1898.

Dispatch concerning Spanish minister received. Have seen Spanish minister for foreign affairs. Resignation of Spanish minister had been asked and accepted by cable before our interview. The first secretary of legation at Washington will be placed at once in charge of the legation. New minister will be appointed at once, and will reach Washington in about 15 days. Full report by next mail.

WOODFORD.

Mr. Day to Mr. Woodford
[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, February 11, 1898.

Your last telegram as to De Lôme incident says, "Full report to follow."

Telegraph that report, giving details.

DAY, Acting.

Mr. Woodford to Mr. Sherman.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Madrid, February 11, 1898,

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt on the morning of February 10, instant, of Department dispatch sent by telegraph, as follows:

'I endeavored all the morning of yesterday to obtain personal interview with the Spanish minister of foreign affairs, but he was engaged with the council of ministers and I did not succeed in seeing him until 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

I then stated that it was with sincere regret that I must read to him the dispatch which I had received from my Government at Washington relating to Señor Dupuy de Lôme. I then read to him and at his request left with him a copy of the telegram received by me from the Department, and added that I would communicate at once to my Government by telegraph such answer as his excellency might make. He replied that the Spanish Government sincerely regretted the indiscretion of their minister at Washington, and that the resignation of the Spanish minister had been asked and accepted by cable before our then interview. He added that the first secretary of legation at Washington would be placed at once in charge of the legation and that a new minister would be appointed as soon as possible, and who might be expected to reach Washington in about fifteen days.

It is possible that I misunderstood the Spanish minister in what he said about asking the minister's resignation. He may have said that the resignation had been offered (instead of asked) and accepted by cable.

I at once telegraphed you.'

The minister of foreign affairs was cordial, direct and courteous. In public evidence of the cordiality of the personal relations subsisting between myself and the Spanish Government, it was at once arranged that the Spanish ministers of foreign affairs and of the colonies should join a small dinner which I am giving to-night.

I am, etc.,

STEWART L. WOODFORD.

Source: U.S. Congress, *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States with the Annual Message of the President Transmitted to Congress December 5, 1898* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901), 1007–1009.

25. Charles G. Dawes, Prewar Journal, 1898 [Excerpt]

Introduction

President William McKinley hoped to resolve the Cuban conflict without resorting to war. Like most Americans, he sympathized with the Cuban people. The so-called yellow press stoked anti-Spanish sentiment by publishing lurid accounts of conditions in Cuba. As war fever spread, two events forced McKinley's hand. William Randolph Hearst, an ardent war hawk, published a private

letter written by the Spanish minister to the United States. This letter described McKinley as a weak leader who craved public admiration. Its publication caused an outpouring of anti-Spanish sentiment and made it difficult for McKinley to take a principled stand against war. Then, days later, the U.S. battleship *Maine* exploded and sank in Havana Harbor. McKinley awaited the findings of a special U.S. commission charged with determining the cause of the explosion. When that commission concluded that an external explosion, probably a Spanish mine, caused the *Maine* to sink, McKinley had no choice but to ask Congress for a declaration of war. The following diary excerpts come from the pen of a McKinley supporter and friend, Charles G. Dawes. Dawes served in McKinley's administration as comptroller of the currency. Although Dawes did not participate in meetings concerned with foreign relations, he met regularly with the president during the weeks leading up to war. His diary reveals a president trying hard to avoid war.

Primary Source

[...]

February 21. The Spanish situation continues perplexing and ominous. The course of the President, however, has been such as to command in a pre-eminent degree the confidence of the people in his strength of purpose and discretion. He has withstood all efforts to stampede him. He will endeavor in every possible way consistent with honor to avoid war. If war comes, the people will be united behind him. I protest that the war is wrong and unnecessary. In the greatness of McKinley the safety of the situation lies.

February 26. Spent a half hour with the President at noon. Discussed the Spanish situation. While the President stands for peace and conservatism, he is prepared to deal with events as they may arise. With such a man as President, war is impossible unless our cause is absolutely just and right. When his mind is made up he is inflexible and immovable.

March 19. Took Eckles to see the President, who seemed to feel in better spirits than usual, although he is always cheerful.

With Judge Day at the State Department. Theodore Roosevelt came in urging war and emphasizing the dangers of delay, having learned of the sailing of the Spanish torpedo flotilla. Went driving with Judge Day and we discussed Cuba. The situation grows more perplexing and ominous. War will be difficult to avoid. The President will do what he believes to be right. And if he is right, the future, when all events are judged in the keen light of conscience and knowledge, will vindicate his course.

The sensational papers make more difficult the situation. If war comes it will be because the starvation and suffering in Cuba is such that the United States orders it stopped upon grounds of humanity and outraged justice, and that order of intervention is resisted by Spain.

March 22. The President talked again of the Cuban situation. His policy is being assisted by events. He had hoped and still hopes to stop the suffering in Cuba without war. But he expects that it will be stopped. He does not expect to send a long message or recommendations to Congress on Monday with the report from the Naval commission. Intervention will be on broader grounds than the question of responsibility for the disaster to the Maine.

March 24. Went over to the White House where the President asked me to lunch. General Grosvenor, Abner McKinley, Ex-Mayor Strong of New York, and Governor Woodbury of Vermont were there. Mrs. McKinley and her nieces had gone to Baltimore with the Gary's, Miss Wilson and Caro to attend an entertainment given in behalf of the survivors of the Maine.

At lunch and afterward the conversation turned upon war. The report of the Naval commission upon the cause of the disaster to the Maine is due to arrive. There is general excitement. The Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy is cool and calm but in earnest. Representatives Joseph W. Bailey and Sayers of Texas and others called in response to a request of the President. He is proposing to send supplies to all the needy in Cuba, and is securing the cooperation of Congress in this plan.

March 25. The report of the Naval Commission arrived. The Cabinet remained in session nearly all day. Did not see the President and as I write this I do not know what the nature of the report is.

March 26. Saw the President at 1 o'clock. A peace delegation of Quakers called and came into the Cabinet room while I was there. The Naval Commission reports the Maine explosion was an external one first, followed by an explosion of one of the smaller magazines. This report will go to Congress with a brief note of commitment. It will be followed Tuesday by a message from the President on the Cuban situation, asking an appropriation to feed the starving in Cuba. This aid granted, he will proceed to feed these people whether Spain objects or not. He will not intercept the Spanish flotilla now en route to Porto Rico. He will not request their recall, as this might be acceded to by Spain placing him under obligation. Again, if they were recalled at his request and hostilities should open shortly after in Havana harbor, he would be accused of treachery and bad faith.

March 27. At five o'clock went with Caro to Judge and Mrs. Day's. Talked over the Cuban situation with Judge Day. He has been in constant communication with Madrid. The Spanish cabinet is intimating further concessions and will probably consent to the feeding of the reconcentrados, and that the reconcentrados be allowed to return to their homes and farms. It is expected that they will further propose an armistice after this is accomplished. Day hopes that they will propose that this armistice shall continue until October 21st, when the President of the United States shall, as mediator, settle the dispute finally and without war.

Neither the President nor Sagasta desire war. But the President proposes to intervene to stop the suffering. His purpose is in accord with the dictates of humanity. If this purpose of relieving suffering is interfered with, he will use force and his conscience and the world will justify it. He is making a magnificent fight for peace and God grant he may succeed. He will have won a greater victory in peace than was ever won by an Emperor in war. Nothing disturbs him in his great and good resolves.

[...]

Source: Charles G. Dawes, *A Journal of the McKinley Years* (Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1950), 145–149.

26. Coffee Table Book Description of the “Spanish Character”, 1899 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Compared to more modern standards, during the Spanish-American War years Americans imposed little restraint on what they said or wrote about people of other races or nationalities. The so-called yellow press, whose owners favored war with Spain, promoted their views with lurid, exaggerated accounts of Spanish atrocities committed against Cubans. While many of the acts committed by Spanish authorities in Cuba needed no exaggeration to cause genuine outrage, journalistic language of the era was not known for its restraint or understatement. In 1899 Harper and Brothers, a well-known publisher of books, magazines, and a weekly newspaper, released a large-format lavishly illustrated coffee-table book about the war. In it appears a chapter, excerpted here, that comments on the so-called Spanish character in the most insulting of terms. The unnamed author baldly calls the Spanish people “crazy,” “lazy,” and “cruel.” Today, readers can only wonder at the publication of such categorical statements about an entire nationality. However, such views of foreign peoples were widespread. During the Philippine Insurrection, Americans equally shamelessly mouthed racist invectives against the Filipinos.

Primary Source

[...]

The Spanish temperament has been the subject of a great deal of curious discussion. Philosophical historians have endeavored in vain to reconcile the many estimable qualities of the individual Spaniard with the detestable traits of his national character. “Three of us,” he confesses in a proverb, “make a lunatic,” and Consul Steel, in his *Cuban Sketches*, did not hesitate to say that on the subject of “nosotros”—that is, the collective, aggregate, national char-

acter as distinguished from the man as you meet him in the street—“every Spaniard seems to have been born crazy.” Many have contended, however, that Spanish inconsistency is not to be accounted for by any sense of obligation either to society, the nation, or the Church, but that it is inherent in the individual character. The Empress Catherine of Russia was an advocate of the “mañana” theory; she looked upon the Spaniard as the representative of slothfulness and procrastination. “The different characters of nations,” said she, in her instructions for the compiling of a new code of laws, “are made up of a mixture of virtues and vices, of good and bad qualities. The happiest combinations are those from which result the greatest good; and this to an extent which one would not dare to expect. I will prove my theory by examples of the different effects thus wrought by combination. The honesty of the Spaniards is well known. History proves their faithfulness in matters of financial trust. All the nations trading at Cadiz intrust their valuables to the Spaniards, and they have never had cause to repent of it. But this admirable quality, joined with their laziness (pareses), forms a mixture from which has resulted the most pernicious effect: the other people of Europe, under their very eyes, control the entire commerce of their kingdom.”

On one point, however, all agree: that individually and in the aggregate the Spaniard is cruel.

[...]

Source: *Harper's Pictorial History of the War with Spain* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1899), 74.

27. Series of Telegrams Regarding the Arrival and Destruction of USS *Maine* at Havana Harbor, January–February 1898

Introduction

Former Confederate Civil War general Fitzhugh Lee, now a man in his sixties, served as the U.S. consul general in Cuba. Given the widespread American sympathy for the Cuban insurgents and the belief that Cuba lay well within the U.S. sphere of influence, Lee handled his position with great tact. Although President William McKinley hoped to avoid war with Spain, mounting tensions between the two nations led him to send the U.S. battleship *Maine* to Havana, supposedly as a gesture of friendship. As this exchange of telegrams shows, Spain saw the gesture for what it was—a show of strength—and offered to send Spanish battleships on friendly visits to U.S. ports. Lee tried unsuccessfully to convince U.S. authorities to postpone the visit, and the *Maine* arrived quietly on January 25, 1898. Over the ensuing days, American and Spanish officers exchanged salutes and friendly visits. On February 16, however, came

Lee's cable reporting the destruction of the *Maine*. The explosion killed 266 American sailors, and war became inevitable. Despite Spanish condolences and official calls to avoid a rush to judgment, newspapers trumpeted “Remember the Maine, to Hell with Spain.” When war broke out, Lee entered the army as a major general in charge of VII Corps.

Primary Source

Mr. Lee to Mr. Day.

HAVANA, January 24, 1898.

Advise visit be postponed six or seven days, to give last excitement more time to disappear. Will see authorities and let you know result. Governor-General away for two weeks. I should know day and hour visit.

Mr. Day to Mr. Lee.

WASHINGTON, January 24, 1898.

Maine has been ordered. Will probably arrive at Havana some time to-morrow. Can not tell hour; possibly early. Cooperate with authorities for her friendly visit. Keep us advised by frequent telegrams.

Mr. Lee to Mr. Day.

HAVANA, January 25, 1898.

At an interview authorities profess to think United States has ulterior purpose in sending ship. Say it will obstruct autonomy, produce excitement, and most probably a demonstration. Ask that it is not done until they can get instructions from Madrid, and say that if for friendly motives, as claimed, delay unimportant.

Mr. Lee to Mr. Day.

HAVANA, January 25, 1898.

Ship quietly arrived 11 a. m. to-day. No demonstration so far.

Mr. Lee to Mr. Day.

HAVANA, January 25, 1898.

Commanders of Spanish naval ships and of German training ship have called upon commander of *Maine* and their visits will be returned afternoon. Salutes exchanged. All quiet.

Mr. Lee to Mr. Day.

HAVANA, January 25, 1898

Have just received visit of commander of *Maine* and will return it to-morrow. He had already returned official visits of Spanish and other naval officers. No disorders of any sort.

General Lee to Mr. Day.

HAVANA, January 25, 1898.

Another German naval vessel arrived this morning. Peace and quiet reign.

General Lee to Mr. Day.

HAVANA, January 26, 1898.

Have just had pleasant visit on *Maine*.

General Lee to Mr. Day.

HAVANA, January 27, 1898.

Just visited General Parrado, Acting Governor-General, with Sigsbee and two of his officers. We were most cordially received, and Parrado returns visit by going aboard *Maine* to-morrow.

General Lee to Mr. Day.

HAVANA, January 28, 1898.

Acting Governor-General Parrado and staff went with me this morning to return visit of Sigsbee. Inspected the *Maine*, were entertained and given the appropriate salute. Expressed pleasure at their reception and admiration for the splendid battle ship.

Mr. Day to General Lee.

WASHINGTON, February 4, 1893.

Secretary of the Navy thinks not prudent for a vessel to remain long in Havana; sanitary reasons. Should some vessel be kept there all the time? If another sent, what have you to suggest as to kind of ship? Telegraph your views.

General Lee to Mr. Day.

HAVANA, February 4, 1898.

Do not think slightest sanitary danger to officers or crew until April or even May. Ship or ships should be kept here all the time now. We should not relinquish position of peaceful control of situation, or conditions would be worse than if vessel had never been sent. Americans

would depart with their families in haste if no vessel in harbor, on account of distrust of preservation of order by authorities. If another riot occurs, will be against Governor-General and autonomy, but might include anti-American demonstration also. First-class battle ship should replace present one if relieved, as object lesson and to counteract Spanish opinion of our Navy, and should have torpedo boat with it to preserve communication with admiral.

Mr. Day to Mr. Woodford

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 24, 1898.

Have just cabled consul-general of the United States at Havana:

It is the purpose of this Government to resume friendly naval visits at Cuban ports. In that view the *Maine* will call at the port of Havana in a day or two. Please arrange for a friendly interchange of calls with authorities.

DAY.

Please advise foreign minister of friendly visit as above indicated.
DAY.

Mr. Woodford to Mr. Sherman.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Madrid, January 25, 1898.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt to-day of your telegram in cipher dated yesterday.

I have this day officially informed the Spanish minister of foreign affairs of the proposed friendly visit by the United States steamer *Maine* at the port of Havana, and that the United States consul-general at Havana has been instructed by my Government to arrange with the Cuban authorities for a friendly interchange of visits.

I am, etc.,

STEWART L. WOODFORD.

Mr. Woodford to Mr. Sherman.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Madrid, January 27, 1898.

SIR: I have the honor to confirm my cipher telegram of this date, as follows:

Secretary SHERMAN, Washington:

Spanish Government appreciate friendly character of visit of the *Maine* to Havana and will return the courtesy by sending Spanish ships to principal ports of the United States.

WOODFORD.

I have, etc.,
STEWART L. WOODFORD.

Mr. Woodford to Mr. Sherman.

No. 132. LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Madrid, January 28, 1898.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram in cipher, which I translate as follows:
WASHINGTON, January 28, 1898.

WOODFORD, Minister, Madrid:

This Government appreciates the courtesy intended in the visit of Spanish ships to United States ports.
SHERMAN.

I have officially informed the Spanish minister of foreign affairs of the receipt of the above telegram, and have the honor to be,
Very respectfully, yours,
STEWART L. WOODFORD

General Lee to Mr. Day.

HAVANA, February 16, 1898–12.30 p. m.

Maine blown up and destroyed to-night at 9.40 p. m. Explosion occurred well forward under quarters of crew; consequence many were lost. It is believed all officers saved, but Jenkins and Merritt not yet accounted for. Cause of explosion yet to be investigated. Captain-General and Spanish army and navy officers have rendered every assistance. Sigsbee and most of his officers on Ward steamer *City of Washington*. Others on Spanish man-of-war and in city. Am with Sigsbee now, who has telegraphed Navy Department.

Mr. Woodford to Mr. Sherman.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Madrid, February 16, 1898.

SIR: I have the honor to report that I have to-day telegraphed you as follows:

MADRID, February 16, 1898.

Secretary SHERMAN, Washington:

Spanish minister of colonies sends me copies of telegrams from Habana giving sad news of loss of U. S. S. *Maine*, with expressions of sincere sympathy by the Spanish Government. Rear-Admiral Camara, of Spanish navy, has just called from Spanish minister of marine to express like sympathy of Spanish navy.
WOODFORD.

I have acknowledged Señor Moret's courtesy in a note of which I inclose copy. Tomorrow I will call upon the Spanish minister of marine, accompanied by the naval and military attachés of this legation, to thank him for the prompt expression of sympathy by the Spanish navy.

I am, etc.,
STEWART L. WOODFORD.

Source: U.S. Congress, *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States with the Annual Message of the President Transmitted to Congress December 5, 1898* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901), 1026–1029.

28. Charles Sigsbee, Testimony to the Naval Court of Inquiry on the Destruction of the *Maine*, 1898 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Although President William McKinley hoped to avoid going to war with Spain over the fate of Cuba, mounting tensions between the two nations led him to send the U.S. battleship *Maine* to Havana, supposedly as a gesture of friendship. Spain saw the gesture for what it was—a show of strength—and offered to send Spanish battleships on friendly visits to U.S. ports. Fitzhugh Lee, U.S. consul general to Cuba, tried unsuccessfully to convince U.S. authorities to postpone the visit. The *Maine* arrived in Havana Harbor on January 25, 1898, under the command of Captain Charles Sigsbee. Over the ensuing days, American and Spanish officers exchanged salutes and friendly visits. On the night of February 15, however, the *Maine* exploded, killing 266 American sailors, and war became inevitable. Captain Sigsbee sent a carefully worded telegram urging Americans not to jump to conclusions. The U.S. Navy held a court of inquiry into the cause of the explosion. Sigsbee's testimony and the court's conclusions are shown here. The court concluded that the explosion could only have been caused by an external mine. Historians now believe that the explosion was due to an internal cause, but the cause cannot be known with certainty.

Primary Source

Q. Regarding strangers being in the ship, at what time were they compelled to leave the ship?

A. I think Lieutenant-Commander Wainwright was rather severe on desultory visitors. Very few visited the ship, except people of the highest social standing in the city. They came commonly from 2 to say 5 o'clock. They were always accompanied about the ship by officers, and of course under the supervisory orders of the master at arms and sergeant of marines. People were allowed to visit the ship

from about 10 to 12, and about 1 to 4. I think there were but two visits of Spanish military officers. Once, about two weeks ago, a party of five or six Spanish officers came on board during my absence. They were reported to me as having been constrained, and not desirous to accept much courtesy. They accepted no refreshments, but I afterwards learned that it is Spanish custom not to accept refreshments unless they are at hand at the time the offer is made. On another occasion, about the same time, a Spanish officer came with his wife. He made a visit to my cabin, and was shown about the ship by an officer under my direction. I invited Spanish officers to visit the ship; in fact, I made considerable effort to get them on board socially in order to show good will according to the spirit of the *Maine's* visit to Havana; but with the exceptions noted, no military officer of Spain visited the ship socially, so far as I can remember. I know that the purser of the *Alfonso XII* made a social visit; but I cannot recollect a purely social visit from other Spanish officers. The ward-room officers of the *Maine*, perhaps, have further information on this point.

Q. Among the precautions which you took was the fact of having extra lookouts on the deck. Was there ever any report of any unauthorized boats attempting to approach the ship and being ordered off?

A. Never, to my knowledge.

Q. On the night of the disaster, were all your extra precautions in force? I mean, in regard to quarter watches?

A. I assume that they were; they were never rescinded, and up to the night of the explosion, as far as ray observation could go, my knowledge is that they were carried out. I was especially impressed during the whole visit here by the prompt tendency of the sentries to report any infractions of orders on the part of the crew.

Q. At the time of the accident, do you know what boats were down, and where?

A. I assume that one of the cutters was down, and one of the steam launches. I think the first steam launch was down. The steam launch, I have since been informed, was riding at the starboard boom, and that one of her crew was saved. He is now in the hospital at Havana.

Q. What kind of a night was it at the time of the explosion?

A. It was a very quiet and warm night, and I remember distinctly that the echoes of the bugle at tattoo were singularly distinct and pleasant: A little rain fell after the explosion, which may have been precipitated by the concussion of the explosion.

Q. Was it a dry night?

A. There were stars, but I think it was somewhat overcast. I think I saw several stars after the accident, but it was somewhat overcast according to my recollection.

Q. How was the *Maine* heading at the time of the explosion?

A. Approximately northwest. She pointed toward the shears—somewhat to the right of the shears, near the admiral's residence.

Q. Where were you at the time?

A. I was writing at my port-cabin table, after side. I was dressed.

Q. Please give your experience in full.

A. I was just closing a letter to my family when I felt the crash of the explosion. It was a bursting, rending, and crashing sound or roar of immense volume, largely metallic in its character. It was succeeded by a metallic sound—probably of falling debris—a trembling and lurching motion of the vessel, then an impression of subsidence, attended by an eclipse of the electric lights and intense darkness within the cabin. I knew immediately that the *Maine* had been blown up and that she was sinking. I hurried to the starboard cabin ports, thinking it might be necessary for me to make my exit in that way. Upon looking out I decided that I could go by the passage leading to the superstructure. I therefore took the latter route, feeling my way along and steadying myself by the bulkheads. The superstructure was filled with smoke, and it was dark, bearing the outer entrance I met Private Anthony, the orderly at the cabin door at the time. He ran into me and, as I remember, apologized in some fashion, and reported to me that the ship had been blown up and was sinking.

I reached the quarter-deck, asked a few questions of those standing about me—Lieutenant Commander Wainwright, I think, for one—then I asked the orderly for the time. He said that the exact time of the explosion was 9.40 p.m. I proceeded to the poop deck, stood on the side rail, and held on to the main rigging in order to see over the poop awning, which was baggy and covered with debris; also in order that I might observe details in the black mass ahead. I directed the executive officer to post sentries all around the ship, but soon saw that there were no marines available, and no place forward to post them. Not being quite clear as to the condition of things forward, I next directed the forward magazine to be flooded if practicable, and about the same time shouted out myself for perfect silence everywhere. This was, I think, repeated by the executive officer. The surviving officers were about me at the time on the poop. I was informed that the forward magazine was already under water, and after inquiring about the after magazine was told that it was also under water, as shown by the condition below reported by those coming from the wardroom and steerage.

About this time fire broke out in the mass forward, over the central superstructure, and I inquired as to the spare ammunition in

the captain's pantry. That region was found to be subsiding very fast. At this time I observed, among the shouts or noises apparently on shore, that faint cries were coming from the water, and I could see dimly white, floating bodies, which gave me a better knowledge of the real situation than anything else. I at once ordered all boats to be lowered, when it was reported that there were only two boats available, namely, the gig and whaleboat, both were lowered and manned by officers and men, and by my direction they left the ship and assisted in saving the wounded jointly with other boats that had arrived on the scene from the Spanish man-of-war, from the steamer *City of Washington*, and from other sources. Later—I can not state precisely how long—these two boats of the *Maine* returned to the starboard quarter alongside, and reported that they had gathered in from the wreck all the wounded that could be found and had transferred them to the other boats—to the *Alfonso XII* or to the *City of Washington*. The poop deck of the *Maine*, the highest point, was by that time level with the gig's gunwale while she was afloat in the water alongside. The fire amidships was burning more fiercely and the spare ammunition in the pilot house was exploding in detail. We had done everything that could be done so far as I could see. Lieutenant Commander Wainwright whispered to me that he thought the 10 inch magazine forward had been thrown up into the burning mass, and might explode in time. I directed him then to get everybody into the boats over the stern, and this was done, although there was some little delay in curbing the extreme politeness of the officers, who wanted to help me into the boat. I directed them to go first, as a matter of course, and I followed and got into the gig. We proceeded to the steamer *City of Washington*, and on the way I shouted to the boats to leave the vicinity of the wreck, and that there might be an explosion. I got Mr. Sylvester Scovell to translate my desire to one or two boats which were at that time somewhat nearer the fire than we ourselves were.

Having succeeded in this, I went on board the *City of Washington*, where I found our wounded all below in the dining saloon on mattresses, covered up, and being carefully attended by the officers and crew of that vessel. Every attention that the resources of the vessel admitted was being rapidly brought into use. I then went on deck and observed the wreck for a few minutes, and gave directions to have a muster taken on board the *City of Washington* and other vessels, and sat down in the captain's cabin and dictated a telegram to the Navy Department. At this time various Spanish officers—civil, military, and naval—appeared on board, in their own behalf and in representative capacity, expressing sympathy and sorrow for the accident. The representatives of General Blanco and of the admiral of the station came on board, and the civil governor of the province was on board in person. I asked them to excuse me for a few minutes, until I completed my telegram to the Navy Department.

After finishing the telegram and putting it in the hands of a messenger to be taken on shore, I conversed for a few minutes with the various Spanish gentlemen around me, thanking them for the visit and their sympathy. I was asked by many of them the cause of the explosion, and I invariably answered that I must await further inves-

tigation. For a long time the rapid-fire ammunition continued to explode in detail. The number of the wounded was reported to me later. I have some difficulty in remembering figures, I think we found about 84 or 85 men that night who survived. It was also reported to me that the wounded on board Spanish vessels had been taken to the hospitals on shore, as were also the survivors who had reached the machina, in the neighborhood of the shears on shore. To keep a clear head for the emergency I turned in about 2 o'clock, getting little sleep that night, owing to the distressing groans of the wounded.

Q. By the time you reached the quarter-deck, were all the large explosions over?

A. So far as my experience is concerned there was simply one impression of an overwhelming explosion. I do not recollect details. I have already stated the explosions of minor character.

Q. But you yourself saw no large upshoot of flame?

A. When I came from the cabin, I was practically blinded for a few seconds. I thought only of the vessel, and took no note of the phenomena of explosion. It is probable that the explosive column had subsided wholly or practically by the time I reached the deck. I am not sure, because of the intense blackness.

Q. You state in your story that the *City of Washington* attended to the wounded. Did not the Spanish man-of-war also do the same?

A. I am not very sure personally, but the reports were that they were doing all that was possible. There was no reference to me on the part of the Spanish officers for sending the wounded on shore. I assume and believe that they did everything in their power to care for the wounded, and have continued to do so most conscientiously ever since.

Q. How many were wounded; how many killed; and how many were saved not wounded?

A. I would have to refer to my figures for that, and they are not now at hand. The muster, I think, shows 101 saved, including the wounded, and 253 lost. Some of the wounded have since died. My duties have been too complex since the explosion to enable me to memorize all the figures.

Q. From your examination of the wreck, as far as you have been able to make, what magazines or shell rooms, if any, should you say were blown up?

A. From the appearance of things about the wreck it is extremely difficult to come to any conclusion. The center of the explosion appears to have been beneath and a little forward of the conning tower, and on the port side. The forward part of the superstructure

has been thrown upward backward over the after part and toward the starboard side, indicating an explosion on the port side of the ship. In the region of the center or axis of explosion was the 6 inch reserve magazine, which contained very little powder—probably, I am informed, about 300 pounds. The 10 inch magazine is in the general region, but it is on the starboard side, under the forward turret, which is well out on the starboard side. Over the 10-inch magazine in the loading room of the turret, and in the adjoining passage, and well on the starboard side, were a number of 10-inch shell, permanently placed. There were also several additional shell in the loading room. It is difficult, therefore, to conceive that the explosion involved the 10-inch magazine, because of the location of the explosion, and because I have had no reports that any 10 inch shell were hurled into the air by the explosion. The violence of the explosion, although not its immediate locality, indicates that the 10-inch magazine may have been involved.

Q. Where was the 10-inch shell room?

A. The 10-inch shell room was abreast the 10-inch magazine on the port side. It opened on the port side of the vessel.

Q. Was it not between the reserve 6-inch and 10-inch magazines?

A. It was.

Q. Do you know the thickness of the bulkhead between those three divisions?

A. I can not recollect. I should say that it was of ordinary metal, the thickness of a bulkhead of similar construction in other parts of the ship.

Q. Do you know what was between the coal bunker and the magazine?

A. I think nothing but the ordinary steel plate. It is so aft.

[. . .]

NINETEENTH DAY. U. S. BATTLE SHIP. IOWA (1st rate), Off Key West, Fla., Thursday, March 17, 1898–10 a.m.

The court met pursuant to the last adjournment.

Present: All the members, the judge-advocate, and the stenographer. The record of last day's proceedings was read over and approved.

The court was then cleared for deliberation.

The doors being opened at 5 p.m., the court adjourned to meet tomorrow at 10 a.m.

TWENTIETH DAY. U. S. BATTLE SHIP IOWA (1st rate), Off Key West, Fla., Friday, March 18, 1898–10 a.m.

The court met pursuant to the adjournment of yesterday.

Present: All the members, the judge-advocate, and the stenographer.

The record of yesterday's proceedings was read over and approved. The judge-advocate informed the court that he had received seven more photographs from Chief Engineer C. P. Howell—the ones that Chief Engineer C. P. Howell had been directed by the court to have taken—and asked permission of the court to place them with Exhibit I.

The request was granted.

The judge advocate then informed the court that he had received the plan of the wreck of the *Maine* that Ensign Powelson had not finished before the court had left Havana.

The plan was shown to the court, with the request to have it appended to the record, marked L.

The request was granted.

The judge-advocate then informed the court that he had also received the plan of the broken part of the vertical and flat keel of the *Maine* which Gunner's Mate A. Olsen had sent to him, the same not having been quite complete when the court left Havana.

This plan was shown to the court, with the request that it be appended to the record, marked M.

This request was granted.

The judge-advocate also requested to have five views taken by Photographer Hart—which he had requested Photographer Hart to take—and added to Exhibit I.

The request was granted.

The court was then cleared for deliberation.

At 3.50 p. m. the doors were opened, and court adjourned to meet to-morrow at 10 a.m.

TWENTY-FIRST DAY. U. S. BATTLE SHIP IOWA (1st rate), Off Key West, Fla., Saturday, March 19, 1898–10 a.m.

The court met pursuant to the last adjournment.

Present: All the members and the judge-advocate.

The record of last day's proceedings was read over and approved.

The court was then cleared for deliberation.

The doors being opened, the court adjourned to meet tomorrow, Sunday, March 20, 1898, at 10 a.m.

TWENTY-SECOND DAY. U. S. S. IOWA (1st rate), Off Key West, Fla., Sunday, March 20, 1898–2 p.m.

The court met pursuant to the last adjournment.

Present: All the members and the judge-advocate.

The record of last day's proceedings was read over and approved.

The court was then cleared for deliberation. The doors being opened, the court adjourned at 4.30 p.m. to meet tomorrow, Monday, the 21st day of March, 1898.

TWENTY-THIRD DAY. U. S. S. IOWA (1st rate), Key West, Fla., Monday, March 21, 1898–10 a.m.

The court met pursuant to the adjournment of yesterday.

Present: All the members and the judge-advocate.

The record of last day's proceedings was read over and approved.

The court was then cleared for deliberation.

After full and mature consideration of all the testimony before it, the court finds as follows :

1. That the United States battle ship *Maine* arrived in the harbor of Habana, Cuba, on the 25th day of January, 1898, and was taken to buoy No. 4, m from 5½ to 6 fathoms of water by the regular Government pilot.

The United States consul-general at Havana had notified the authorities at that place the previous evening of the intended arrival of the *Maine*.

2. The state of discipline on board the *Maine* was excellent, and all orders and regulations in regard to the care and safety of the ship were strictly carried out.

All ammunition was stowed in accordance with prescribed instructions, and proper care was taken whenever ammunition was handled.

Nothing was stowed in any one of the magazines or shell rooms which was not permitted to be stowed there.

The magazines and shell rooms were always locked after having been opened, and after the destruction of the *Maine* the keys were found in their proper place in the captain's cabin, everything having been reported secure that evening at 8 p. m.

The temperatures of the magazines and shell rooms were taken daily and reported. The only magazine which had an undue amount of heat was the after 10-inch magazine, and that did not explode at the time the *Maine* was destroyed.

The torpedo war heads were all stowed in the after part of the ship, under the ward room, and neither caused nor participated in the destruction of the *Maine*.

The dry gun-cotton primers and detonators were stowed in the cabin aft, and remote from the scene of the explosion.

Waste was carefully looked after on board the *Maine* to obviate danger. Special orders in regard to this had been given by the commanding officer.

Varnishes, driers, alcohol, and other combustibles of this nature were stowed on or above the main deck and could not have had anything to do with the destruction of the *Maine*.

The medical stores were stowed aft, under the ward room, and remote from the scene of the explosion.

No dangerous stores of any kind were stowed below in any of the other storerooms.

The coal bunkers were inspected daily. Of those bunkers adjacent to the forward magazines and shell rooms four were empty, namely: B3, B4, B5, B6. A15 had been in use that day, and A16 was full of New River coal. This coal had been carefully inspected before receiving it on board. The bunker in which it was stowed was accessible on three sides at all times, and the fourth side at this time on account of bunkers B4 and B6 being empty. This bunker, A16, had been inspected that day by the engineer officer on duty.

The fire alarms in the bunkers were in working order, and there had never been a case of spontaneous combustion of coal on board the *Maine*.

The two after boilers of the ship were in use at the time of the disaster, but for auxiliary purposes only, with a comparatively low pressure of steam, and being tended by a reliable watch.

These boilers could not have caused the explosion of the ship. The four forward boilers have since been found by the divers, and are in a fair condition.

On the night of the destruction of the *Maine* everything had been reported secure for the night at 8 p.m. by reliable persons, through the proper authorities, to the commanding officer. At the time the *Maine* was destroyed the ship was quiet, and, therefore, least liable to accident caused by movements from those on board.

EXPLOSIONS.

3. The destruction of the *Maine* occurred at 9.40 p. m. on the 15th day of February, 1898, in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, she being at the time moored to the same buoy to which she had been taken upon her arrival. There were two explosions of a distinctly different character, with a very short but distinct interval between them, and the forward part of the ship was lifted to a marked degree at the time of the first explosion. The first explosion was more in the nature of a report like that of a gun, while the second explosion was more open, prolonged, and of greater volume. This second explosion was, in the opinion of the court, caused by the partial explosion of two or more of the forward magazines of the *Maine*.

CONDITION OF THE WRECK.

4. The evidence bearing upon this, being principally obtained from divers, did not enable the court to form a definite conclusion as to the condition of the wreck, although it was established that the after part of the ship was practically intact, and sank in that condition a very few minutes after the destruction of the forward part.

The following facts in regard to the forward part of the ship are, however, established by the testimony :

A portion of the port side of the protective deck, which extends from about frame 30 to about frame 41, was blown up, aft, and over to port. The main deck, from about frame 30 to about frame 41, was blown up, aft, and slightly over to starboard, folding the forward part of the middle superstructure over and on top of the after part.

This was, in the opinion of the court, caused by the partial explosion of two or more of the forward magazines of the *Maine*.

5. At frame 17 the outer shell of the ship, from a point 11½ feet from the middle line of the ship, and 6 feet above the keel when in its normal position, has been forced up so as to be now about 4 feet above the surface of the water, therefore about 34 feet above where it would be had the ship sunk uninjured.

The outside bottom plating is bent into a reversed V shape (^), the after wing of which, about 15 feet broad and 32 feet in length (from frame 17 to frame 25), is doubled back upon itself against the continuation of the same plating, extending forward.

At frame 18 the vertical keel is broken in two, and the flat keel bent into an angle similar to the angle formed by the outside bottom plating. This break is now about 6 feet below the surface of the water, and about 30 feet above its normal position.

In the opinion of the court this effect could have been produced only by the explosion of a mine situated under the bottom of the ship at about frame 18 and somewhat on the port side of the ship.

6. The court finds that the loss of the *Maine* on the occasion named was not in any respect due to fault or negligence on the part of any of the officers or members of the crew of said vessel.

7. In the opinion of the court the *Maine* was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine, which caused the partial explosion of two or more of the forward magazines.

8. The court has been unable to obtain evidence fixing the responsibility for the destruction of the *Maine* upon any person or persons.

W. T. SAMPSON,

Captain, U. S. N., President.

A. MARIX,

Lieut. Com., U. S. N., Judge- Advocate.

The court having finished the inquiry it was ordered to make, adjourned at 11 a. m., to await the action of the convening authority.

W. T. SAMPSON,

Captain, U. S. N., President.

A. MARIX,

Lieut.-Com., U. S. N., Judge- Advocate.

U. S. FLAGSHIP NEW YORK,

Off Key West, Fla., March 22, 1898.

The proceedings and findings of the court of inquiry in the above case are approved.

M. SICARD,

Rear Admiral, Commander in Chief of the

United States Naval force on the North Atlantic Station.

Source: U.S. Congress, Senate, *Message from the President of the United States Transmitting the Report of the Naval Court of Inquiry upon the Destruction of the United States Battleship Maine in Havana Harbor, February 15, 1898, Together with the Testimony Taken before the Court* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1898), 15–17, 279–281.

29. Official Spanish Report of the Destruction of the *Maine*, 1898 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Although President William McKinley hoped to avoid going to war with Spain over the fate of Cuba, mounting tensions between the two nations led him to send the U.S. battleship *Maine* to Havana,

supposedly as a gesture of friendship. Spain saw the gesture for what it was—a show of strength—and offered to send Spanish battleships on friendly visits to U.S. ports. Although Fitzhugh Lee, U.S. consul general to Cuba, tried unsuccessfully to convince U.S. authorities to postpone the visit, the *Maine* arrived in Havana Harbor on January 25, 1898, under the command of Captain Charles Sigsbee. Over the ensuing days, American and Spanish officers exchanged salutes and friendly visits. On the night of February 15, however, the *Maine* exploded, killing 266 American sailors, and war became inevitable. Captain Sigsbee sent a carefully worded telegram urging Americans not to jump to conclusions. Both the U.S. Navy and the Spanish government held official inquiries into the cause of the explosion. The U.S. court of inquiry concluded that the explosion could only have been caused by an external mine, while the Spanish commission, whose report is excerpted here, asserted that their divers observed “infallible” evidence “that the explosion was internal.” Historians now support the Spanish conclusion, but the cause cannot be known with certainty.

Primary Source

The report contains the depositions of eye witnesses and experts, and, by reproducing, by means of these depositions, the act of explosion, at each moment of its duration, in its external appearances, proves the absence of all the incidents which always necessarily accompany the explosion of a torpedo.

It is known, through these same depositions of witnesses very near the *Maine*, that there was only a single explosion; that no column of water was thrown up; that there was no movement of the water; that there was no dash of the water against the sides of the nearest vessel; that there was no shaking of the shore, and that no dead fish were seen subsequently. The deposition of the chief pilot of the port shows that there was a great abundance of fish in the bay after the explosion, and the same thing is asserted by the assistant engineer of the harbor works, who says that he has always found dead fish after many explosions (blastings) made for the works in the bay.

The divers, when examining the hull of the *Maine*, could not see its bottom, as it was buried in the mud, but they examined the sides, and the rents in them outwards are an infallible sign that the explosion was internal.

When the bottom of the bay around the vessel was examined not a single sign of the action of a torpedo was found, and, moreover, the district attorney (fiscal) finds no precedents of the blowing up of the magazines of a vessel by torpedoes in any case.

The report states that the peculiar nature of the procedure followed and the thorough observance of the principle of the extraterritoriality of the *Maine* have prevented the making of such investigations in the interior of the vessel as would furnish the means of deciding at least hypothetically, the internal cause of the disaster; and this

inability was increased by the unfortunate refusal which prevented the establishment of the necessary and appropriate cooperation between the Spanish commission on the one side, and the commander and crew of the *Maine*, the American officials commissioned to investigate the causes of the event, and those subsequently charged with the recovery (salvamento) on the other side.

Lastly, the report affirms that the internal and external examination of the *Maine*, when it can be accomplished, and provided the labors for the total or partial recovery of the wreck do not cause any change in it, and the examination of the spot in the bay where the vessel is sunk, will prove that, as has been said, the explosion was produced by an internal cause.

A true copy:
Juan Du Bosc

Source: U.S. Congress, *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States with the Annual Message of the President Transmitted to Congress December 5, 1898* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901), 1044–1045.

30. Richard Harding Davis, Argument for American Intervention in Cuba, 1897

Introduction

By the time the Cubans began their third insurrection against Spanish rule in 1895, sympathy for the Cubans and loathing of Spain ran high in the United States. A number of American newspaper reporters slipped into Cuba at some risk to themselves. Although both sides fought with brutality and ferocity, the reporters focused on Spanish atrocities committed against Cubans and fanned the flames of public outrage. Newspapers in New York and elsewhere called for the United States to intervene to oust the Spanish from Cuba. One of the most famous war correspondents was the dashing Richard Harding Davis who, accompanied by the popular artist Frederic Remington, entered Cuba to cover the insurrection. Davis reported for several newspapers and magazines during the Cuban War of Independence and the ensuing Spanish-American War. His dispatches about the insurrection are collected in his 1898 book *Cuba in War Time*, with illustrations by Remington. Like other reporters of the era, Davis did not hesitate to lace his reporting with generous helpings of his own opinions. In this excerpt, he argues passionately for intervention, fueling the war fever of an increasingly belligerent public. Davis continued his career as a war correspondent into World War I.

Primary Source

Before I went to Cuba I was as much opposed to our interfering there as any other person equally ignorant concerning the situation could be, but since I have seen for myself I feel ashamed that we should have stood so long idle. We have been too considerate, too fearful that as a younger nation, we should appear to disregard the laws laid down by older nations. We have tolerated what no European power would have tolerated; we have been patient with men who have put back the hand of time for centuries, who lie to our representatives daily, who butcher innocent people, who gamble with the lives of their own soldiers in order to gain a few more stars and an extra stripe, who send American property to the air in flames and murder American prisoners.

The British lately sent an expedition of eight hundred men to the west coast of Africa to punish a savage king who butchers people because it does not rain. Why should we tolerate Spanish savages merely because they call themselves “the most Catholic,” but who in reality are no better than this naked negro? What difference is there between the King of Benin who crucifies a woman because he wants rain and General Weyler who outrages a woman for his own pleasure and throws her to his bodyguard of blacks, even if the woman has the misfortune to live after it—and to still live in Sagua la Grande to-day?

If the English were right—and they were right—in punishing the King of Benin for murdering his subjects to propitiate his idols, we are right to punish these revivers of the Inquisition for starving women and children to propitiate an Austrian archduchess.

It is difficult to know what the American people do want. They do not want peace, apparently, for their senators, some through an ignorant hatred of England and others through a personal dislike of the President, emasculated the arbitration treaty; and they do not want war, for, as some one has written, if we did not go to war with Spain when she murdered the crew of the *Virginia*, we never will.

But if the executive and the legislators wish to assure themselves, like “Fighting Bob Acres,” that they have some right on their side, they need not turn back to the *Virginia* incident. There are reasons enough to-day to justify their action, if it is to be their intellects and not their feelings that must move them to act. American property has been destroyed by Spanish troops to the amount of many millions, and no answer made to demands of the State Department for an explanation. American citizens have been imprisoned and shot—some without a trial, some in front of their own domiciles, and American vessels are turned over to the uses of the Spanish secret police. These would seem to be sufficient reasons for interfering.

But why should we not go a step further and a step higher, and interfere in the name of humanity? Not because we are Americans, but because we are human beings, and because, within eighty miles

of our coast, Spanish officials are killing men and women as wantonly as though they were field mice, not in battle, but in cold blood—cutting them down in the open roads, at the wells to which they have gone for water, or on their farms, where they have stolen away to dig up a few potatoes, having first run the gauntlets of the forts and risked their lives to obtain them.

This is not an imaginary state of affairs, nor are these supposititious cases. I am writing only of the things I have heard from eye witnesses and of some of the things that I have seen.

President Cleveland declared in his message to Congress: "When the inability of Spain to deal successfully with the insurgents has become manifest, and it is demonstrated that her sovereignty is extinct in Cuba for all purposes of its rightful existence, and when a hopeless struggle for its re-establishment has degenerated into a strife which is nothing more than the useless sacrifice of human life and the utter destruction of the very subject-matter of the conflict, a situation will be presented in which our obligations to the sovereignty of Spain will be superseded by higher obligations, which we can hardly hesitate to recognize and discharge!"

These conditions are now manifest. A hopeless struggle for sovereignty has degenerated into a strife which means not the useless, but the wanton sacrifice of human life, and the utter destruction of the subject-matter of the conflict.

What further manifestations are needed? Is it that the American people doubt the sources from which their information comes? They are the consuls all over the island of Cuba. For what voice crying in the wilderness are they still waiting? What will convince them that the time has come?

If the United States is to interfere in this matter she should do so at once, but she should only do so after she has informed herself thoroughly concerning it. She should not act on the reports of the hotel piazza correspondents, but send men to Cuba on whose judgment and common sense she can rely. General Fitzhugh Lee is one of these men, and there is no better informed American on Cuban matters than he, nor one who sees more clearly the course which our government should pursue. Through the consuls all over the island, he is in touch with every part of it, and in daily touch; but incidents which are frightfully true there seem exaggerated and overdrawn when a typewritten description of them reaches the calm corridors of the State Department.

More men like Lee should go to Cuba to inform themselves, not men who will stop in Havana and pick up the gossip of the Hotel Inglaterra, but who will go out into the cities and sugar plantations and talk to the consuls and merchants and planters, both Spanish and American; who can see for themselves the houses burning and the smoke arising from every point of the landscape;

who can see the bodies of "pacíficos" brought into the cities, and who can sit on a porch of an American planter's house and hear him tell in a whisper how his sugar cane was set on fire by the same Spanish soldiers who surround the house, and who are supposed to guard his property, but who, in reality, are there to keep a watch on him.

He should hear little children, born of American parents, come into the consulate and ask for a piece of bread. He should see the children and the women herded in the towns or walking the streets in long processions, with the Mayor at their head, begging his fellow Spaniards to give them food, the children covered with the red blotches of small-pox and the women gaunt with yellow fever. He should see hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of machinery standing idle, covered with rust and dirt, or lying twisted and broken under fallen walls. He will learn that while one hundred and fifty-six vessels came into the port of Matanzas in 1894, only eighty-eight came in 1895, and that but sixteen touched there in 1896, and that while the export of sugar from that port to the United States in 1894 amounted to eleven millions of dollars, in 1895 it sank to eight millions of dollars, and in 1896 it did not reach one million. I copied these figures one morning from the consular books, and that loss of ten millions of dollars in two years in one little port is but a sample of the facts that show what chaos this war is working.

In three weeks any member of the Senate or of Congress who wishes to inform himself on this reign of terror in Cuba can travel from one end of this island to the other and return competent to speak with absolute authority. No man, no matter what his prejudices may be, can make this journey and not go home convinced that it is his duty to try to stop this cruel waste of life and this wanton destruction of a beautiful country.

A reign of terror sounds hysterical, but it is an exact and truthful descriptive phrase of the condition in Cuba. Insurgents and Spaniards alike are laying waste the land, and neither side shows any sign of giving up the struggle. But while the men are in the field fighting after their fashion, for the independence of the island, the old men and the infirm and the women and children, who cannot help the cause or themselves, and who are destitute and starving and dying, have their eyes turned toward the great republic that lies only eighty miles away, and they are holding out their hands and asking "How long, O, Lord, how long?"

Or if the members of the Senate and of Congress can not visit Cuba, why will they not listen to those who have been there? Of three men who traveled over the island, seeking the facts concerning it, two correspondents and an interpreter, two of the three were for a time in Spanish hospitals, covered with small-pox. Of the three, although we were together until they were taken ill, I was the only one who escaped contagion.

If these other men should die, they die because they tried to find out the truth. Is it likely, having risked such a price for it that they would lie about what they have seen?

They could have invented stories of famine and disease in Havana. They need not have looked for the facts where they were to be found, in the seaports and villages and fever camps. Why not listen to these men or to Stephen Bonsal, of the *New York Herald*, in whom the late President showed his confidence by appointing him to tow diplomatic missions?

Why not listen to C. E. Akers, of the *London Times*, and *Harper's Weekly*, who has held two commissions from the Queen? Why disregard a dozen other correspondents who are seeking the truth, and who urge in every letter which they write that their country should stop this destruction of a beautiful land and this butchery of harmless non-combatants?

The matter lies at the door of Congress. Each day's delay means the death of hundreds of people, every hour sees fresh blood spilled, and more houses and more acres of crops sinking into ashes. A month's delay means the loss to this world of thousands of lives, the unchecked growth of terrible diseases, and the spreading devastation of a great plague.

It would be an insult to urge political reasons, or the sure approval of the American people which the act of interference would bring, or any other unworthy motive. No European power dare interfere, and it lies with the United States and with her people to give the signal. If it is given now it will save thousands of innocent lives; if it is delayed just that many people will perish.

Source: Richard Harding Davis, *Cuba in War Time* (New York: R. H. Russell, 1898).

31. Clara Barton, Descriptions of Conditions in Cuba and Correspondence Concerning the American Red Cross in Cuba before the War, 1898 [Excerpt]

Introduction

In 1864, the Red Cross was founded in Geneva, Switzerland, with the signing of the "Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded in Armies in the Field." The convention conferred neutral status on field hospitals and ambulances as well as medical personnel and equipment. It established a red cross on a white background as the symbol of neutrality, to be marked

on ambulances or worn as armbands. Clara Barton, the tireless volunteer in service of the American Civil War wounded, founded the American Red Cross in 1881 and served as its president until 1904. At her urging, the United States signed on to the Geneva Convention in 1882. During the Cuban War of Independence, Barton—now in her late seventies—received permission from Spain, also a party to the Geneva Convention, to enter Cuba and distribute food to the starving *reconcentrados* (inmates of concentration camps). She did so in February 1898 but was called upon to withdraw as war between the United States and Spain became imminent. In May 1898, Barton wrote to the admiral commanding the U.S. blockade for permission to bring more food into Cuba. Admiral William T. Sampson denied permission on the grounds that the food would fall into the hands of Spanish troops. The Barton-Sampson correspondence and Barton's description of the starving are excerpted here.

Primary Source

S. S. "STATE OF TEXAS," May 2, 1898.

ADMIRAL WILLIAM T. SAMPSON, U. S. N.,

Commanding fleet before Havana:

ADMIRAL: But for the introduction kindly proffered by our mutual acquaintance, Captain Harrington, I should scarcely presume to address you. He will have made known to you the subject which I desire to bring to your gracious consideration.

Papers forwarded by direction of our government will have shown the charge entrusted to me, viz: To get food to the starving people of Cuba. I have with me a cargo of fourteen hundred tons, under the flag of the Red Cross, the one international emblem of neutrality and humanity known to civilization. Spain knows and regards it.

Fourteen months ago, the entire Spanish Government at Madrid cabled me permission to take to, and distribute food to the suffering people in Cuba. This official permission was broadly published; if read by our people, no response was made, no action taken until two months ago, when under the humane and gracious call of our honored President, I did go, and distributed food unmolested anywhere on the island, until arrangements were made by our government for all American citizens to leave Cuba. Persons must now be dying there by the hundreds if not thousands daily, for the want of the food we are shutting out. Will not the world hold us accountable? Will history write us blameless? Will it not be said of us that we completed the scheme of extermination commenced by Weyler? I fear the mutterings are already in the air.

Fortunately, I know the Spanish authorities in Cuba, Captain-General Blanco and his assistants. We parted with perfect friendli-

ness. They do not regard me as an American merely, but as the national representative of an international treaty to which themselves are signatory and under which they act. I believe they would receive and confer with me, if such a thing were made possible.

I would like to ask Spanish permission and protection to land and distribute the food now on the "State of Texas." Could I be permitted to ask to see them under flag of truce? If we make the effort and are refused, the blame rests with them; if we fail to make it, it rests with us. I hold it good statesmanship to at least divide the responsibility. I am told that some days must elapse before our troops can be in position to reach and feed this starving people. Our food and our force are here, ready to commence at once.

With assurances of highest regard, I am, Admiral,

Very respectfully yours,

CLARA BARTON.

On the same day, Admiral Sampson, in his reply, pointed out why, as commander of the blockading squadron, his instructions would not permit him to admit food into Cuba at that time.

U. S. FLAGSHIP "NEW YORK," FIRST RATE.

KEY WEST, FLORIDA, May 2, 1898.

Miss Clara Barton,
President, American National Red Cross, Key West, Fla.:

DEAR MADAM: I have received, through the senior naval officer present, a copy of a letter from the State Department to the Secretary of the Navy, a copy of a letter of the Secretary of the Navy to the commander-in-chief of the naval force on this station, and also a copy of a letter from the Secretary of the Navy to the commandant of the naval station at Key West.

2. From these communications it appears that the destination of the steamship "State of Texas," loaded with supplies for the starving reconcentrados in Cuba, is left, in a measure, to my judgment.

3. At present I am acting under instructions from the Navy Department to blockade the coast of Cuba for the purpose of preventing, among other things, any food supply from reaching the Spanish forces in Cuba. Under these circumstances it seems to me unwise to let a ship-load of such supplies be sent to the reconcentrados, for, in my opinion, they would be distributed to the Spanish army. Until some point be occupied in Cuba by our forces, from which such distribution may be made to those for whom the supplies are intended, I am unwilling that they should be landed on Cuban soil.

Yours, very respectfully,

W. T. SAMPSON, *Rear Admiral, U. S. Navy, Commander-in-Chief U.S. Naval Force, North Atlantic Station*

[...]

Cuba and the Cuban Campaign

We had scarcely returned from Armenia when paragraphs began to appear in the press from all sections of the country, connecting the Red Cross with some undefined method of relief for Cuba. These intimations were both ominous and portentous for the future, something from which we instinctively shrunk and remained perfectly quiet. "The murmurs grew to clamors loud," and, I regret to say, not always quite kind. There were evidently two Richmonds in the field, the one ardently craving food alone, simply food for the dying. The other wanting food and arms. They might have properly been classed under two distinct heads. The one, merely the friends of humanity in its simple sense; the other, friends of humanity also, but what seemed to them a broader and deeper sense, far more complex. They sought to remove a cause as well as an effect, and the muffled cry of "Cuba Libre" became their watchword. Naturally, any general movement by the people in favor of the former must have the effect to diminish the contributions of the latter, too small at best for their purpose, and must be wisely discouraged. Thus, whenever an unsuspecting movement was set on foot by some good-hearted, unsophisticated body of people, and began to gain favor with the public and the press, immediately would appear most convincing counter paragraphs to the effect that it would be useless to send relief, especially by the Red Cross:

First, it would not be permitted to land.

Next, whatever it took would be either seized outright, or "wheeled" out of hand by the Spanish authorities in Havana.

That the Spaniards would be only too glad to have the United States send food and money for the use of Havana.

Again, that the Red Cross being international, would affiliate with Spain, and ignore the "Cuban Red Cross" already working there and here. As if poor Cuba, with no national government or treaty-making power, could have a legitimate Red Cross that other nations could recognize or work with.

That doubtless the American Red Cross, flushed with victory in Armenia, would be only too glad to enter on another campaign, direct another field, and handle its donations. Tired, heart-sore and needing rest, we were compelled to read columns of such reports, and understanding that it was not without its political side and might increase to proportions dangerous to the good name of the Red Cross, we felt compelled to take steps in self-protection. Accordingly through the proper official authorities of both nations, we addressed to the government of Spain at Madrid a request for

royal permission for the American Red Cross to enter Cuba and distribute, unmolested, among its starving reconcentrado population such relief as the people of America desired to send.

This communication brought back from Spain perhaps the most courteous assent and permission ever vouchsafed by a proud government to an individual request, especially when that request was in its very nature a rebuke to the methods of the government receiving it. Not only was permission granted by the crown, the government, the Captain-General at Cuba, and the Queen Regent, but to the assent of the latter were added her majesty's gracious thanks for the kindly thought.

This cablegram was published broadcast through the Associated and United Presses in its exact text, with all official signatures duly appended, and over my signature the statement that the American Red Cross was ready to enter upon the relief of the starving Cubans whenever the people of the United States should place at its disposal a sum in money or material sufficient to warrant a commencement of the work.

Strange to say, so sensational had the tone of our press become, so warped the judgment, so vitiated the taste of its readers, that in the hurried scramble between headlines and the waste basket they failed to discriminate between this announcement of clear, true official relations on the part of a government, with a body which it held sufficiently responsible to deal with officially, and the sensational guess of some representative of the press.

It will seem a little singular to any one who should ever take the time to coolly read this account (if such there be), that in response to this announcement not one dollar or one pound ever came or was offered, and the cry for "starving Cuba" still went on as if no door had been opened. Had the nation gone mad, or what *had* happened to it?

[. . .]

Havana

"We reached Havana February 9, five weeks ago, and in all the newness of a strange country, with oriental customs, commenced our work."

The above entry I find in my diary. In speaking of conditions as found, let me pray that no word shall be taken as a criticism upon any person or people. Dreadful as these conditions were, and rife as hunger, starvation and death were on every hand, we were constantly amazed at the continued charities as manifested in the cities, and small, poor villages of a people so over-run with numbers, want and woe for mouths, running into years; with all business, all remuneration, all income stopped, killed as dead as the poor, stark forms around them, it was wonderful that they still

kept up their organizations, municipal and religious, and gave not of their abundance, but of their penury; that still a little ration of food went out to the dens of woe. That the wardrobe was again and again parceled out; that the famishing mother divided her little morsel with another mother's hungry child; that two men sat down to one crust, and that the Spanish soldier shared, as often seen, the loaf—his own half ration—with the eager-eyed skeleton reconcentrado, watching him as he ate. In another instance the recognition might have been less kind it is true, for war is war, and all humanity are not humane.

The work was commenced in earnest. I still turn the pages of the diary, which says: "We were called on deck to look at Mono Castle, which, grim and dark in the bright morning sunlight, skirts the bay like a frowning ogre."

We were met at the dock and driven to Hotel Inglaterra, where letters of welcome awaited us. After paying our official respects, our first business was to meet the committees appointed for the distribution of food. We found them pleasant gentlemen. We were notified of the arrival of the steamship "Vigilancia," with fifty tons of supplies, sent by the New York Committee; took carriage and drove to the dock. It was a glad sight to see her anchors dropping down into the soil of that starved spot of the earth. We boarded her, met the gentlemanly officers, and saw the goods being put on the lighters. This was the largest quantity of supplies that had yet arrived by any one steamship. In returning to land, we threaded our way through the transports and yachts—among the latter the "New York Journal," that had just taken Julian Hawthorne across from Key West—the grandest of all, the polished, shining battleship "Maine." She towered above them like a monarch, or rather like an elegant visitor whom all the household felt bound to respect. On landing, we resumed our carriage and drove to Los Fosos, a large, long building filled with reconcentrados,—over four hundred women and children in the most pitiable condition possible for human beings to be in, and live; and they did not live, for the death record counted them out a dozen or more every twenty-four hours, and the grim, terrible pile of rude black coffins that confronted one at the very doorway, told to each famishing applicant on her entrance what her exit was likely to be.

We went from room to room, each filled to repletion—not a dozen beds in all. Some of the inmates could walk, as many could not,—lying on the floors in their filth—some mere skeletons; others swollen of all human shape. Death-pallid mothers, lying with glazing eyes, and a famishing babe clutching at a milkless breast. Let me attempt no further description. The massacres of Armenia seemed merciful in comparison.

We went our rounds, and sought the open air; drove to another building of like character, but in a little better condition—one hun-

dred and fifty-six inmates. These persons had been recommended by someone, who paid a little for each, and thus kept them from daily starvation. From here to the third building (the Casino), of about an equal number, still a little better off.

From here to the fourth building (La Yocabo)—two hundred and fifty persons, the best of the reconcentrados. The sisters of charity had recently taken hold of these, and cleanliness and order commenced to appear. The children had books, were being taught, and rooms were fitted out for some kind of industrial training. This place seemed like heaven in comparison.

From here to the fifth building, a distributing house, where American rations were given out on Sundays to great crowds of people who thronged the streets.

[...]

Leaving Havana

It is needless to say that the strong talk went on—well or ill, wise or unwise, welcome or unwelcome—it went on. Evidently the blockade was near at hand and a declaration of war liable to follow. What should one do but to ask counsel of all within reach? I have given the result of my interview with the Spanish authorities; cabling to American authorities brings the answer, “The consul should know best. Take no chances.” Reference to the consul brings the kindly reply, “I am going myself.” The order was for all American citizens to leave Havana, and the order was obeyed, but not without having laid the matter formally in counsel before my staff of assistants and taking their opinion and advice, which was to the effect that while personally they would prefer to remain for the chance of the little good that might be accomplished, in view of the distress which we should give our friends at home, and, in fact, the whole country, when it should be known that we were inside that wall of fire that would confront us, with no way of extricating or reaching us, it seemed both wiser and more humane to leave. And the ninth of April saw us again on shipboard, a party of twenty, bound for Tampa. We would not, however, go beyond, but made headquarters there, remaining within easy call of any need there might be for us. Here follow the few weeks of impending war. Do we need to live them over? Do we even want to recall them? Days when the elder men of thought and memory pondered deeply and questioned much! When the mother, patriot though she were, uttered her sentiments through choking voice and tender, trembling words, and the young men, caring nothing, fearing nothing, rushed gallantly on to doom and to death! To how many households, alas, these days recall themselves in tones never to be forgotten!

Source: Clara Barton, *The Red Cross in Peace and War* (Meriden, CT: Journal Publishing Co., 1912), 370–373, 514–515, 520–521, 549.

32. Prewar Diplomatic Correspondence, April 1898

Introduction

President William McKinley hoped to resolve the Cuban conflict without resorting to war. However, the press and the public favored war to oust Spain from Cuba. As war fever spread, the February 15 explosion of the *Maine* and resulting public outrage made it difficult for McKinley to take a stand against war. In March McKinley asked for and received a \$50 million defense appropriation, while in Spain the U.S. ambassador issued an ultimatum demanding an armistice in Cuba, an end to the concentration camps, and eventual Cuban independence. Spain also wished to avoid war but stopped short of offering independence to Cuba. In early April, Spain’s queen regent declared a cease-fire in Cuba, ended the reconcentration system, and invited the insurgents to negotiate the terms of a political system that would grant some autonomy but not independence. The U.S. ambassador to Spain wrote to President McKinley expressing his hope that this Spanish concession would lead to a peaceful resolution and reminding the president not to humiliate the Spanish at this delicate juncture. However, the U.S. secretary of state replied that the president would convey the latest developments to Congress but did not expect to influence its actions. Thus, the momentum toward war would not be arrested.

Primary Source

Mr. Woodford to the President (telegram)
Madrid, April 5, 1898

Should the Queen proclaim the following before 12 o’clock noon of Wednesday, April 6, will you sustain the Queen and can you prevent hostile action taken by Congress?

At the request of the Holy Father, in this Passion Week and in the name of Christ, I proclaim immediate and unconditional suspension of hostilities in the island of Cuba.

This suspension is to become immediately effective so soon as accepted by the insurgents in that island, and is to continue for the space of six months, to the 5th day of October, eighteen ninety-eight.

I do this to give time for passions to cease, and in the sincere hope and belief that during this suspension permanent and honorable peace may be obtained between the insular government of Cuba and those of my subjects in that island who are now in rebellion against the authority of Spain.

I pray the blessing of Heaven upon this Truce of God, which I now declare in His name and with the sanction of the Holy Father of all Christendom.

April 5, 1898.

Please read this in the light of all my previous telegrams and letters. I believe that this means peace, which the sober judgment of our people will approve long before next November, and which must be approved at the bar of final history.

I permit the papal nuncio to read this telegram, upon my own responsibility and without committing you in any manner. I dare not reject this last chance for peace. I will show your reply to the Queen in person, and I believe that you will approve this last conscientious effort for peace.

Tuesday afternoon, 3.
WOODFORD.

Mr. Day to Mr. Woodford. (telegram)
DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 5, 1898–12 midnight.

The President highly appreciates the Queen's desire for peace. He can not assume to influence the action of the American Congress beyond a discharge of his constitutional duty in transmitting the whole matter to them with such recommendation as he deems necessary and expedient.

The repose and welfare of the American people require restoration of peace and stable government in Cuba. If armistice is offered by the Government of Spain the President will communicate that fact to Congress.

The President's message will go to Congress to-morrow. It will recount the conditions in Cuba; the injurious effect upon our people; the character and condition of the conflict, and the apparent hopelessness of the strife. He will not advise the recognition of the independence of the insurgents, but will recommend measures looking to the cessation of hostilities, the restoration of peace and stability of government in the island in the interests of humanity, and for the safety and tranquillity of our own country.

Tuesday night, 12.
DAY.

Mr. Woodford to Mr. Day.
LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Madrid, April 9, 1898.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that I have just telegraphed you in cipher as follows:

MADRID, April 9, 1898.

Assistant Secretary DAY, Washington:

Am just informed that armistice has been granted and that Spanish Government has communicated directly with the President. Please keep me fully advised.

WOODFORD.

As I was dictating this dispatch I was sent for by the Spanish minister of foreign affairs. He told me that the Spanish Government had

this day decided to grant an armistice in Cuba, at the request of the Pope and in deference to the wishes and advice of the representatives of the six great European powers; that the Spanish minister in Washington had been instructed to notify our Department of State, and that authority to proclaim the armistice had been cabled to the Captain General in Cuba. He handed me written memorandum in Spanish stating officially the action of the Spanish Government.

I have at once telegraphed you in cipher as follows:

MADRID, April 9, 1898.

Assistant Secretary DAY, Washington:

Spanish minister for foreign affairs has just sent for me. The representatives of the European powers called upon him this morning and advised acquiescence in Pope's request for an armistice. Armistice has been granted. Spanish minister in Washington instructed to notify our Department of State and yourself. Authority has been cabled to General Blanco to proclaim armistice. I send verbatim memorandum just handed me by Spanish minister for foreign affairs, as follows:

"In view of the earnest and repeated request of His Holiness, supported resolutely by declarations and friendly counsels of the representatives of the six great European powers, who formulated them this morning in a collective visit to the minister of state, as corollary of the efforts of their Governments in Washington, the Spanish Government has resolved to inform the Holy Father that on this date it directs the general-in-chief of the army in Cuba to grant immediately a suspension of hostilities for such length of time as he may think prudent to prepare and facilitate the peace earnestly desired by all."

I hope that this dispatch may reach you before the President's message goes to Congress.

WOODFORD.

I will endeavor to acquaint myself fully with the inside condition of affairs here and will keep you advised.

Very respectfully,
STEWART L. WOODFORD.

Mr. Woodford to the President. (telegram)
LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Madrid, April 10, 1898.

President MCKINLEY, Washington:

My personal No. 66. In view of action of Spanish Government, as cabled Saturday, April 9, I hope that you can obtain full authority from Congress to do whatever you shall deem necessary to secure immediate and permanent peace in Cuba by negotiations, including the full power to employ the Army and Navy, according to your own judgment, to aid and enforce your action. If this be secured I believe you will get final settlement before August 1 on one

of the following bases: Either such autonomy as the insurgents may agree to accept, or recognition by Spain of the independence of the island, or cession of the island to the United States.

I hope that nothing will now be done to humiliate Spain, as I am satisfied that the present Government is going, and is loyally ready to go, as fast and as far as it can. With your power of action sufficiently free you will win the fight on your own lines. I do not expect immediate reply, but will be glad to have an early acknowledgment of receipt.

WOODFORD.

Source: U.S. Congress, *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States with the Annual Message of the President Transmitted to Congress December 5, 1898* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901), 734–735, 746–747.

33. U.S. Recognition of Cuban Independence, April 19, 1898

Introduction

President William McKinley hoped to resolve the Cuban conflict without resorting to war, but the events of early 1898—including the February explosion of the battleship *Maine*—made war virtually inevitable. In March McKinley asked for and received a \$50 million defense appropriation, while in Spain the U.S. ambassador issued an ultimatum demanding an armistice in Cuba, an end to the concentration camps, and eventual Cuban independence. Spain also wished to avoid war, and in early April Spain declared a cease-fire in Cuba, ended the reconcentration system, and offered to negotiate for home rule but not independence. Two days later, on April 11, 1898, McKinley delivered an address to the U.S. Congress asking for the authority to use whatever means necessary, including military intervention, to bring about peace and stability in Cuba. However, he recommended against recognition of Cuban independence, calling it premature and unnecessary. On April 19, 1898, Congress passed this resolution in which it recognized the independence of Cuba, called for Spain to withdraw, and authorized American military intervention. The resolution included a clause disavowing any intention of annexing Cuba. McKinley signed the resolution the following day, and declarations of war soon followed.

Primary Source

Joint Resolution for the recognition of the independence of the people of Cuba, demanding that the Government of Spain relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba, and to withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and directing the President of the United States to use the land and naval forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect.

Whereas, the abhorrent conditions which have existed for more than three years in the Island of Cuba, so near our own borders,

have shocked the moral sense of the people of the United States, have been a disgrace to Christian civilization, culminating, as they have, in the destruction of a United States battleship, with two hundred and sixty-six of its officers and crew, while on a friendly visit in the harbor of Havana, and can not longer be endured, as has been set forth by the President of the United States in his message to Congress of April eleventh, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, upon which the action of Congress was invited: Therefore,

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, First. That the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

Second. That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

Third. That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States, the militia of the several States, to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

Fourth. That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said Islands except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the Island to its people.

Source: U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record*, 54th Cong., 2nd sess., 1896.

34. William McKinley, War Message to Congress, 1898

Introduction

President William McKinley hoped to resolve the Cuban conflict without resorting to war. However, the press and the public favored war. The February 15, 1898, explosion of the *Maine* and resulting public outrage made it difficult for McKinley to take a stand against war. He was also under pressure from leading Republicans. In March McKinley asked for and received a \$50 million defense appropriation, while in Spain the U.S. ambassador issued an ultimatum demanding an armistice in Cuba, an end to the concentration camps, and eventual Cuban independence. Spain also wished to avoid war but would not grant independence to Cuba. In early April, Spain's queen regent declared a cease-fire in Cuba, ended the reconcentration system, and invited the insurgents to negotiate for home

rule but not independence. Two days later, on April 11, 1898, McKinley delivered an address to the U.S. Congress, excerpted below. In it he asked Congress for the authority to use whatever means necessary, including military intervention, to bring about peace and stability in Cuba. He made brief reference to the concessions just offered by Spain but in a way that attached little importance to them. Notably, McKinley recommended against recognition of Cuban independence, calling it premature and unnecessary.

Primary Source

The grounds for such intervention may be briefly summarized as follows:

First. In the cause of humanity and to put an end to the barbarities, bloodshed, starvation, and horrible miseries now existing there, and which the parties to the conflict are either unable or unwilling to stop or mitigate. It is no answer to say this is all in another country, belonging to another nation, and is therefore none of our business. It is specially our duty, for it is right at our door.

Second. We owe it to our citizens in Cuba to afford them that protection and indemnity for life and property which no government there can or will afford, and to that end to terminate the conditions that deprive them of legal protection.

Third. The right to intervene may be justified by the very serious injury to the commerce, trade, and business of our people and by the wanton destruction of property and devastation of the island.

Fourth, and which is of the utmost importance. The present condition of affairs in Cuba is a constant menace to our peace, and entails upon this government an enormous expense. With such a conflict waged for years in an island so near us and with which our people have such trade and business relations; when the lives and liberty of our citizens are in constant danger and their property destroyed and themselves ruined; where our trading vessels are liable to seizure and are seized at our very door by warships of a foreign nation; the expeditions of filibustering [freebooting] that we are powerless to prevent altogether, and the irritating questions and entanglements thus arising—all these and others that I need not mention, with the resulting strained relations, are a constant menace to our peace and compel us to keep on a semi-war footing with a nation with which we are at peace.

These elements of danger and disorder already pointed out have been strikingly illustrated by a tragic event which has deeply and justly moved the American people. I have already transmitted to Congress the report of the Naval Court of Inquiry on the destruction of the battleship *Maine* in the harbor of Havana during the night of the 15th of February. The destruction of that noble vessel has filled the national heart with inexpressible horror. Two hundred and

fifty-eight brave sailors and marines and two officers of our Navy, reposing in the fancied security of a friendly harbor, have been hurled to death, [and] grief and want brought to their homes and sorrow to the nation.

The Naval Court of Inquiry, which, it is needless to say, commands the unqualified confidence of the government, was unanimous in its conclusion that the destruction of the *Maine* was caused by an exterior explosion—that of a submarine mine. It did not assume to place the responsibility. That remains to be fixed.

In any event, the destruction of the *Maine*, by whatever exterior cause, is a patent and impressive proof of a state of things in Cuba that is intolerable. That condition is thus shown to be such that the Spanish government cannot assure safety and security to a vessel of the American Navy in the harbor of Havana on a mission of peace, and rightfully there. . . .

The long trial has proved that the object for which Spain has waged the war cannot be attained. The fire of insurrection may flame or may smolder with varying seasons, but it has not been, and it is plain that it cannot be, extinguished by present methods. The only hope of relief and repose from a condition which can no longer be endured is the enforced pacification of Cuba. In the name of humanity in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests which give us the right and the duty to speak and to act, the war in Cuba must stop.

The issue is now with the Congress. It is a solemn responsibility. I have exhausted every effort to relieve the intolerable condition of affairs which is at our doors. Prepared to execute every obligation imposed upon me by the Constitution and the law, I await your action.

Yesterday, and since the preparation of the foregoing message, official information was received by me that the latest decree of the Queen Regent of Spain directs General Blanco, in order to prepare and facilitate peace, to proclaim a suspension of hostilities, the duration and details of which have not yet been communicated to me.

This fact, with every other pertinent consideration, will, I am sure, have your just and careful attention in the solemn deliberations upon which you are about to enter. If this measure attains a successful result, then our aspirations as a Christian, peace-loving people will be realized. If it fails, it will be only another justification for our contemplated action.

Source: Platform of the American Anti-Imperialist League, in *Speeches, Correspondence, and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. 6, edited by Frederick Bancroft (New York: Putnam, 1913), 77n1.

35. Diplomatic Correspondence and U.S. State Department Circular Regarding Privateering, April 1898

Introduction

Privateering was a centuries-old practice that differed only slightly from piracy. It was essentially a legal form of piracy, attacking ships at sea and confiscating the vessels and their cargo. Governments licensed privateers, commanders of privately owned vessels, to attack the ships of enemy nations during times of war and thus enrich themselves. Many privateers stretched the rules by ignoring news of peace treaties and continuing to raid ships during times of peace, crossing the thin line into piracy. As independent operators, they were difficult to control. An 1856 treaty signed in Paris by several European powers—but neither Spain nor the United States—abolished privateering. When war with Spain appeared imminent, U.S. and British officials grew concerned that Spain would resort to privateering. Correspondence between the U.S. ambassador to Great Britain and the U.S. State Department reveals British concerns and American determination to shun privateering and refrain from confiscating neutral goods at sea. The U.S. State Department issued this April 15, 1898, circular to U.S. diplomats abroad in which they are instructed to keep an eye on the movements of Spanish shipping and all other suspicious vessels in foreign ports.

Primary Source

“PRIVATEERING;” “NEUTRAL SHIPS AND CARGOES;” AND TREATY (1795) WITH SPAIN.

Mr. Hay to Mr. Sherman.
No. 358. AMERICAN EMBASSY, London, April 18, 1898.

SIR: There is a good deal of discussion here, both in public and in private, in relation to the effect upon the rights and interests of neutrals at sea of hostilities between the United States and Spain. I sent you on the 16th of April, in my dispatch No. 356, a letter addressed to the *Times* by Sir George Baden-Powell, a prominent representative of the shipping interests of England in the House of Commons, in which he proposed, in the event of either belligerent employing privateers, to treat such vessels as pirates. This proposition has been met, as was natural to expect, by earnest protests on every hand. I inclose herewith two letters taken from the *Times* of this morning, one written by Prof. T. E. Holland and the other by Sir Sherston Baker, both gentlemen of much authority on international law. In the first of these letters the proposal of Sir George Baden-Powell is characterized as “an inadmissible atrocity,” and in the second as “an uncivilized act, subversive of one of the clearest and best defined rules of international law.” I also inclose a leading article from the *Times* referring to these letters and intimating that the action of the belligerents may be influenced by a timely assertion by the neutral powers of the rights enjoyed by them since 1856.

I may add that I received yesterday a visit from a member of Parliament, who is greatly interested in matters of maritime law, who most earnestly expressed the hope that the United States would not, in the present juncture, adhere to the treaty of Paris and thus tie their hands permanently from the employment of privateers, a step which he thought was a great mistake of the part of Great Britain in 1856. We might of course, for sufficient reasons, waive our right to fit out privateers, and our equally undoubted rights of visitation and search without entering into any engagement which should make such waiver binding against us in the future.

I have, etc., JOHN HAY.

Mr. Sherman to Mr. Hay.

[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 23, 1898.

In the event of hostilities between United States and Spain, the policy of this Government will be not to resort to privateering, but to adhere to the following recognized rules of international law: First, the neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war; second, neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under the enemy's flag; and, third, blockades in order to be binding must be effective. SHERMAN.

CIRCULARS TO THE UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD.—WAR WITH SPAIN.

[Circular—Confidential.]
DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 15, 1898.

SIR: I append for your information copy of a circular instruction sent to-day to the United States consuls in maritime ports, directing them to watch and report the movements of Spanish ships of war and of all suspicious vessels.

Inasmuch as Spain has not adhered to the first article of the declaration subscribed by the signatories of the treaty of Paris of 1856, by which privateering was abolished, there may be reason to apprehend that, in the event of the present strained situation between the United States and Spain resulting in war, the Spanish Government may endeavor to resort to privateering as a means of increasing its offensive sea power. The inclosed instruction has especial reference to this contingency. It is expected that the vigilance of the consular officers will, the case arising, be efficiently supplemented by your own instant action in notifying the Government to which you are accredited of any information you may re-

ceive showing or reasonably suggesting that any vessel in a port of that country is being, or is proposed to be, fitted out for service as a privateer against the United States; and in such case you will ask that due diligence be employed to prevent any infringement of international law or of the laws of neutrality. Should the facts reported to you by the consul appear to require further evidence to support a remonstrance on your part, you will at once instruct the consul, by telegraph if need be, as to his duty in the premises. In the event of any action by you in the sense of this instruction becoming necessary, you will fully advise the Department, using the telegraph if the matter be urgent or important.

Respectfully yours, JOHN SHERMAN.
(To all United States legations abroad.)

Source: U.S. Congress, *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States with the Annual Message of the President Transmitted to Congress December 5, 1898* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901), 970–971, 1169.

36. William McKinley, Blockade Proclamation and Call for Volunteers, April 22–23, 1898

Introduction

President William McKinley hoped to resolve the Cuban conflict without resorting to war, but the events of early 1898—including the February explosion of the battleship *Maine*—made war virtually inevitable. In March McKinley asked for and received a \$50 million defense appropriation, while in Spain the U.S. ambassador issued an ultimatum demanding an armistice in Cuba, an end to the concentration camps, and eventual Cuban independence. Spain also wished to avoid war and in early April declared a cease-fire in Cuba and ended the reconcentration system but did not commit to Cuban independence. Two days later, on April 11, 1898, McKinley delivered an address to the U.S. Congress asking for the authority to use whatever means necessary, including military intervention, to bring about peace and stability in Cuba. On April 19, 1898, Congress passed a resolution recognizing Cuban independence, calling for Spain to withdraw, and authorizing American military intervention. McKinley signed the resolution the following day, and Spain responded by severing diplomatic relations. On April 22, McKinley imposed a blockade on Cuban ports and the following day issued a call for 125,000 volunteers.

Primary Source

WAR WITH SPAIN.

Blockade of Cuban ports.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, by a joint resolution passed by the Congress and approved April 20, 1898, and communicated to the Government of Spain, it was demanded that said Government at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters; and the President of the United States was directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States to such extent as might be necessary to carry said resolution into effect; and

Whereas, in carrying into effect said resolution, the President of the United States deems it necessary to set on foot and maintain a blockade of the north coast of Cuba, including all ports on said coast between Cardenas and Bahia Honda and the port of Cienfuegos on the south coast of Cuba:

Now, therefore, I, William McKinley, President of the United States, in order to enforce the said resolution, do hereby declare and proclaim that the United States of America have instituted and will maintain a blockade of the north coast of Cuba, including ports on said coast between Cardenas and Bahia Honda and the port of Cienfuegos on the south coast of Cuba, aforesaid, in pursuance of the laws of the United States and the law of nations applicable to such cases. An efficient force will be posted so as to prevent the entrance and exit of vessels from the ports aforesaid. Any neutral vessel approaching any of said ports, or attempting to leave the same, without notice or knowledge of the establishment of such blockade, will be duly warned by the commander of the blockading forces, who will indorse on her register the fact, and the date, of such warning, where such indorsement was made; and if the same vessel shall again attempt to enter any blockaded port, she will be captured and sent to the nearest convenient port for such proceedings against her and her cargo as prize, as may be deemed advisable.

Neutral vessels lying in any of said ports at the time of the establishment of such blockade will be allowed thirty days to issue therefrom.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this 22d day of April, A. D. 1898, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and twenty-second.

[SEAL.] WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

By the President:
JOHN SHERMAN,
Secretary of State.

Call for volunteers—Spain.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas a joint resolution of Congress was approved on the twentieth day of April, 1898, entitled "Joint resolution for the recognition of the independence of the people of Cuba, demanding that the Government of Spain relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and to withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and directing the President of the United States to use the land and naval forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect;" and

Whereas, by an act of Congress entitled "An act to provide for temporarily increasing the military establishment of the United States in time of war, and for other purposes," approved April 22, 1898, the President is authorized, in order to raise a volunteer army, to issue his proclamation calling for volunteers to serve in the Army of the United States:

Now, therefore, I, William McKinley, President of the United States; by virtue of the power vested in me by the Constitution and the laws, and deeming sufficient occasion to exist, have thought fit to call forth, and hereby do call forth, volunteers to the aggregate number of 125,000, in order to carry into effect the purpose of the said resolution; the same to be apportioned, as far as practicable, among the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia, according to population, and to serve for two years, unless sooner discharged. The details for this object will be immediately communicated to the proper authorities through the War Department.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-third day of April, A. D. 1898, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and twenty-second.

[SEAL.] WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

By the President:
JOHN SHERMAN,
Secretary of State.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America:

I transmit to the Congress, for its consideration and appropriate action, copies of correspondence recently had with the representative of Spain in the United States, with the United States minister at Madrid, and through the latter with the Government of Spain, showing the action taken under the joint resolution approved April 20, 1898, "for the recognition of the independence of the people of Cuba, demanding that the Government of Spain relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and to withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and directing the President of the United States to use the land and naval forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect."

Upon communicating to the Spanish minister in Washington the demand which it became the duty of the Executive to address to the Government of Spain in obedience to said resolution, the minister asked for his passports and withdrew. The United States minister at Madrid was in turn notified by the Spanish minister for foreign affairs that the withdrawal of the Spanish representative from the United States had terminated diplomatic relations between the two countries, and that all official communications between their respective representatives ceased therewith.

I commend to your especial attention the note addressed to the United States minister at Madrid by the Spanish minister for foreign affairs on the 21st instant, whereby the foregoing notification was conveyed. It will be perceived therefrom that the Government of Spain, having cognizance of the joint resolution of the United States Congress, and in view of the things which the President is thereby required and authorized to do, responds by treating the reasonable demands of this Government as measures of hostility, following with that instant and complete severance of relations by its action which by the usage of nations accompanies an existent state of war between sovereign powers.

The position of Spain being thus made known and the demands of the United States being denied with a complete rupture of intercourse by the act of Spain, I have been constrained, in exercise of the power and authority conferred upon me by the joint resolution aforesaid, to proclaim under date of April 22, 1898, a blockade of certain ports of the north coast of Cuba, lying between Cardenas and Bahia Honda and of the port of Cienfuegos on the south coast of Cuba; and further, in exercise of my constitutional powers and using the authority conferred upon me by the act of Congress approved April 22, 1898, to issue my proclamation, dated April 23, 1898, calling forth volunteers in order to carry into effect the said resolution of April 20, 1898. Copies of these proclamations are hereto appended.

In view of the measures so taken, and with a view to the adoption of such other measures as may be necessary to enable me to carry out the expressed will of the Congress of the United States in the premises, I now recommend to your honorable body the adoption of a joint resolution declaring that a state of war exists between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Spain, and I urge speedy action thereon, to the end that the definition of the international status of the United States as a belligerent power may be made known, and the assertion of all its rights and the maintenance of all its duties in the conduct of a public war may be assured.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY
Executive Mansion, Washington
April 25, 1898.

Source: U.S. Congress, *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States with the Annual Message of the President Transmitted to Congress December 5, 1898* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901), 769–772.

37. Official Correspondence Severing U.S.–Spanish Diplomatic Relations, April 1898

Introduction

On April 19, 1898, Congress passed a resolution in which it recognized the independence of Cuba, called for Spain to withdraw from Cuba and Cuban waters, and authorized American military intervention. President William McKinley signed the resolution the following day, and declarations of war soon followed. Even before the declarations of war had been issued, the passage of the resolution triggered the highly formalized process of severing diplomatic relations between the United States and Spain. This began with a diplomatic exchange of the most politely worded letters filled with expressions of mutual esteem and regret. The Spanish ambassador to the United States and the U.S. ambassador to Spain each requested so-called passports—which were actually official notices conferring safe passage—so that they could immediately leave the host nation. The U.S. secretary of state appointed a guard to protect Spain's ambassador until he left the country. The last official act of the U.S. ambassador to Spain, before heading to the French border, was to remove the U.S. seal from the embassy gate. Each consulate entrusted its property and representation of its interests to another nation's consulate. In Spain, Great Britain took over for the United States, and in the United States, France and Austria-Hungary jointly took over for Spain.

Primary Source

MADRID, April 20, 1898.

BOWEN, Consul-General, Barcelona:

Prepare for withdrawal from Spain. Notify consuls to be ready to leave at once. If any consul believes himself in immediate danger he is authorized to quietly leave at his discretion.

WOODFORD.

MADRID, April 10, 1898.

DAY, Assistant Secretary, Washington:

Have received telegram of Tuesday morning. Am prepared to withdraw. Have notified consuls to be ready.

WOODFORD.

Mr. Sherman to Señor Polo de Bernabé.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, April 20, 1898.

SIR: I have the honor to communicate to you a copy of an instruction sent this day to the United States minister at Madrid, by telegraph, in obedience to a joint resolution of the Congress of the

United States of America in relation to the pacification of the island of Cuba, approved this day, of which a copy is hereto annexed.

I avail myself of this opportunity to repeat to you the assurances of my highest consideration.

JOHN SHERMAN.

[Inclosure.]

Mr. Sherman to Mr. Woodford.

[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, April 20, 1898.

You have been furnished with the text of a joint resolution voted by the Congress of the United States on the 19th instant (approved today) in relation to the pacification of the island of Cuba. In obedience to that act, the President directs you to immediately communicate to the Government of Spain said resolution, with the formal demand of the Government of the United States that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba and Cuban waters. In taking this step the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people under such free and independent government as they may establish.

If, by the hour of noon on Saturday next, the 23d day of April, instant, there be not communicated to this Government by that of Spain a full and satisfactory response to this demand and resolution, whereby the ends of peace in Cuba shall be assured the President will proceed without further notice to use the power and authority enjoined and conferred upon him by the said joint resolution to such extent as may be necessary to carry the same into effect.

JOINT RESOLUTION For the recognition of the independence of the people of Cuba, demanding that the Government of Spain relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba, and to withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and directing the President of the United States to use the land and naval forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled First That the people of the Island of Cuba are and of right ought to be, free and independent.

Second. That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

Third. That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces

of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

Fourth. That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said Island except for the pacification thereof and asserts its determination when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the Island to its people.

Approved, April 20, 1898.

Señor Polo de Bernabé to Mr. Sherman.

[Translation.]

LEGATION OF SPAIN AT WASHINGTON,
Washington, April 20, 1898. (Received 11.35 a. m.)

MR. SECRETARY: The resolution adopted by the Congress of the United States of America, and approved to-day by the President, is of such a nature that my continuance in Washington becomes impossible and obliges me to request you the delivery of my passports.

The protection of Spanish interests will be intrusted to the French ambassador and to the Austro Hungarian minister.

On this occasion, very painful to me, I have, etc.

LUIS POLO DE BERNABÉ.

Mr. Sherman to Señor Polo de Bernabé.
DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 20, 1898.

MR. MINISTER: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of this day's date, in which you state that the resolution adopted by the Congress of the United States of America, and to day approved by the President, is of such a nature as to make your continuance in Washington impossible and constrains you to request that your passports be given you. You add that the protection of Spanish interests is intrusted to the ambassador of France and the minister of Austria-Hungary.

In response to your request I have the honor to hand you a passport for yourself, your family, and your suite. I beg also to inform you that arrangements have been made for a guard to attend you during your presence in the territory of the United States.

Sincerely regretting the step that you have felt constrained to take, I avail myself, etc.,

JOHN SHERMAN.

Copy of passport handed to Minister Polo de Bernabé.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Know ye that the bearer hereof, Señor Don Luis Polo de Bernabé, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of Spain to the United States, is about to travel abroad, accompanied by his family and suite.

These are therefore to request all officers of the United States, or of any State thereof, whom it may concern, to permit them to pass freely, without let or molestation, and to extend to them friendly aid and protection in case of need.

In testimony whereof I, John Sherman Secretary of State of the United States of America, have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed, at Washington, this 20th day of April, A. D. 1898, and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and twenty-second.

[SEAL] JOHN SHERMAN.

Mr. Sherman to Mr. Woodford.
[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 20, 1898.

Señor Polo de Bernabé, Spanish minister to the United States, upon being informed shortly before noon to-day of the action of this Government taken in pursuance of the resolutions of Congress of April 19, 1898, has asked for his passports. In compliance with his request passports for himself, his family, and suite have been handed him, with assurances of safety while within the territory of the United States.

Unless previously handed your passports, you will be expected to remain near the Court of Spain till Saturday noon of this week, and unless by that day and hour some communication is received from the Government of Spain which you deem will be satisfactory to this Government you are to ask for your passports and safe conduct.

SHERMAN.

Mr. Woodford to Mr. Sherman.
[Telegram.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Madrid, April 21, 1898 (Received 9.02 a. m.)

Early this (Saturday) morning, immediately after the receipt of your open telegram and before I had communicated same to Spanish Government, Spanish minister for foreign affairs notified me that diplomatic relations are broken between the two countries and that all official communication between their respective representatives have ceased. I accordingly asked for safe passport. Turn legation over to British embassy and leave for Paris this afternoon. Have notified consuls.

Mr. Woodford to Mr. Sherman.
[Telegram.]
LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Madrid, April 21, 1898.

Following is text of official note received this morning at 7.30 o'clock from Spanish minister of state:

In compliance with a painful duty, I have the honor to inform your excellency that, the President having approved a resolution of both Chambers of the United States which, in denying the legitimate sovereignty of Spain and in threatening armed intervention in Cuba, is equivalent to an evident declaration of war, the Government of His Majesty has ordered its minister in Washington to withdraw without loss of time from the North American territory with all the personnel of the legation. By this act the diplomatic relations which previously existed between the two countries are broken off, all official communication between their respective representatives ceasing, and I hasten to communicate this to your excellency in order that on your part you may make such dispositions as seem suitable.

I beg your excellency to kindly acknowledge the receipt of this note, and I avail myself, etc.

WOODFORD.

Mr. Woodford to Mr. Sherman.

[Telegram.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Madrid, April 21, 1898.

Following is text of my reply to official note received this morning at 7.30 o'clock from Spanish minister of state:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt this morning of your note of this date informing me that the Spanish minister at Washington has been ordered to withdraw with all his legation and without loss of time from North American territory. You also inform me that by this act diplomatic relations between the two countries are broken off; that all official communication between their respective representatives ceases. I have accordingly this day telegraphed the American consul-general at Barcelona to instruct all the consular representatives of the United States in Spain to turn their respective consulates over to the British consuls and to leave Spain at once. I have myself turned this legation over to Her Britannic Majesty's embassy at Madrid. That embassy will from this time have the care of all American interests in Spain. I now request passports and safe conduct to the French frontier for myself and the personnel of this legation. I intend leaving this afternoon at 4 o'clock for Paris. I avail myself, etc.

WOODFORD.

Mr. Woodford to Mr. Sherman.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Madrid, April 21, 1898.

SIR: I have the honor to report that I have this morning telegraphed to the consul-general at Barcelona that Spanish Government have broken off diplomatic relations and instructing him and all our consular officers to turn their respective consulates over at once to British consuls and then to leave Spain.

I read to Mi Barclay, the British chargé d'affaires in Madrid, the note which I had received from the Spanish minister of foreign affairs this morning, and said:

This communication breaks diplomatic relations between Spain and the United States. It now becomes my duty, in obedience to the instructions of my Government, to place this legation and all American interests and citizens in Spain in the care of Her British Majesty's Government. I thank you personally for your own great courtesy and kindness in this matter, and I beg you to express to your Government the sincere appreciation of the Government and the people of the United States.

I then removed the United States escutcheon from the front of the legation offices. The legation, its archives, and library are now in the custody of the British embassy.

Having thus completed all arrangements, I addressed the following note to the Spanish minister of foreign affairs:

I have, etc.,

STEWART L. WOODFORD.

Mr. Woodford to Mr. Sherman.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Madrid, April 21, 1898.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt, at half past 2 o'clock this morning, April 21, of your telegram, reading as follows:

At 3 o'clock this morning, April 21, I received your second dispatch, partly open and partly in cipher, which I translate as follows:

At half past 7 this morning, April 21, I received a note from the Spanish Government, which I translated and cabled to you. I confirm such cablegram as follows:

I then took the necessary steps to turn the several consulates and this legation over to the care of Her British Majesty's Government, as reported in my dispatch No. 241 of this date. I then addressed to the Spanish minister for foreign affairs the note which I report in such dispatch 241, and telegraphed its text to you as follows:

I have informed the British charge d'affaires that my Government instructed me in case of war between Spain and the United States to furnish transportation from Spain to the United States to any poor American citizen who might be in danger in Spain and should in my judgment require such assistance, and I have asked him in behalf of my Government to exercise this discretionary

power and to draw directly upon the State Department at Washington for any funds for this purpose. I inclose copy of such letter.

I will report by cable on reaching Paris.

Very respectfully,

STEWART L. WOODFORD.

[Inclosure.]

Mr. Woodford to Mr. Barclay.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Madrid, April 21, 1898.

MY DEAR SIR: Having, by the direction of my Government and through the kind courtesy of Her British Majesty's Government, this day turned over to you the legation of the United States at Madrid, I beg to inclose the receipt for the rent of the legation offices, which has been paid to July 1 proximo. I have paid the messenger and porter to the same date. I inclose draft on Seligman Brothers of London to your order for £100, which I trust will be sufficient for any current incidental expenses to which you may be put. My Government instructed me in case of war between Spain and the United States to furnish transportation from Spain to the United States to any poor American citizen who might be in danger in Spain and should, in my judgment, require such assistance. I ask you, in behalf of my Government, to exercise this discretionary power and to draw directly upon the State Department at Washington for any funds required for this purpose.

I send copy of this letter to the American Secretary of State at Washington, and with renewed thanks for your kindness and courtesy, I am, etc.,

STEWART L. WOODFORD.

Source: U.S. Congress, *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States with the Annual Message of the President Transmitted to Congress December 5, 1898* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901), 764–769.

38. Spanish and American Declarations of War, April 23 and April 25, 1898

Introduction

President William McKinley hoped to resolve the Cuban conflict without resorting to war, but the events of early 1898—including the February explosion of the battleship *Maine*—made war virtually inevitable. In March the U.S. ambassador to Spain issued an ultimatum demanding an armistice in Cuba, an end to the concentration camps, and eventual Cuban independence. Spain also

wished to avoid war and in early April declared a cease-fire in Cuba and ended the reconcentration system but did not commit to Cuban independence. Two days later, on April 11, 1898, McKinley delivered an address to the U.S. Congress asking for the authority to use whatever means necessary, including military intervention, to bring about peace and stability in Cuba. On April 19, 1898, Congress passed a resolution recognizing Cuba's independence, calling for Spain to withdraw, and authorizing American military intervention. McKinley signed the resolution the following day. Spain responded with a declaration of war on April 23. Spain's declaration was issued as a royal decree by Queen Regent María Cristina and detailed Spain's intentions regarding shipping, privateering, and maritime law. The United States responded with its own declaration of war two days later and made it retroactive to April 21.

Primary Source

The following is taken from the *London Gazette* of May 3, 1898, transmitted by Ambassador Hay, under date of May 4:

FOREIGN OFFICE, May 8, 1898.

The secretary of state for foreign affairs has received, through Her Majesty's embassy at Madrid, the following translation of a decree issued by the Spanish Government on the 23d of April, 1898:

ROYAL DECREE.

In accordance with the advice of my council of ministers, in the name of my son, King Alfonso XIII, and as Queen Regent of the Kingdom, I decree as follows:

ARTICLE I. The state of war existing between Spain and the United States terminates the treaty of peace and friendship of the 27th October, 1795, the protocol of the 12th January, 1877, and all other agreements, compacts, and conventions that have been in force up to the present between the two countries.

ART. II. A term of five days from the date of the publication of the present royal decree in the Madrid Gazette is allowed to all United States ships anchored in Spanish ports, during which they are at liberty to depart.

ART. III. Notwithstanding that Spain is not bound by the declaration signed in Paris on the 16th April, 1856, as she expressly stated her wish not to adhere to it, my Government, guided by the principles of international law, intends to observe and hereby orders that the following regulations for maritime law be observed:

(a) A neutral flag covers the enemy's goods, except contraband of war.

(b) Neutral goods, except contraband of war, are not liable to confiscation under the enemy's flag.

(c) A blockade to be binding must be effective; that is to say, maintained with a sufficient force to actually prevent access to the enemy's coast.

ART. IV. The Spanish Government, while maintaining their right to issue letters of marque, which they expressly reserved in their

note of the 16th May, 1857, in reply to the request of France for the adhesion of Spain to the declaration of Paris relative to maritime law, will organize for the present a service of "auxiliary cruisers of the navy," composed of ships of the Spanish mercantile navy, which will cooperate with the latter for the purposes of cruising, and which will be subject to the statutes and jurisdiction of the navy.

ART. V. In order to capture the enemy's ships, to confiscate the enemy's merchandise under their own flag, and contraband of war under any flag, the royal navy, auxiliary cruisers, and privateers, if and when the latter are authorized, will exercise the right of visit on the high seas and in the territorial waters of the enemy, in accordance with international law and any regulations which may be published for the purpose.

ART. VI. Under the denomination contraband of war the following articles are included:

Cannons, machine guns, mortars, guns, all kinds of arms and firearms, bullets, bombs, grenades, fuses, cartridges, matches, powder, sulphur, saltpeter, dynamite and every kind of explosive, articles of equipment like uniforms, straps, saddles, and artillery and cavalry harness, engines for ships and their accessories, shafts, screws, boilers, and other articles used in the construction, repair, and arming of war ships, and in general all warlike instruments, utensils, tools, and other articles, and whatever may hereafter be determined to be contraband.

ART. VII. Captains, commanders, and officers of non-American vessels or of vessels manned as to one-third by other than American citizens, captured while committing acts of war against Spain, will be treated as pirates, with all the rigor of the law, although provided with a license issued by the Republic of the United States.

ART. VIII. The minister of state and the minister of marine are charged to see the fulfillment of the present royal decree and to give the orders necessary for its execution.

MARIA CRISTINA.

MADRID, April 23, 1898.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON

April 25, 1898.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America:

I transmit to the Congress for its consideration and appropriate action, copies of correspondence recently had with the representative of Spain in the United States, with the United States minister at Madrid, and through the latter with the Government of Spain, showing the action taken under the joint resolution approved April 20, 1898, "for the recognition of the independence of the people of Cuba, demanding that the Government of Spain relinquish its authority and Government in the island of Cuba, and to withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and directing the President of the United States to use the land and naval forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect."

Upon communicating to the Spanish minister in Washington the demand which it became the duty of the Executive to address to the Government of Spain in obedience to said resolution, the minister asked for his passports and withdrew. The United States minister at Madrid was in turn notified by the Spanish minister for foreign affairs that the withdrawal of the Spanish representative from the United States had terminated diplomatic relations between the two countries, and that all official communications between their respective representatives ceased therewith.

I commend to your especial attention the note addressed to the United States minister at Madrid by the Spanish minister of foreign affairs on the 21st instant, whereby the foregoing notification was conveyed. It will be perceived therefrom that the Government of Spain, having cognizance of the joint resolution of the United States Congress, and in view of the things which the President is thereby required and authorized to do, responds by treating the reasonable demands of this Government as measures of hostility, following with that instant and complete severance of relations by its action which by the usage of nations accompanies an existent state of war between sovereign powers.

The position of Spain being thus made known, and the demands of the United States being denied, with a complete rupture of intercourse, by the act of Spain, I have been constrained, in the exercise of the power conferred upon me by the joint resolution aforesaid, to proclaim, under date of April 22, 1898, a blockade of certain ports of the north coast of Cuba, between Cardenas and Bahia Honda, and the port of Cienfuegos, on the south coast of Cuba, and to issue my proclamation dated April 23, 1898, calling forth volunteers.

I now recommend the adoption of a joint resolution declaring that a state of war exists between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Spain, that the definition of the international status of the United States as a belligerent power may be made known and the assertion of all its rights in the conduct of a public war may be assured.

DECLARATION OF WAR WITH SPAIN

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, First. That war be, and the same is hereby, declared to exist, and that war has existed since the 21st day of April, A. D. 1898, including said day, between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Spain.

Second. That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States to such extent as may be necessary to carry this act into effect.

Approved, April 25, 1898.

Source: U.S. Congress, *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States with the Annual Message of the President Transmitted to Congress December 5, 1898* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901), 774–775.

39. William R. Day, Declaration of American Intent to Adhere to the Geneva Conventions, May 14, 1898

Introduction

The Geneva Convention, also called the Red Cross Convention, is the widely used name for a series of treaties signed at Geneva, Switzerland. The full title of the first agreement, signed August 22, 1864, is "Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded in Armies in the Field." After witnessing the appalling plight of untended wounded soldiers during a battle in 1859, Swiss reformer Henri Dunant called for an international conference and founded the Red Cross in 1864. The convention conferred neutral status on field hospitals and ambulances as well as medical personnel and equipment. It established a red cross on a white background as the symbol of neutrality, to be marked on ambulances or worn as armbands. Twelve European delegates signed the convention, and other nations were invited to join them. At the urging of Clara Barton, founder of the American Red Cross, the United States signed on to the Geneva Convention in 1882. At the start of the Spanish-American War, the U.S. State Department announced American adherence to proposed new articles to the convention. The new articles extended protection to the treatment of wounded combatants at sea, but they had not yet been widely ratified. A Swiss diplomat called on both the United States and Spain to honor them.

Primary Source

Geneva Convention (Red Cross)—additional articles thereof as applied to naval warfare, adopted by the United States as a *modus vivendi* during present hostilities between the United States and Spain.

It is the desire and purpose of the United States in its conduct of war to observe the most humane and enlightened principles in the treatment of the sick, wounded, and dying. It recognizes the very great service rendered to that end by the conference of Geneva, held in the year 1864, which framed certain humane and expedient regulations for the care of the wounded and sick in the field. These were embodied in the convention of August 22, 1864, which has been ratified or adhered to by most of the civilized powers.

In 1868 a second international conference was held at Geneva, when it was proposed that the regulations contained in the original articles concerning military warfare be extended and adapted so far as practicable to war at sea. Fifteen articles, known as the "additional articles of 1868," were proposed, Articles VI to XV of which relate exclusively to marine warfare. In the subsequent discussion of them, an amendment to Article IX was proposed by France, and in correspondence between England and France Article X was interpreted and elucidated. These "additional articles," although acceded to by the United States March 1, 1882, subject to

promulgation after general exchange of ratifications, have never been formally adopted or ratified by the powers. During the Franco-Prussian war, however, they were adopted as a *modus vivendi* between the belligerents.

Upon the breaking out of the present hostilities between the United States and Spain, the United States at once commissioned the ambulance ship *Solace* to accompany the Atlantic fleet as a noncombatant hospital ship, to be employed solely to render aid to the sick, wounded, and dying, and to observe in spirit the additional articles of the Geneva Conference.

On the 23d day of April, 1898, this Government was addressed by the Swiss minister at this capital proposing the formal adoption by this Government and by the Government of Spain of the additional articles, as a *modus vivendi*, during the present hostilities with Spain. The United States Government was readily disposed thereto, and on the 9th day of May sent to the Swiss minister notice of its adoption of the same as a *modus vivendi*. It has this day been informed by the Swiss minister of a like adoption thereof by the Government of Spain.

For the more complete understanding of the position of the United States with respect to such *modus vivendi*, the correspondence between the United States and the Swiss Government and between the Departments of State and Navy of this Government are printed hereinafter, and marked Exhibit A.

The additional articles, as amended in Article IX, and with memorandum as to the interpretation given to Article X, together with a translation of the full text of the French letter of interpretation of the 26th of February, 1869, are printed as Exhibit B.

WILLIAM R. DAY.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, May 13, 1898.

EXHIBIT A.

The Swiss minister to the Secretary of State. (translation)

Swiss LEGATION,

Washington, April 23, 1898.

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: War having been now unhappily declared between the United States and Spain, my Government, in its capacity as the intermediary organ between the signatory States of the convention of Geneva, has decided to propose to the cabinets of Washington and Madrid to recognize and carry into execution, as a *modus vivendi*, during the whole duration of hostilities, the additional articles proposed by the international conference which met at Geneva on October 20, 1868, to the convention of Geneva of August 22, 1864, which (additional articles) extend the effects of that convention to naval wars. Although it has as yet been impossible to convert the said draft of additional articles into a treaty, still, in 1870, Germany and France, at the suggestion of the Swiss Federal Council, consented to apply the additional articles, as a

modus vivendi, during the whole duration of hostilities. The Federal Council proposes the additional articles as they have been amended at the request of France and construed by that power and Great Britain.

My Government, while instructing me to make this proposition to your excellency, recall the fact that, on March 1, 1882, the President of the United States declared that he acceded, not only to the Geneva Convention of August 22, 1864, but also to the additional articles of October 20, 1868.

The Spanish Government, likewise, in 1872, declared itself ready to adhere to these articles. The Federal Council, therefore, hopes that the two Governments will agree to adopt the measure, the object of which is to secure the application on the seas of the humane principles laid down in the Geneva Convention.

With the confident expectation of a favorable reply from the United States Government to this proposal, I avail myself, etc.,
J. B. PIODA.

Source: U.S. Congress, *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States with the Annual Message of the President Transmitted to Congress December 5, 1898* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901), 1148–1149.

40. Official Correspondence Regarding the Mobilization of the U.S. Army, May–June 1898

Introduction

In 1898, the U.S. Army had about 28,000 regulars as opposed to 150,000 Spanish troops in Cuba. The U.S. troops were widely scattered throughout the western United States in the aftermath of the Indian Wars. Some portion of this number had to remain in the West to guard against the threat of renewed conflict with Indians. The War Department initially called for 125,000 volunteers to supplement the regular army, and Congress increased this number to 200,000 volunteers. In the spring and summer of 1898 thousands of eager volunteers entered training camps, where they endured supply shortages, poor diet, terrible sanitary conditions, and inadequate medical care. The U.S. military faced the task of rapidly assembling troops at Tampa, Florida, and transporting men, horses, and arms by sea to Cuba. The commander of the army, Major General Nelson Miles, chose the aged American Civil War veteran William Shafter to command the army expedition to Cuba, while Admiral William Sampson commanded the naval force. Shafter received his instructions on May 31 and reported several days later on the factors delaying the embarkation. Meanwhile, Sampson sent anxious cables demanding to know when the army would arrive. On June 6 men began boarding the squalid and inadequate transport ships, which had been hurriedly leased by the government, but the expedition did not sail until June 20.

Primary Source

WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, May 31, 1898–2:30 A. M.

Major-General WILLIAM R. SHAFTER, *Tampa, Fla.*:

With the approval of the Secretary of War, you are directed to take your command on transports, proceed under convoy of the Navy to the vicinity of Santiago de Cuba, land your force at such place east or west of that point as your judgment may dictate, under the protection of the Navy, and move it onto the high ground and bluffs overlooking the harbor or into the interior, as shall best enable you to capture or destroy the garrison there, and cover the Navy as it sends its men in small boats to remove torpedoes, or, with the aid of the Navy, capture or destroy the Spanish fleet now reported to be in Santiago harbor. You will use the utmost energy to accomplish this enterprise, and the Government relies upon your good judgment as to the most judicious use of your command, but desires to impress upon you the importance of accomplishing this object with the least possible delay. You can call to your assistance any of the insurgent forces in that vicinity and make use of such of them as you think advisable to assist you, especially as scouts, guides, et cetera. You are cautioned against putting too much confidence in any persons outside of your own troops. You will take every precaution against ambuscade or surprises or positions that may have been mined or are commanded by the Spanish forces. You will cooperate most earnestly with the naval forces in every way, agreeing beforehand upon a code of signals. Communicate your instructions to Admiral Sampson and Commodore Schley. On completion of this enterprise, unless you receive other orders or deem it advisable to remain in the harbor of Santiago de Cuba, re-embark your troops and proceed to the harbor of Pto de Banes, reporting by the most favorable means for further orders and future important service—this with the understanding that your command has not sustained serious loss and that the above harbor is safe for your transports and convoy. When will you sail?

By command of Major-General Miles:

H. C. CORBIN,

Adjutant-General.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,

WASHINGTON, June 4, 1898–6:15 P. M.

Major-General SHAFTER, *Tampa, Fla.*:

Admiral Sampson cables to-day: “‘Merrimac’ in channel. Cervera, with four ships and two torpedo boats, in harbor safely bottled up. He urges immediate aid from your troops. He reports 7,000 men intrenched in Juraquacito and Daiquiri; 5,000 at Morron de Cuba; 4,000 at other points; in bay 500, with small Hotchkiss gun. Cervera sent flag of truce opprobriously to exchange prisoners for Naval Constructor Hobson and seven men who unharmed with him on ‘Merrimac,’ were taken prisoners, in recognition of their bravery. We are sure Cervera is there.”

ALGER,

Secretary of War.

TAMPA, Fla., June 4–5, 1898–6:32 A. M.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL, UNITED STATES ARMY, *Washington, D. C.*:

Replying to your dispatch that President wishes report of the situation, I have to say that everything possible is being done to get away, but delays occur that can not be prevented or foreseen. Siege guns have only been assembled late this evening. They will be loaded on cars to-night and sent to transports early in the morning and the loading rushed. Will begin putting men on to-morrow, P. M., if possible, and be ready to start Monday night or Tuesday morning. The last of the troops from Chickamauga are expected to-night. Officers engaged in loading transports have worked night and day. The main cause for delay has been the fact that great quantities of stores have been rushed in promiscuously, and with no facilities to handle or store them. The last ten miles before reaching the wharf is a single track and very narrow place in which to work. The capacity of this place has been greatly exceeded. Could have put the troops on and rushed them off, but not properly equipped, as I know the President wishes them. I will not delay a minute longer than is absolutely necessary to get my command in condition, and start the earliest moment possible.

SHAFTER,

Major-General.

The following telegrams are given to show the progress of events during this campaign:

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,

WASHINGTON, June 5, 1898–12 NOON.

Major-General SHAFTER, *Tampa, Fla.*:

Your telegram of 6:45 this morning shown to the President, with which he expressed his satisfaction, with every confidence that you are doing everything for the best. I would like to have a telegram at 6 o'clock this evening of the situation.

H. C. CORBIN,

Adjutant-General.

TAMPA, Fla., June 5, 1898–12:24 P. M.

The SECRETARY OF WAR, *Washington, D. C.*:

This expedition has been delayed through no fault of anyone connected with it. It contains the principal part of the Army, which for intelligence and efficiency is not exceeded by any body of troops on earth. It contains fourteen of the best conditioned regiments of volunteers, the last of which arrived this morning. Yet these have never been under fire. Between 30 and 40 per cent are undrilled, and in one regiment over 300 men have never fired a gun. I request ample protection at all times for this command from the Navy. This enterprise is so important that I desire to go with this army corps or to immediately organize another and go with it to join this and capture position number 2. Now that the military is about to be used. I believe it should be continued with every energy, making the most judicious disposition of it to accomplish the desired result.

MILES,

Major-General Commanding Army.

NAVY DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, June 6, 1898.

SIR.—This Department has received from Admiral Sampson, off Santiago de Cuba, a telegram from which the following is an extract: "Very important we should know immediately whether the army expedition has sailed for Santiago and its number of vessels."

You are respectfully requested to give information on the above points as soon as practicable, in order that it may be communicated to the Admiral. It is respectfully urged that the expedition should get off as soon as possible. The naval force is all ready to convoy it.

Very respectfully,

CHAS. H. ALLEN,

The Honorable SECRETARY OF WAR. *Acting Secretary.*

TAMPA, Fla., June 6, 1898–11:40 P. M.

Hon. R. A. ALGER, *Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.*:

Troops have been marching on board to-day and will continue all night. General Shafter hopes to sail to-morrow night or next day. There is siege artillery here and more will arrive before No. 2 can be ready. There should be a few regiments well equipped at Camp Alger.

MILES,

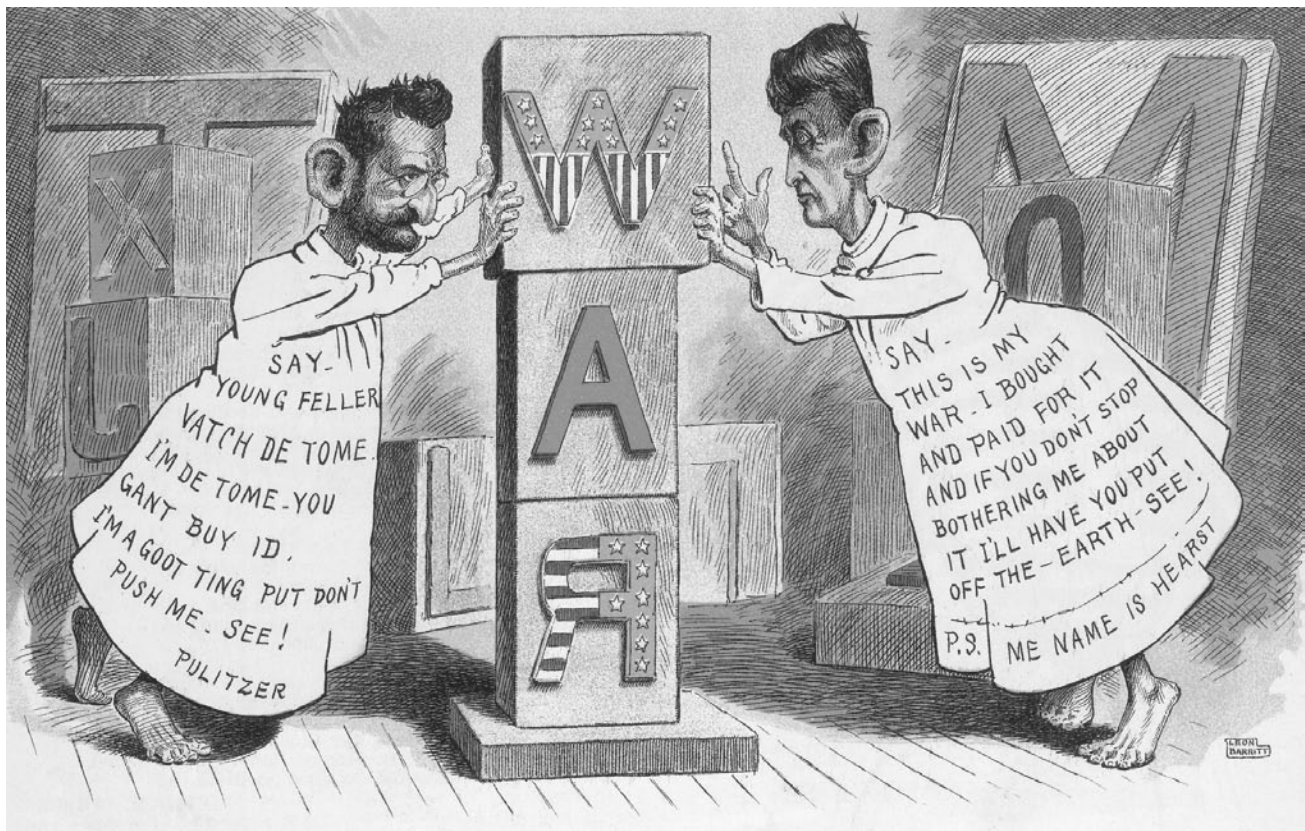
Major-General.

Source: Fitzhugh Lee, *Cuba's Struggle against Spain . . .* (New York: American Historical Press, 1899), 344–347.

41. Charles Johnson Post, Description of Army Enlistment, Excerpt Describing Enlisting in the Army, 1898

Introduction

Charles Johnson Post was 25 years old when the battleship *Maine* blew up. At that time he was working for William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal*. Post volunteered for service in the 71st New York infantry regiment. His narrative is considered to be one of the best-written, most accurate, and even humorous accounts of military service in the Spanish-American War. Post was also a skilled artist, and his book includes many drawings of scenes in Cuba that later appeared in national publications. This excerpt describes the recruiting process at a time when war fever was sweeping the nation. In 1898 the U.S. Army had only some 28,000 men, of whom part had to remain in the western United States to guard against the threat of renewed conflict with the Indians. The War Department initially called for 125,000 volunteers to supplement



Source: Library of Congress

the regular army. The enthusiasm for the war was such that popular pressure made Congress increase this number to 200,000 volunteers. The commanding general of the army, Major General Nelson Miles, preferred to have 80,000 trained soldiers instead of a host of poorly trained volunteers. Nonetheless, in the spring and summer of 1898, thousands of eager volunteers entered training camps, where they endured supply shortages, poor diet, terrible sanitary conditions, and inadequate medical care.

Primary Source

Enlisting then was not like enlisting today. When you enlisted then, you first shopped for a regiment. Anyone with money or credit to rent a vacant store could recruit for his regiment, and he would be colonel. There was vast enthusiasm. In fact, one had only to go into any of the three or four saloons at each street intersection and start a conversation with almost any casual stranger and, first thing you knew, the bartender would invite you to have one on the house and recommend a regiment for you to join or transfer to. Mr. William Randolph Hearst had just bought the *New York Journal* and was mixing war, patriotism, and romance with Eva Cisneros—a Spanish captive in Havana, reported by Hearst to be of superlative and languishing beauty. This reporting was fragrant with circulation results, while we commoner folk began to boil and seethe with ardor to kill a Spaniard.

So it was that vacant stores on every avenue suddenly blossomed into recruiting stations, with pictures of the *Maine* before and after sinking, and with pullers-in at their doors straight from the *Social Register* or the nearest ward leader. Each store was intent upon recruiting a regiment. Officers were needed. And before each store was a line of expectant officers. This was a system that dated back to the Civil War—probably back to the barons of the Magna Carta. You wanted to be an officer—and who did not? You brought in enough followers to make a platoon, and you became its lieutenant. Enough for a company, and you became a captain. And who made you an officer? Why, the man who paid the rent for the store and who was going to be the colonel of the regiment.

Source: Charles Johnson Post, *The Little War of Private Post* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1960), 4–5.

42. Leon Barritt, Cartoon Critical of Hearst and Pulitzer, June 29, 1898

Introduction

So-called yellow journalism had its seeds in the competition for readers between two New York newspaper publishers, William

Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer. Hearst owned the *Journal*, and Pulitzer owned the *World*. In the effort to attract readers, they not only published sensationalized stories but also introduced color comics. One of these comics featured the adventures of a character known as the Yellow Kid. Thus, yellow journalism came to mean anything calculated to attract readers, especially sensational stories of violence, suffering, and scandal. During the Cuban War of Independence that began in 1895, newspapers sent reporters into Cuba with or without Spanish permission. The New York newspapers as well as newspapers throughout the nation sympathized with the plight of Cubans and stoked war fever by publishing lurid accounts of Spanish cruelty. A widely repeated story about Hearst alleged that he had cabled artist Frederic Remington in Cuba, saying “You supply the pictures, I’ll supply the war.” Although the story was denied and remains unproven, its popularity reveals that many found it entirely believable. This cartoon attributes the outbreak of war to Hearst and Pulitzer by portraying them each dressed as the Yellow Kid, erecting toy blocks that spell “WAR.”

43. John C. Hemment, Description of Meeting between Calixto García and William Randolph Hearst, 1898

Introduction

During the Cuban War of Independence that began in 1895, newspapers sent reporters into Cuba with or without Spanish permission. The New York newspapers as well as most newspapers throughout the nation sympathized with the plight of Cubans and stoked war fever by publishing lurid accounts of Spanish cruelty. Meanwhile, the Cubans continued their struggle. When U.S. military forces landed in Cuba in June 1898, American journalists met General Calixto García, the commander of the detachment of Cuban freedom fighters assigned to assist the American troops. Among them was William Randolph Hearst, publisher of the *New York Journal*, and photographer John C. Hemment. García expressed faith in U.S. Army general William Shafter and expected to deploy his men in cooperation with Shafter’s troops. During this encounter, García also presented a tattered Cuban flag to Hearst in recognition of his newspaper’s support for Cuban freedom. Hemment was a well-known accomplished New York photographer. He first received an official assignment from the U.S. government to travel to Havana and photograph the wreck of the USS *Maine*. Thereafter, he returned to Cuba with Shafter’s V Corps and took hundreds of high-quality photographs that provide a valuable visual record of this phase of the war. Later in 1898 Hemment published an account of his experiences.

Primary Source

General Garcia greeted us in our own language, and introduced his son—a noble, frank-looking fellow—and the other members of his staff. He asked us to be seated, and talked to us of the many hardships and trials he had passed through in battling for Cuba’s freedom, and informed us that he came to Siboney, at the request of General Shafter, in order to have his troops act in concert with the American forces, and to assist, wherever he could, by moving his men in harmony with our own. When he uncovered his head and wiped the beads of perspiration from his brow, a large scar was to be seen in the centre of his forehead. This testified to the fact that he had spilt his blood in the cause of right and humanity and the liberty of his country and its people.

After talking for some time, the general instructed one of his orderlies to have coffee served, of which we all partook. Then his son brought forward a Cuban flag which had been borne through many a hard battle, and which had been punctured in many places by Spanish bullets. This the general presented to Mr. Hearst as a token of honour, esteem, and gratitude for the generous aid which Mr. Hearst had ever given to the cause of Cuba Libre. While the ceremony of presentation was informal, there yet seemed beneath it all a feeling of intense sincerity.

In handing over the flag, the old general said to Mr. Hearst: “Whether this war continues for three years, three months, or three days longer, I am willing to fight until my end shall come. Before that time does come, I trust that the hopes I have given to my people may be fulfilled.” Then, as he looked beyond the veranda toward our forces, he added: “With those men I can go through anything and everything. Victory must come. We are in the right, and it must be so.”

The old man then waxed warm, his eyes filled with tears, and he uttered the battle cry of his forces, “Viva Cuba Libre!” This sentiment was echoed by all within hearing distance. I asked the old general if he would object to my taking a picture of him at this time, and he very pleasantly acquiesced. The picture shows him with Mr. Creelman standing by his side, his son reading a dispatch which had been handed in from General Shafter with instructions to take his forces to the left wing and protect that end of the line to the best of his ability.

The Cuban soldiers were surrounding this place in large numbers. They were footsore, weary, and hungry, for they had just come in from the mountains, where they had been fighting off and on for three years, through all kinds of weather and vicissitudes of fortune. Here some of the officers and men met their wives for the first time since the beginning of the long war. One could see in the faces of these Cuban soldiers a gleam of light, a look of satisfaction, a ray of hope, and a resignation to do and die as they found themselves side by side and elbow to elbow with the men of Uncle Sam’s army.

Some of these Cubans who could speak a few words of English told me they never felt so confident of success before in their lives. It was, in fact, as though new life had entered into them. A great change had come upon them. They found themselves buoyed up by the sight of our war ships afloat and our army on shore, with plenty of provisions to sustain the inner man in a manner more substantial than had previously been their lot at the hands of their patriotic but weak countrymen.

Source: John C. Hemment, *Cannon and Camera: Sea and Land Battles of the Spanish-American War* . . . (New York: D. Appleton, 1898), 81–84.

44. William Randolph Hearst, Reports from Cuba, June 27, 1898 [Excerpt]

Introduction

During the Cuban War of Independence that began in 1895, newspapers sent reporters into Cuba with or without Spanish permission. The New York newspapers as well as newspapers throughout the nation sympathized with the plight of Cubans and stoked war fever by publishing lurid accounts of Spanish cruelty. Two New York newspaper publishers, William Randolph Hearst of the *Journal* and Joseph Pulitzer of the *World*, fiercely competed for readers by trying to outdo one another with colorful war reporting. A widely repeated story about Hearst alleged that he had cabled artist Frederic Remington in Cuba, saying, “You supply the pictures, I’ll supply the war.” Although the story was denied and remains unproven, its popularity reveals that many found it entirely believable. Soon after U.S. military forces landed in Cuba in June 1898, Hearst traveled to Cuba to do his part as a war correspondent. He interviewed General William Shafter, Admiral William Sampson, and Cuban general Calixto García, painting them in heroic terms. García presented a tattered Cuban flag to Hearst in recognition of his newspaper’s support for Cuban freedom. This excerpt demonstrates that Hearst could produce colorful prose as well as any of his reporters.

Primary Source

[. . .]

General Shafter’s Camp, Siboney, June 27, by Port Antonio, June 28.

It is satisfactory to be an American and to be here on the soil of Cuba, at the very threshold of what may prove to be the decisive battle of the war. The struggle for the possession of the City of Santiago and the capture of Cervera’s fleet seem to be only a few hours away, and from the top of the rough, green ridge where I write this, we can see dimly on the sea the monstrous forms of Sampson’s fleet lying in a semi-circle in front of the entrance to Santiago Harbor, while here at our feet masses of American soldiery are pouring from

the beach into the scorching valley, where smells of stagnant and fermented vegetation ground under the feet of thousands of fighting men rise in the swooning hot mists through which vultures that have already fed on corpses of slain Spaniards wheel lazily above the thorny, poisonous jungle.

Santiago and the Flower of the Spanish fleet are ours, although hundreds of men may have to die on the field before we take possession.

[. . .]

Source: “Journal’s Editor Interviews Leaders of the Army and Navy Before Santiago,” *New York Journal*, June 29, 1898.

45. John C. Hemment, Observations on Theodore Roosevelt as a Commander, 1898 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The American army that landed in Cuba numbered about 17,000 men, most of whom were regulars. However, included in this number were some volunteer regiments. Among the volunteers was the war’s most colorful unit, known as the Rough Riders. Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, the future president of the United States, commanded the Rough Riders in Cuba. The Rough Riders participated in the July 1, 1898, charge against the Spanish entrenchments on Kettle Hill. Roosevelt’s conspicuous bravery inspired the Rough Riders during this charge. John C. Hemment was a well-known and accomplished New York photographer who worked for William Randolph Hearst, the influential publisher of the *New York Journal*. Hemment accompanied Major General William Shafter’s V Corps during the Cuban campaign and took hundreds of high-quality photographs that provide a valuable visual record of this phase of the war. Later in 1898 Hemment published an account of his experiences. He was present on the field at Kettle Hill and wrote the following description of Roosevelt’s conduct. Praise such as this made Roosevelt a war hero and helped propel him to the presidency in 1904.

Primary Source

[. . .]

During this period of waiting Colonel Roosevelt was going up and down the line of his regiment, seeing that his men were ready and thoroughly equipped for immediate action should they be called into play. This man is a wonder in many ways. He seemed to be absolutely ignorant of the nature of fear, and regarded the entire situation as but belonging to the commonplace as he went swinging up and down the line, stopping here and there to make a remark to

one of his officers. When he observed a face turned to him with an inquiring look, he would give a nod of recognition.

He said to his men: “Boys, this is the day we repeat what we have done before. You know we are surrounded by the regulars. They are round us thick and heavy. Don’t forget where you belong. Don’t forget, boys, that your reward is not in the immediate present, but think of what will come in the future.”

To me Colonel Roosevelt appeared to be in thorough touch with every man in his command, and really seemed to have a personal acquaintance with every man from major to coffee grinder. He had gained the esteem and confidence of every man in his regiment. He had made himself “one of the boys,” and they knew it, and I was certain that, no matter where this man would lead them, they would follow, regardless of what the results might be. He imparted to his men that wonderful determination and courage which he himself possesses, and which is contagious under the inspiration of a born leader. The possession of this attribute assures victory. It is beyond description. Only those who saw and felt it could understand his influence. It did not need a command through a megaphone and a shout and flash of the sword to get the men to move, but the simple wave of his hand was sufficient for every man who could see him to know that he was going ahead and that he wanted them to follow, it mattered not where.

Source: John C. Hemment, *Cannon and Camera: Sea and Land Battles of the Spanish-American War . . .* (New York: D. Appleton, 1898), 179–181.

46. Theodore Roosevelt, Account of the 1st U.S. Cavalry at Santiago, 1899 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, a volunteer unit known as the Rough Riders played a prominent role in the Battle of Santiago, fought on July 1, 1898. In order to capture Santiago, the American forces had to storm San Juan Heights. Accordingly, their commander, Major General William Shafter, ordered a frontal attack against these heights. The attack soon became badly disorganized due to poor coordination, difficult terrain, and tropical heat, the latter of which disabled Shafter. The following excerpt from Roosevelt’s book about the Rough Riders begins with a description of the unit suffering losses while waiting under fire for the order to attack. Before attacking San Juan Heights, the Americans had to secure a separate rise, Kettle Hill, that stood in front of San Juan Heights. The Rough Riders participated in a successful

charge up the heights. Once they arrived on the crest, confusion reigned. Roosevelt’s account describes this confusion and what ensued. His conduct during the battle enhanced his already considerable reputation, earned him promotion to full colonel, and helped propel him to the presidency in 1904. Roosevelt later said of his service in Cuba that it was one of the most important things he had ever done and justified his existence.

Primary Source

The fight was now on in good earnest, and the Spaniards on the hills were engaged in heavy volley firing. The Mauser bullets drove in sheets through the trees and the tall jungle grass, making a peculiar whirring or rustling sound; some of the bullets seemed to pop in the air, so that we thought they were explosive; and, indeed, many of those which were coated with brass did explode, in the sense that the brass coat was ripped off, making a thin plate of hard metal with a jagged edge, which inflicted a ghastly wound. These bullets were shot from a .45-calibre rifle carrying smokeless powder, which was much used by the guerillas and irregular Spanish troops. The Mauser bullets themselves made a small clean hole, with the result that the wound healed in a most astonishing manner. One or two of our men who were shot in the head had the skull blown open, but elsewhere the wounds from the minute steel coated bullet, with its very high velocity, were certainly nothing like as serious as those made by the old large-calibre, low-power rifle. If a man was shot through the heart, spine, or brain he was, of course, killed instantly; but very few of the wounded died—even under the appalling conditions which prevailed, owing to the lack of attendance and supplies in the field-hospitals with the army.

While we were lying in reserve we were suffering nearly as much as afterward when we charged. I think that the bulk of the Spanish fire was practically unaimed, or at least not aimed at any particular man, and only occasionally at a particular body of men; but they swept the whole field of battle up to the edge of the river, and man after man in our ranks fell dead or wounded, although I had the troopers scattered out far apart, taking advantage of every scrap of cover.

Devereux was dangerously shot while he lay with his men on the edge of the river. A young West Point cadet, Ernest Haskell, who had taken his holiday with us as an acting second lieutenant, was shot through the stomach. He had shown great coolness and gallantry, which he displayed to an even more marked degree after being wounded, shaking my hand and saying, “All right, Colonel, I’m going to get well. Don’t bother about me, and don’t let any man come away with me.” When I shook hands with him, I thought he would surely die; yet he recovered.

The most serious loss that I and the regiment could have suffered befell just before we charged. Bucky O’Neill was strolling up and down in front of his men, smoking his cigarette, for he was inveterately addicted to the habit. He had a theory that an officer

ought never to take cover—a theory which was, of course, wrong, though in a volunteer organization the officers should certainly expose themselves very fully, simply for the effect on the men; our regimental toast on the transport running, “The officers; may the war last until each is killed, wounded, or promoted.” As O’Neill moved to and fro, his men begged him to lie down, and one of the sergeants said, “Captain, a bullet is sure to hit you.” O’Neill took his cigarette out of his mouth, and blowing out a cloud of smoke laughed and said, “Sergeant, the Spanish bullet isn’t made that will kill me.” A little later he discussed for a moment with one of the regular officers the direction from which the Spanish fire was coming. As he turned on his heel a bullet struck him in the mouth and came out at the back of his head; so that even before he fell his wild and gallant soul had gone out into the darkness.

My orderly was a brave young Harvard boy, Sanders, from the quaint old Massachusetts town of Salem. The work of an orderly on foot, under the blazing sun, through the hot and matted jungle, was very severe, and finally the heat overcame him. He dropped; nor did he ever recover fully, and later he died from fever. In his place I summoned a trooper whose name I did not know. Shortly afterward, while sitting beside the bank, I directed him to go back and ask whatever general he came across if I could not advance, as my men were being much cut up. He stood up to salute and then pitched forward across my knees, a bullet having gone through his throat, cutting the carotid.

[. . .]

The infantry got nearer and nearer the crest of the hill. At last we could see the Spaniards running from the rifle-pits as the Americans came on in their final rush. Then I stopped my men for fear they should injure their comrades, and called to them to charge the next line of trenches, on the hills in our front, from which we had been undergoing a good deal of punishment. Thinking that the men would all come, I jumped over the wire fence in front of us and started at the double; but, as a matter of fact, the troopers were so excited, what with shooting and being shot, and shouting and cheering, that they did not hear, or did not heed me; and after running about a hundred yards I found I had only five men along with me. Bullets were ripping the grass all around us, and one of the men, Clay Green, was mortally wounded; another, Winslow Clark, a Harvard man, was shot first in the leg and then through the body. He made not the slightest murmur, only asking me to put his water canteen where he could get at it, which I did; he ultimately recovered. There was no use going on with the remaining three men, and I bade them stay where they were while I went back and brought up the rest of the brigade. This was a decidedly cool request, for there was really no possible point in letting them stay there while I went back; but at the moment it seemed perfectly natural to me, and apparently so to them, for they cheerfully nodded, and sat down in the grass, firing back at the line of trenches from which the

Spaniards were shooting at them. Meanwhile, I ran back, jumped over the wire fence, and went over the crest of the hill, filled with anger against the troopers, and especially those of my own regiment, for not having accompanied me. They, of course, were quite innocent of wrong-doing; and even while I taunted them bitterly for not having followed me, it was all I could do not to smile at the look of injury and surprise that came over their faces, while they cried out, “We didn’t hear you, we didn’t see you go, Colonel; lead on now, we’ll sure follow you.” I wanted the other regiments to come too, so I ran down to where General Sumner was and asked him if I might make the charge; and he told me to go and that he would see that the men followed. By this time everybody had his attention attracted, and when I leaped over the fence again, with Major Jenkins beside me, the men of the various regiments which were already on the hill came with a rush, and we started across the wide valley which lay between us and the Spanish intrenchments. Captain Dimmick, now in command of the Ninth, was bringing it forward; Captain McBlain had a number of Rough Riders mixed in with his troop, and led them all together; Captain Taylor had been severely wounded. The long-legged men like Greenway, Goodrich, sharpshooter Proffit, and others, outstripped the rest of us, as we had a considerable distance to go. Long before we got near them the Spaniards ran, save a few here and there, who either surrendered or were shot down. When we reached the trenches we found them filled with dead bodies in the light blue and white uniform of the Spanish regular army. There were very few wounded. Most of the fallen had little holes in their heads from which their brains were oozing; for they were covered from the neck down by the trenches.

Source: Theodore Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders* (New York: Scribner, 1905).

47. John H. Parker, *The Gatlings at Santiago*, 1898 [Excerpt]

Introduction

In 1862, American inventor Richard Gatling demonstrated a working model of a gun whose key component was a lock cylinder containing six strikers that revolved with six gun barrels. A hand crank rotated the mechanism. The first Gatling gun achieved a remarkable 200 shots per minute. In effect, the Gatling gun was an early version of a machine gun. Gatling patented his invention and continued to modify and perfect it. In 1870, the Colt Armory took over production of the Gatling gun. The Model 1879 Gatling gun featured a flexible mount that allowed it to traverse through an arc just like a modern machine gun. An improved Model 1883, similar to the Gatling guns used in the Spanish-American War, had a firing rate of 800 shots per minute. The U.S. Army purchased 18 Model 1895 Gatling guns, the same model used by Lieutenant John Parker’s Gatling Gun Detachment

during the Santiago Campaign. It was also used by American forces in the Philippines. Parker's detachment played a prominent role during the assault on San Juan Heights on July 1, 1898. Parker led his detachment to the front of the American battle line. The sound of the Gatling guns heartened the Americans. The detachment's impressive firepower pinned the Spanish to the trenches and inflicted considerable damage. This marked the first time in history that rapid-fire weapons had a significant impact on a battle's tactical balance.

Primary Source

Preface

On the morning of July 1st, the dismounted cavalry, including my regiment, stormed Kettle Hill, driving the Spaniards from their trenches. After taking the crest, I made the men under me turn and begin volley-firing at the San Juan Blockhouse and intrenchments against which Hawkins' and Kent's Infantry were advancing. While thus firing, there suddenly smote on our ears a peculiar drumming sound. One or two of the men cried out, "The Spanish machine guns!" but, after listening a moment, I leaped to my feet and called, "It's the Gatlings, men! It's our Gatlings!" Immediately the troopers began to cheer lustily, for the sound was most inspiring. Whenever the drumming stopped, it was only to open again a little nearer the front. Our artillery, using black powder, had not been able to stand within range of the Spanish rifles, but it was perfectly evident that the Gatlings were troubled by no such consideration, for they were advancing all the while.

Soon the infantry took San Juan Hill, and, after one false start, we in turn rushed the next line of block-houses and intrenchments, and then swung to the left and took the chain of hills immediately fronting Santiago. Here I found myself on the extreme front, in command of the fragments of all six regiments of the cavalry division. I received orders to halt where I was, but to hold the hill at all hazards. The Spaniards were heavily reinforced and they opened a tremendous fire upon us from their batteries and trenches. We laid down just behind the gentle crest of the hill, firing as we got the chance, but, for the most part, taking the fire without responding. As the afternoon wore on, however, the Spaniards became bolder, and made an attack upon the position. They did not push it home, but they did advance, their firing being redoubled. We at once ran forward to the crest and opened on them, and, as we did so, the unmistakable drumming of the Gatlings opened abreast of us, to our right, and the men cheered again. As soon as the attack was definitely repulsed, I strolled over to find out about the Gatlings, and there I found Lieut. Parker with two of his guns right on our left, abreast of our men, who at that time were closer to the Spaniards than any others.

From thence on, Parker's Gatlings were our inseparable companions throughout the siege. They were right up at the front. When we dug our trenches, he took off the wheels of his guns and put

them in the trenches. His men and ours slept in the same bomb-proofs and shared with one another whenever either side got a supply of beans or coffee and sugar. At no hour of the day or night was Parker anywhere but where we wished him to be, in the event of an attack. If a troop of my regiment was sent off to guard some road or some break in the lines, we were almost certain to get Parker to send a Gatling along, and, whether the change was made by day or by night, the Gatling went. Sometimes we took the initiative and started to quell the fire of the Spanish trenches; sometimes they opened upon us; but, at whatever hour of the twenty-four the fighting began, the drumming of the Gatlings was soon heard through the cracking of our own carbines.

I have had too little experience to make my judgment final; but certainly, if I were to command either a regiment or a brigade, whether of cavalry or infantry, I would try to get a Gatling battery—under a good man—with me. I feel sure that the greatest possible assistance would be rendered, under almost all circumstances, by such a Gatling battery, if well handled; for I believe that it could be pushed fairly to the front of the firing-line. At any rate, this is the way that Lieut. Parker used his battery when he went into action at San Juan, and when he kept it in the trenches beside the Rough Riders before Santiago.

Theodore Roosevelt.

Chapter VII The Battle

[...]

Suddenly the clatter of hoofs was heard from the front. Lieut. Miley dashed up and said, "Gen. Shafter directs that you give one piece to me, and take the other three beyond the ford, where the dynamite gun is, find some position, and go into action." Sergeant Weigle's gun was placed at Miley's disposal, and the other pieces dashed forward at a dead run, led by the musical mule who uttered his characteristic exclamation as he dashed through the ford of the Aguadores.

The place formerly selected for going into action had been again twice reconnoitered during the wait, and a better place had been found about thirty yards beyond the ford of the San Juan River. The dynamite gun had stuck in the ford of the Aguadores; a shell had got jammed in it. The Gatlings were compelled to go around it. They dashed through the intervening space, across the San Juan ford, and up on the opening beyond. The position for the battery, partially hidden from the view of the enemy by a small clump of underbrush, was indicated. The right piece, Serg. Green's, was compelled to go into action in the middle of the road, and in plain sight of the enemy. While the pieces were being unlimbered, which was only the work of an instant, an inquiry was made of Captain Boughton, of the 3d Cavalry, whose troop had just reached this point, as to the position of our troops and of the enemy, with the

further remark that the battery had been under fire since eight o'clock, and had not seen a Spaniard. "I can show you plenty of Spaniards," replied Boughton, and, raising his hand, pointed toward the San Juan blockhouse and the ridge in its vicinity, sweeping his hand toward the right. It was enough. Before his hand had fallen to his side, the pieces were musically singing.

Corp. Steigerwald turned and asked, "What is the range, sir?" To which was instantly replied, "Block-house, 600 yards; the ridge to the right, 800 yards," and Steigerwald's piece was grinding 500 shots a minute within a quarter of a second, playing upon the San Juan block-house. Serg. Green took 800 yards, and began to send his compliments to the ridge beyond the block-house. In an instant Priv. Sine, at Green's gun, who was feeding, fell backward dead. At the same instant Priv. Kastner fell out. Sine was shot through the heart, Kastner through the head and neck. At this time Ryder's gun began to talk. It spoke very voluble and eloquent orations, which, although not delivered in the Spanish language, were well understood by our friends, the enemy, upon the hill.

Serg. Green, at the right gun, had run back for ammunition, and Corp. Doyle, when Sine fell, seized the pointing lever, and was coolly turning the crank while he sighted the gun at the same time. He was for the moment the only member of the detachment left at the piece, but was given assistance, and a moment later Green arrived and began to feed the gun.

Steigerwald was short-handed. Some of his men had been sun-struck during the run, and he, too, was compelled to work his gun with only one assistant. Then some of those who had been unable to keep up arrived at the battery and began to render assistance. Priv. Van Vaningham, who had gotten lost from his own command, began to pass ammunition. Priv. Merryman, who was holding his team back in the river, was impressed by a doctor to help carry wounded men, and Priv. Burkley, another man lost from his command, stepped into Merryman's place. Priv. Chase left his team, seeing the piece short-handed, and began to pass ammunition. The mules merely wagged their ears backward and forward and stamped on account of the flies.

All these changes were accomplished, and the pieces had not even ceased fire. Doyle had fed about 100 rounds, alone. Capt. Landis, of the 1st Cavalry, arrived just at this time, and volunteered to assist in observing the effect of the fire. He stood fearlessly out in the middle of the road, just to the right of Green's piece, in the very best position for observation, but, at the same time, a most conspicuous target for the enemy, and observed the effect of the Gatling fire, as though he were at target practice, reporting the same, continually, to the battery commander.

For the first two minutes the enemy seemed dazed, then suddenly a perfect hell of leaden hail swept through the foliage. The only

thing that saved the battery from absolute destruction was that the enemy's shots were a little high. As it was, many of them struck the ground between the guns, and several hit the pieces. Three members of the detachment were slightly hurt. One mule was shot through the ear. He sang the usual song of the mule, shook his head, and was suddenly hit again on the fore leg. He plunged a little, but Priv. Shiffer patted him on the head and he became quiet. A bullet passed by Shiffer's head, so close that he felt the wind fan his whiskers, and buried itself in the saddle on the same mule. This sudden concentration of the enemy's fire lasted about two minutes.

About the same time the detachment heard a wild cheer start on the left and gradually sweep around to the left and right, until in every direction, sounding high above the din of battle and the crackling of the Mausers, even above the rattle of the Gatling guns, was heard the yell of recognition from our own troops. There was, for an instant, a furious fusillade on our right and left, and in a few moments the whole line of our troops had risen and were moving forward to the San Juan ridge. While moving forward, they necessarily almost ceased to fire, but the fire of the Gatlings continued, deadly and accurate. A troop of the 10th Cavalry, from our right and rear, came up, part of the squadron commanded by Col. Baldwin. Some of this troop did not understand the Gatling gun drama, and were in the act of firing a volley into our backs, when Lieut. Smith, who was to so heroically lose his life within ten minutes afterward, sprang out in front of the excited troopers, and, with tears in his eyes, implored them not to fire, that these were "our own Gatlings." They did not fire in our direction, but they did give a most thrilling and welcome cheer, as the squadron swept forward by our right. Col. Baldwin ran up, and shouted that he would place two troops in support of the battery as long as they were needed. It was the first time the battery had ever had a support of any kind.

After a couple of minutes, the enemy's fire perceptibly slackened. It was evident they were seeking cover from our fire in the bottom of their ditches, and our fire at this time was being made chiefly from the Gatling battery. This cessation of fire on the part of the enemy lasted about two minutes, and then the Gatling gunners observed the Spaniards climbing from their trenches. Until that time the Gatling battery had been worked with dogged persistency and grim silence, but from that moment every member of the battery yelled at the top of his voice until the command "Cease firing" was given. Groups of the enemy, as they climbed from their trenches, were caught by the fire of the guns, and were seen to melt away like a lump of salt in a glass of water. Bodies the size of a company would practically disappear an instant after a gun had been turned upon them.

This flight of the enemy from their trenches had been caused by the fact that the charging line had cut through the barb-wire fences at the foot of the hill, and had started up the slope. The Spaniards were unable to stay with their heads above the trenches to fire at the

charging-line, because of the missiles of death poured in by the machine guns; and to remain there awaiting the charge was certain death. They did not have the nerve to wait for the cold steel. They were demoralized because they had been compelled to seek the bottom of their trenches. American troops would have awaited the charge, knowing that the machine gun fire must cease before contact could occur, but the Spaniards forgot this in their excitement, and made the fatal mistake of running.

The Gatlings had the range to perfection. Capt. Boughton, who was one of the first officers upon the hill, stated, on the 1st of September at Montauk, that he visited a portion of the Spanish trenches immediately upon arriving at the crest, and that the trenches which he inspected were literally filled with writhing, squirming, tangled masses of dead and wounded Spaniards, and that the edge of the trenches was covered with wounded and dead Spaniards, who had been shot in the act of climbing out. This execution was done mainly by the machine guns, because the infantry and cavalry were not firing much when it was done; they were running up the hill to the charge.

Source: John H. Parker, *The Gatlings at Santiago*, 1898, Project Gutenberg, <http://www.gutenberg.lib.md.us/etext04/thgtl10.txt>.

48. Charge of the 10th Cavalry Up San Juan (Kettle) Hill

Introduction

Much of the American public supported U.S. intervention in Cuba. So overwhelming was the response to the call for volunteers that many of the recruits never went into action. The public passionately followed the progress of the war in newspapers and magazines. Both photographers and artists created a visual record of the Spanish-American War as they had in the American Civil War. Images such as this one, originally produced for publication, were then reproduced as prints and sold to an eager public. The dramatic charge up San Juan Hill on July 1, 1898, grew to mythic proportions in the public mind, and numerous artists tried to depict it. In order to capture the city of Santiago, the American forces had to storm San Juan Heights. Accordingly, their commander, Major General William Shafter, ordered a frontal attack against these heights. Before attacking San Juan Heights, however, the Americans had to secure a separate rise, Kettle Hill, that stood in front of San Juan Heights. After a successful charge up Kettle Hill, confusion reigned on the crest. The attack became badly disorganized



Source: Library of Congress

due to poor coordination, difficult terrain, and tropical heat, the latter of which disabled Shafter. The courage demonstrated by Theodore Roosevelt and other soldiers overcame the confusion to win the day.

Source: *Charge of the Tenth Cavalry Regiment on San Juan (Kettle) Hill.*

49. Frederic Remington, “How the Horses Died for Their Country at Santiago,” 1899

Introduction

Much of the American public supported U.S. intervention in Cuba. People passionately followed the progress of the war in newspapers and magazines. Both photographers and artists created a visual record of the Spanish-American War as they had in the American Civil War. Images of the war, originally produced for publication,

were then reproduced as prints and sold to an eager public. The art of Frederic Remington enjoyed widespread popularity. Remington had long made horses one of his favorite subjects. Before he went to Cuba, he had created numerous pictures featuring horses and riders in the American West. Later he focused on the training of cavalry at U.S. Army camps during the opening days of the war with Spain. In this picture, Remington portrayed the carnage among the horses at Santiago. He covered the Cuban War of Independence and the Spanish-American War for the *New York Journal*, creating pictures to illustrate articles. A widely repeated story about *Journal* publisher William Randolph Hearst alleged that he had cabled Remington in Cuba, saying “You supply the pictures, I’ll supply the war.” Although the story was denied and remains unproven, its popularity reveals that many found it entirely believable.



Source: Library of Congress

50. Presley Holliday, Letter to the Editor on the Performance of Black Soldiers in Cuba, April 22, 1899

Introduction

In order to capture Santiago, the American forces first had to storm San Juan Heights. Accordingly, on July 1, 1898, the American commander Major General William Shafter ordered a frontal attack against the heights. Before attacking San Juan Heights, the Americans had to secure a separate rise, Kettle Hill, that stood in front of San Juan Heights. Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt commanded a volunteer unit, the Rough Riders, that participated in a successful charge up the heights. Next to the Rough Riders were two regular regiments of dismounted black cavalry, the 9th and 10th U.S. Cavalry. Both regiments also charged. Once the Americans arrived on the crest, confusion reigned. In early 1899, Roosevelt wrote a description of the charge that appeared in *Scribner's Magazine*. He mentioned that he had drawn his revolver to prevent a party of black soldiers from retreating. Roosevelt's article provoked the black community. Both black and white participants of the charge challenged Roosevelt's contention about black cowardice. A black veteran of the 10th Regular Cavalry wrote the following refutation. It provides a completely different explanation of what took place and well illustrates the prevailing racial divide in the United States.

Primary Source

To the Editor of the "New York Age":

Having read in "The Age" of April 13th an editorial entitled "Our Troops in Cuba," which brings to my notice for the first time a statement made by Colonel Roosevelt, which, though in some parts true, if read by those who do not know the exact facts and circumstances surrounding the case, will certainly give rise to the wrong impression of colored men as soldiers, and hurt them for many a day to come, and as I was an eyewitness to the most important incidents mentioned in that statement, I deem it a duty I owe, not only to the fathers, mothers, sisters and brothers of those soldiers, and to the soldiers themselves, but to their posterity and the race in general, to be always ready to make an unprejudiced refutation of such charges, and to do all in my power to place the colored soldier where he properly belongs—among the bravest and most trustworthy of this land.

In the beginning, I wish to say that from what I saw of Colonel Roosevelt in Cuba, and the impression his frank countenance made upon me, I cannot believe that he made that statement maliciously. I believe the Colonel thought he spoke the exact truth. But did he know, that of the four officers connected with two certain troops of the Tenth Cavalry one was killed and three were so seriously wounded as to cause them to be carried from the field, and the command of these two troops fell to the first sergeants, who led them tri-

umphantly to the front? Does he know that both at Las Guasima and San Juan Hill the greater part of Troop B, of the Tenth Cavalry, was separated from its commanding officer by accidents of battle and was led to the front by its first sergeant?

When we reached the enemy's works on San Juan Hill our organizations were very badly mixed, few company commanders having their whole companies or none of somebody else's company. As it was, Capt. Watson, my troop commander, reached the crest of the hill with about eight or ten men of his troop, all the rest having been accidentally separated from him by the thick underbrush during the advance, and being at that time, as was subsequently shown, on the firing line under some one else pushing to the front. We kept up the forward movement, and finally halted on the heights overlooking Santiago, where Colonel Roosevelt, with a very thin line, had preceded us and was holding the hill. Here Captain Watson told us to remain while he went to another part of the line to look for the rest of his troop. He did not come to that part of the field again.

The Colonel made a slight error when he said his mixed command contained some colored infantry. All the colored troops in that command were cavalymen. His command consisted mostly of Rough Riders, with an aggregate of about one troop of the Tenth Cavalry, a few of the Ninth and a few of the First Regular Cavalry, with a half dozen officers. Every few minutes brought men from the rear, everybody seeming to be anxious to get to the firing line. For a while we kept up a desultory fire, but as we could not locate the enemy (he all the time keeping up a hot fire on our position), we became disgusted, and lay down and kept silent. Private Marshall was here seriously wounded while standing in plain view of the enemy, trying to point them out to his comrades.

There were frequent calls for men to carry the wounded to the rear, to go for ammunition, and as night came on, to go for rations and entrenching tools. A few colored soldiers volunteered, as did some from the Rough Riders. It then happened that two men of the Tenth were ordered to the rear by Lieutenant Fleming, Tenth Cavalry, who was then present with part of his troop, for the purpose of bringing either rations or entrenching tools, and Colonel Roosevelt, seeing so many men going to the rear, shouted to them to come back, jumped up and drew his revolver, and told the men of the Tenth that he would shoot the first man who attempted to shirk duty by going to the rear, that he had orders to hold that line and he would do so if he had to shoot every man there to do it. His own men immediately informed him that "you won't have to shoot those men, Colonel. We know those boys." He was also assured by Lieutenant Fleming, of the Tenth, that he would have no trouble keeping them there, and some of our men shouted, in which I joined, that "we will stay with you, Colonel." Everyone who saw the incident knew the Colonel was mistaken about our men trying to shirk duty, but well knew that he could not admit of any heavy

detail from his command, so no one thought ill of the matter. Inasmuch as the Colonel came to the line of the Tenth the next day and told the men of his threat to shoot some of their members, and, as he expressed it, he had seen his mistake and found them to be far different men from what he supposed. I thought he was sufficiently conscious of his error not to make so ungrateful a statement about us at a time when the Nation is about to forget our past service.

Had the Colonel desired to note the fact, he would have seen that when orders came the next day to relieve the detachment of the Tenth from that part of the field, he commanded just as many colored men at that time as he commanded at any other time during the twenty-four hours we were under his command, although colored as well as white soldiers were going and coming all day, and they knew perfectly well where the Tenth Cavalry was posted, and that it was on a line about four hundred yards further from the enemy than Colonel Roosevelt's line. Still, when they obtained permission to go to the rear, they almost invariably came back to the same position. Two men of my troop were wounded while going to the rear for water and taken to the hospital, and, of course, could not come back.

Our men always made it a rule to join the nearest command when separated from our own, and those who had been so unfortunate as to lose their way altogether were, both colored and white, straggling up from the time the line was established until far into the night, showing their determination to reach the front.

In explaining the desire of our men in going back to look for their comrades, it should be stated that, from the contour of the ground, the Rough Riders were so much in advance of the Tenth Cavalry that, to reach the latter regiment from the former, one had really to go straight to the rear, and then turn sharply to the right; and further, it is a well-known fact, that in this country most persons of color feel out of place when they are by force compelled to mingle with white persons, especially strangers, and although we knew we were doing our duty, and would be treated well as long as we stood to the front and fought, unfortunately some of our men (and these were all recruits with less than six months' service) felt so much out of place that when the firing lulled they often showed their desire to be with their commands. None of our older men did this. We knew perfectly well that we could give as much assistance there as anywhere else, and that it was our duty to remain until relieved. And we did. White soldiers do not, as a rule, share this feeling with colored soldiers. The fact that a white man knows how well he can make a place for himself among colored people need not be discussed here.

I remember an incident of a recruit of my troop, with less than two months' service, who had come up to our position during the evening of the 1st, having been separated from the troop during the attack on San Juan Hill. The next morning, before the firing began, having seen an officer of the Tenth, who had been sent to

Colonel Roosevelt with a message, returning to the regiment, he signified his intention of going back with him, saying he could thus find the regiment. I remonstrated with him without avail, and was only able to keep him from going by informing him of the Colonel's threat of the day before. There was no desire on the part of this soldier to shirk duty. He simply didn't know that he should not leave any part of the firing line without orders. Later, while lying in reserve behind the firing line, I had to use as much persuasion to keep him from firing over the heads of his enemies as I had to keep him with us. He remained with us until he was shot in the shoulder and had to be sent to the rear.

I could give many other incidents of our men's devotion to duty, of their determination to stay until the death, but what's the use? Colonel Roosevelt has said they shirked, and the reading public will take the Colonel at his word and go on thinking they shirked. His statement was uncalled for and uncharitable, and considering the moral and physical effect the advance of the Tenth Cavalry had in weakening the forces opposed to the Colonel's regiment, both at La Guasima and San Juan Hill, altogether ungrateful, and has done us an immeasurable lot of harm.

And further, as to lack of qualifications for command, I will say that when our soldiers, who can and will write history, sever their connections with the Regular Army, and thus release themselves from their voluntary status of military lockjaw, and tell what they saw, those who now preach that the Negro is not fit to exercise command over troops, and will go no further than he is led by white officers, will see in print held up for public gaze, much to their chagrin, tales of those Cuban battles that have never been told outside the tent and barrack room, tales that it will not be agreeable for some of them to hear. The public will then learn that not every troop or company of colored soldiers who took part in the assaults on San Juan Hill or El Caney was led or urged forward by its white officer.

It is unfortunate that we had no colored officers in that campaign, and this thing of white officers for colored troops is exasperating, and I join with "The Age" in saying our motto for the future must be: "No officers, no soldiers."

PRESLEY HOLLIDAY,

Sergeant Troop B, Tenth Cavalry. Fort Ringgold, Texas, April 22, 1899.

Source: Edward A. Johnson, *A School History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1890* (New York: Isaac Goldmann, 1911), 255–263.

51. John Bigelow Jr., *Reminiscences of the Santiago Campaign, 1899*

[Excerpt]

Introduction

In order to capture Santiago, the American forces first had to storm San Juan Heights. Accordingly, on July 1, 1898, the American commander Major General William Shafter ordered a frontal attack against these heights. Among the regiments participating in the charge were two regular regiments of dismounted black cavalry, the 9th and 10th U.S. Cavalry. At the time, racial segregation was firmly in place. Only white men served as officers over the black regiments. One such officer, John Bigelow, a white captain in the 10th U.S. Cavalry, wrote a book describing his experiences in the Santiago Campaign. Published a year after the campaign ended, Bigelow's account of the charge against San Juan Heights offers a detailed depiction. His account emphasizes the difficulty of moving through barbed wire obstacles, the lethal effect of long-range rifle fire, and the difficulty of imposing command and control on a modern battlefield. Theodore Roosevelt featured prominently in the charge. Both Roosevelt and his admirers wrote accounts of the charge that helped cement Roosevelt's status as a war hero. Bigelow provides a refutation to one of the exaggerated claims made on Roosevelt's behalf.

Primary Source

[...]

Pushing on a short distance, we came upon a road lined with our infantry. It was on the far edge of the woods, and beyond it stretched a plain about six hundred yards wide, overgrown with tall grass like that through which we had lately passed. At the farther edge of the plain was a hill about one hundred and fifty feet high, the side towards us sloping at an angle of about forty degrees. On the top of the hill was a block-house and a structure that looked liked a shed. Here and there a puff of light smoke indicated that it was manned by infantry who were firing at us. I was at last where I had been trying to get—at the front. The hill was the position now so well known as the San Juan Hill. About one hundred yards in front of our main line, which I joined with my men, was a thin line of infantry firing at the enemy on the hill from behind a gentle swell in the ground.

... Along the side of the road in which we were lying ran a barbed-wire fence. I was soon cogitating as to how we should get through that fence when the time should come for us to advance. There was not a pair of wire-nippers in my troop. I understand, on good authority, that there were two hundred pairs on board our transport, the *Leona*. I wriggled myself up to one of the fence-posts and dug at the foot of it with both hands, but soon concluded that I could not accomplish anything in that way. I then stood up, and

pulled and pushed at the post, but made no appreciable impression upon it. So I lay down again and left the fence alone.

It looked to me, while lying in this road, as if the advanced line to which I have referred fell back, but I am told that it did not. I asked the officer who was walking up and down in the road if it was not time for us to advance to its support. He replied that he supposed it would be pretty soon, or something to that effect, and went on walking as before. One man, who had no doubt been in the advance-line, fell back and halted directly in front of me in the tall grass on the opposite side of the fence. The silhouette of his manly young face and figure as he nestled up to the fence, his gun clutched in both hands, and his eyes riveted on the hill, are indelibly impressed upon my memory. I remarked to him that he had better come through the fence. Some one added, with true soldierly bluntness, "A man was shot there not long ago." He took a glance our way out of the corners of his eyes, and then replaced them upon the hill, seeming to close his fingers a little tighter, and so remained, as if hypnotized.

Suddenly my attention was attracted by a cry of pain, followed by moaning and groaning on my right. Turning my head, I saw a man sitting up holding his hand on his side. "Somebody take my gun," he said, "and blow my brains out. Won't somebody finish me? O, God! O, God!" He and Sergeant Elliot had been shooting at the hill. With the aid of Sergeant Elliot I examined his wound, as I thought. All that I found was an abrasion of two ribs. I told him that he was but slightly hurt. He said, "Oh, Captain, I can't breathe." I replied, "Yes, you can breathe, or you couldn't make so much noise. Now be quiet." He was quiet after that. I have since heard from Sergeant Elliot that this man was shot through the bowels, and have reproached myself for my impatience with him. He must have been wounded at least twice. Before long I was to know more than I did then about the sensations produced by Mauser bullets, and to have wounds of my own overlooked. While gazing through the wire fence, I suddenly observed near the edge of the open field a swarm of men breaking forward from the direction of the road on my left. I jumped to my feet and, under the inspiration of the moment, took hold of the nearest fence-post, and put one foot on the lowest wire close to the post. Stepping from wire to wire as on the rounds of a ladder, I climbed to the top of the fence, and jumped from it down into the field, calling out as I struck the ground, "Come along, men!" After a momentary pause to see my men start through or over the fence, I struck out as fast as the tall grass would permit me towards the common objective of the mass of men which I now saw surging forward on my right and left. It was San Juan Hill, which Hawkins's brigade had undertaken to carry by assault. The cavalry division started forward, I believe, at the same time. In an account of the attack on San Juan Hill, by Richard Harding Davis, published in *Scribners Magazine*, the writer does me the honor to mention me by name as one of the junior officers of the Tenth Cavalry who followed Colonel Roosevelt, as he, with his Rough Riders, broke cover and

started across the plain. It is due to myself to say that whatever I did to contribute to the success of our arms was done without the inspiration of Colonel Roosevelt's example. It was never my good fortune to see that distinguished soldier in Cuba.

I had misgivings as to the result of our attempt. I thought of the Prussian Guards at St.-Privat, and almost expected that we would be brought to a halt and have to await reinforcements or supports before we reached the base of the hill. But we never stopped until we got to the top of it, excepting individual men who halted to fire over the heads of men and officers in front of them, and the unlucky ones, of whom I was one, who were arrested by Spanish bullets. We had advanced without any command that I know of, and the men commenced firing of their own accord. I tried to stop the firing, as I thought it would dangerously retard the advance, and other officers near me tried also to stop it. I even pointed my pistol at the men. But it was no use. A constant stream of bullets went over the heads of the officers and of most of the men towards the hill. The men covered about fifty yards of ground from front to rear. There was hardly a semblance of a line—simply a broad swarm. The men cheered and yelled; the officers, well out in front, where they belonged, waved their swords and showed them the way. Some of the officers put their hats on the points of their swords. I, not having any sword or sabre, brandished my pistol. The men kept up a double-time, except when they halted to fire, which they did standing. I moved at a run, but about every hundred yards threw myself down in the grass to rest and allow the men to close up on me. On my right, out in front of everybody else, a stripling of a Cuban, in the soiled white jacket and trousers common both to Cubans and Spaniards, bounded forward, waving his straw hat and occasionally looking back at the troops. Our firing, though wild, was not altogether ineffective, and retarded our advance less than I at first thought it would. I could see the side of the hill dotted with little clouds of dust thrown up by our bullets. We peppered it pretty hotly from top to bottom, and I have learned since that many dead and wounded Spaniards were found in the trenches on the top of the hill. These casualties, however, were caused in part—perhaps mostly—by the fire of our small advance-line before the assault. The men in this line were, I believe, classified marksmen and sharp-shooters.

As we approached the hill I asked an officer near me whether he did not think we should try to halt the men, and open a regular fire upon the top of the hill. He replied to the effect that we could not halt them, and that they might as well keep a-going. So on we went. Just then, bang! whiz! went a cannon-shot over our heads. Our artillery had started shelling the top of the hill. I wondered whether the artillery would see us, and stop firing. A moment afterwards it did stop, but, in the mean time, Captain McFarland, of the Sixteenth Infantry, among the foremost on the hill, was struck in the back of the head and disabled by a piece of shell. When I was about half-way to the top my wind completely gave out, and I threw myself down for a moment's rest. On getting up, I stood looking at the scene

below me. About half a mile across the bright green field, dotted here and there with stately trees in which lurked the reckless and murderous Spanish sharp-shooters, stretched the on-coming shouting and shooting mass of men in blue. A single banner of stars and stripes, out-stretched by its cleaving of the motionless air, fluttered proudly and inspiringly over them, its shining spear seeming to point the way forward and upward. I felt as if that human billow would sweep away the enemy, hill and all, and was never so proud of being an American as at that moment.

[...]

Source: John Bigelow Jr., *Reminiscences of the Santiago Campaign* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1899), 116, 121–127.

52. Charles Johnson Post, Account of the 71st New York Infantry at Kettle Hill, 1899

Introduction

Charles Johnson Post volunteered for service in the 71st New York Infantry. Post's narrative is considered to be one of the best-written, most accurate, and even humorous accounts of service in the Spanish-American War. His regiment played a prominent role in the Battle of Santiago, fought on July 1, 1898. In order to capture Santiago, the American forces first had to storm San Juan Heights. Accordingly, the American commander, Major General William Shafter, ordered a frontal attack against the heights. The attack soon became badly disorganized due to poor coordination, difficult terrain, and tropical heat, the latter of which disabled Shafter. Before attacking San Juan Heights, the Americans had to secure a separate rise, Kettle Hill, that stood in front of San Juan Heights. The following excerpt provides one view of this charge and the inspirational role played by a junior officer, Lieutenant Ord. It also alludes to the important role played by a detachment of Gatling guns, a rapid-fire weapon that was the forerunner of the modern machine gun. At a critical moment, Lieutenant John Parker brought his Gatling guns up the hill to open fire at close range against the Spanish entrenchments. Parker's intervention turned the tide of battle, and the Spanish immediately began withdrawing from Kettle Hill.

Primary Source

Lieutenant Ord was on General Hawkins' staff. He was the brigade quartermaster who had issued us the sowbelly, hardtack, sugar, and salt and pepper the night before. We knew him; he was easy to know. He had joked with the details as they arrived for rations and as they left. He was one of those men who fit in anywhere. Lieutenant Ord was with General Hawkins as they crossed the ford and waited for

word of the deflected regiment that was to open the assault on San Juan Hill. Hawkins was ready to put his two regiments in movement, but he wanted a covering fire to mislead the Spaniards.

There was some cover on this fringe of the jungle, but the Spaniards knew they were there and were pouring in a heavy fire. General Hawkins realized that something had happened and that he was on his own. To order a charge across that open scrubby plain, unprepared by preliminary artillery, and with but little more than one-half his brigade would be a desperate tactic. But he had been left in a desperate situation. It was a crisis—and a crisis is often measured in less than minutes. Lieutenant Ord knew what was going on in the general's mind, and he spoke:

"General, if you will order a charge I will lead it."

Against that fire, with but a fraction of a brigade, and with no knowledge of the strength of the Spaniards in the trenches of the Hill or reserved under the shelter beyond! The military lessons of Pickett's charge at Gettysburg were history; not enough men reached Union lines to capture them. Around General Hawkins wounded men were crawling through the brush, every minute more would be counted. It was then that he heard the drumming of Lieutenant Parker's Gatlings and could see the dust spurting in sudden jets upon the Hill as the guns sprayed it.

Lieutenant Ord spoke again.

"If you do not wish to order a charge, General," he said, "I should like to volunteer. May I volunteer? We can't stay here, can we?"

"I would not ask a man to volunteer," said General Hawkins gravely.

"If you do not forbid it," said Ord, "I will start it."

General Hawkins listened to the drumming of the Gatlings. (Two of them were later to jam or burn out with the rapidity of their fire.) The fringe of dust lined the Hill in front of the blockhouse, and the Spanish fire seemed to have slackened. The Gatlings were doing it!

"I only ask you, General, not to refuse permission," added Ord.

"I will not ask for volunteers," said General Hawkins. "I will not give permission and I will not refuse it. God bless you and good luck!"

Lieutenant Ord jumped forward from the brush in a running crouch with his saber in one hand and his pistol in the other.

"Come on—come on, you fellows!" he yelled. "Come on—we can't stop here!"

In the next instant the scraggly undergrowth burst in a ragged fringe of blue-shirted men, crouching and running, with Ord in the lead. There went up what the academic histories call a cheer, but it was nothing more than a hoarse scream of relief from scores of men and the yell that soldiers give those whom they wish to honor. It was Hawkins' brigade, its two regiments, the Sixth and Sixteenth running in a pack, unleashed from the jungle, and hell-bent for the red-tiled roof that crowned San Juan Hill. It was a running spearhead. There was no nice order, no neatly formed companies crossing that plain or mounting the slope. It was more like a football field when the game is over and a mess of people are straggling across it, except that these men were on the run, yelling, and with no time to lose. At their head, Lieutenant Ord, in the lead, scrambled up the steep hill.

The Gatlings stopped firing when the charge neared the crest. As a matter of fact—wholly unknown until the charge revealed it—the Spaniards had constructed their trenches on the actual crest of the Hill instead of at the military crest; the military crest is the hip-roof angle of a hill, or the rim where troops may fire down on the enemy as he reaches the foot, which cannot be done if the trench is dug at the actual crest. Thus, when our men were at the foot of the Hill, the Spaniards were unable to see them, and from the base to the military crest Lieutenant Ord and his men were as safe as if they had been back in Siboney. From the military crest to the actual crest was but twenty to thirty feet and no charge can be stopped with such a distance.

Thus it was that there were no casualties once the climb had begun. The rush over the military crest was swift. The Spaniards were already leaving—those that could. Lieutenant Ord, in the lead, jumped over the trench and, as he did so, a wounded Spaniard shot from below and Ord's hat flew off. He landed in a crumpled heap and lay still, dead. That evening I met two men who claimed to have killed the Spaniard. One showed me the bloody butt of his carbine with pride. Ord, Ord, that evening the name ran along the trenches that we had captured. All the Sixth and the Sixteenth knew it; he was the man.

Source: Charles Johnson Post, *The Little War of Private Post* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1960), 182–186.

53. Charles Johnson Post, Account of the 71st New York Infantry at San Juan Hill, 1899

Introduction

Charles Johnson Post volunteered for service in the 71st New York Infantry. Post's narrative is considered to be one of the best-written,

most accurate, and even humorous accounts of military service during the Spanish-American War. His regiment played a prominent role in the Battle of Santiago, fought on July 1, 1898. In order to capture Santiago, the American forces first had to storm San Juan Heights. Accordingly, the American commander, Major General William Shafter, ordered a frontal attack against these heights. The attack soon became badly disorganized due to poor coordination, difficult terrain, and tropical heat, the latter of which disabled Shafter. In addition, many of the American volunteer units, including the 71st New York, still had black-powder weapons, which emitted a thick smoke plume. The smoke both obscured the shooter's vision and revealed his position. The Spanish infantry in Cuba had rifles that fired smokeless powder. Earlier in the action, the 71st New York Volunteers had panicked and refused to advance. This excerpt describes what took place after several companies rallied and returned to the battle. The account speaks of a "close order" charge, meaning soldiers standing shoulder to shoulder. Throughout the era of musket warfare, soldiers charged in close order. Advances in military technology made such charges too costly.

Primary Source

In company front, shoulder to shoulder, F and M doubled down to the barbed-wire fence that was to have protected the flank of the blockhouse. The wind was coming from the left. We opened rapid fire as we dropped to the ground slightly in advance of the battery on our right. It was the last action in which American troops went into battle in close order. With the first blast from our black-powder .45–70 Springfields, the front was clouded in an instantaneous white fog of smoke. Captain Goldsborough of M, as well as Captain Rafferty, stood upright behind the lines of their prone companies. Perhaps we were there three minutes, perhaps five. The first blast of smoke obscured everything and, from that one on, we fired through the haze at where we remembered the distant Spanish trenches had been. You jammed a cartridge in, snapped the butt of the Springfield hard against your shoulder—for the recoil was like a hurled brick—and pulled the trigger. The Spaniards instantly turned all they had into our cloud of smoke, including their Maxim machine guns. We heard no sound of bullets. The crack and bank of our Springfields drowned out all other sounds.

The man beside me quivered and his head dropped over the stock of his rifle; it was Frank Booth, dead, with a hole above his eye. He was an only son, and only child, we knew. On the run to the barbed wire my corporal, round-faced Corporal Scheid, was drilled through the stomach. He never had a chance to fire a shot. He died that night in the field hospital, and how he got back there no one knows. We heard that he and Jesse Pohalski, who was shot through the foot, had helped each other. F Company had one man killed and nine wounded in those few minutes at the barbed wire; M Company lost four killed and ten wounded at the same time. One hundred and twenty-five men went over in those two companies to that barbed wire, and

twenty-four were casualties; over five a minute. It was a twenty per cent casualty list—and the books say that a ten percent casualty is the point at which demoralization sets in. Then, by whistle, we withdrew; the battery had been withdrawn under the cover we made.

Source: Charles Johnson Post, *The Little War of Private Post* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1960), 199–200.

54. George R. Van De Water, Account of the 71st New York Infantry in the Santiago Campaign, 1927

Introduction

In order to capture Santiago, the American forces first had to storm San Juan Heights. Accordingly, on July 1, 1898, the American commander, Major General William Shafter, ordered a frontal attack against the heights. The attack soon became badly disorganized due to poor coordination, difficult terrain, and tropical heat, the latter of which disabled Shafter. In addition, many of the American volunteer units, including the 71st New York, still had black-powder weapons, which emitted a thick smoke plume. The smoke both obscured the shooter's vision and revealed his position. The Spanish infantry in Cuba had Mauser rifles that fired smokeless powder. The following account, written by the regimental chaplain, describes the march to battle of the 71st New York. The account begins as the regiment is passing through a ravine that subsequently became known as the Bloody Bend. The writer does not accurately report that the regiment panicked and refused to advance, leaving the battle to be fought by the regulars and the Rough Riders. The account ends with the writer's accurate observation that very little went according to plan. The battle was largely won because of the initiative of junior officers and the fighting spirit of the American forces.

Primary Source

Scarcely had we taken up our march and entered the bend when bullets and shell began to pour in thick and fast upon us, not at any time demoralizing, but somewhat interfering with the steady march forward. Human nature is the same the world over. It is absurd either to speak of regulars as impervious to fear or of volunteers as incapable of courage. The writer of this history rode mounted for a full half mile where the shot and shell were thickest and returned the same distance walking on the same road and under the same conditions, and can testify that men in every command naturally winced a bit, or while marching, might try to creep along the bushes at the side of the road, but not in a single instance was there a company or a squad even out of its place or behind in its pace moving forward.

Before and above us went a balloon under the direction of Capt. George McC. Derby, Engineer Corps, U.S.A. What purpose it ever

served, except to indicate to the enemy the exact location of our troops, nobody has ever discovered. At last, riddled by shot, the old thing collapsed, and certainly nobody in the 5th Army Corps, outside of the Signal Corps and a few back at headquarters, some four miles distant, regretted its destruction.

This firing along this road was peculiar and constitutes a feature of the San Juan engagement. Everybody had to go through it. Everyone, therefore, of the regiment who started out from Sevilla that morning, including colored servants, must have been under fire. Some remained under it longer than others, but nobody was wholly beyond its danger. The 71st as a regiment was for at least one hour under continuous fire, under the following conditions, which made the experience particularly distressing: The Spanish used smokeless powder. They knew we must come by this one road. Their scouts and spies, or, if not these, our balloon, told them just when. They put sharpshooters in the tall cocoanut palm trees along this portion of the road. They fired from their block-houses and entrenchments at the top of the hills, and besides volleys of musketry and single bullets of the sharpshooters, there was frequently the bursting of shell over our heads and shrapnel flying in every direction.

Under these conditions one would think pandemonium would have reigned. Nothing of the kind. There was a silence that was ominous. Other than “ping,” “ping,” the noise of Mauser bullets and the sound of hundreds of leaves pierced instantaneously, a sound all its own, and the mournful “whirr,” “whirr,” of passing shells, it was like a funeral march. We couldn’t see any smoke. We couldn’t tell where the enemy were. We were marching into the jaws of death. Men fell dead and wounded on every side. The marvel still is that so few were killed. One would think that half a regiment under these conditions would have been extinguished. It cannot be recalled by anyone there without a thought of the marvelous mercy of God.

Not a return shot was fired. None was ordered. Nobody could tell where to shoot. Occasionally we would hear the report of one of our light artillery guns which would encourage us, but for all too long a time we marched in columns of fours, under the trying conditions here faithfully narrated. Colonel Downs rode quiet and dignified at the head, followed by his staff, all mounted, and then followed the three battalions in regimental order, not a break occurring in the ranks, except when some one would drop dead, as did Privates Skinner of Company B, and Scofield of Company K; Corporals Immen of Company C, and Schied of Company F, or were wounded, as were Lieutenant Trull of Company K; Private Deutchberger of Company C, and many others whose names will be found in the official list of the casualties of this engagement.

At last reaching a trail that turned into this road at the left, on a little eminence by the turn stood General Kent who said—the writer

of this history distinctly heard the order—“Colonel Downs, you will take your regiment along this trail and follow it to the ford of the stream and there rest.” The Colonel said: “How far, General, is this ford from here?” The General replied: “I do not know.” “Very well, sir,” said Colonel Downs, who at once dismounted, ordered his staff to do likewise and said to the Chaplain: “Your place is with the Surgeons looking after sick and wounded,” then ordering his regiment to “column left,” he boldly, and bravely, and confidently led them, shot and shell still and for hours subsequently continuously pouring in upon them.

The regiment was led along this trail as far as it seemed possible to the commanding officer to take them without unnecessarily exposing them to a shower of bullets crossing an open space in the road, and there was halted, waiting further orders. Other regiments, either of infantry or of dismounted cavalry, having received different orders than those given to our Colonel marched by our troops while halted, and some of them, with an impertinence unsuited to gentlemen and disorder unbefitting regulars who pride themselves upon being soldiers, cried out to some of our troops “to go forward.”

The 71st Regiment obeyed its orders and was obeying orders when there it halted. As subsequently it proved that the whole engagement was in no sense a General’s battle; that the original plan of attack upon El Caney, with the troops on the left under General Kent, held in reserve, was absolutely changed by the turn of events, it might have been well for the Colonel of the 71st to have done what Captains and Majors did, go forward without orders. There is no doubt about it, much as was the success of this famous engagement of San Juan due to regiments and battalions and even companies going independently to the hill without orders from Brigade and Division Commanders; had not success crowned these efforts, and nothing succeeds like success, these very officers whose gallantry we admire might have been court-martialed for acting independently of orders.

Source: Augustus Theodore Francis, *History of the 71st Regiment, N. G.*, N. Y. (New York: Veterans Association, 1919), 637–640.

55. Embury P. Clark, Account of the 2nd Massachusetts Infantry in the Santiago Campaign, 1927

Introduction

When the commander of the American forces in Cuba, Major General William Shafter, received intelligence that the Spanish were about to be reinforced, he resolved to attack. The Battle of Santiago took place on July 1, 1898. Shafter ordered a frontal attack against San Juan Heights. To support the frontal attack, he sent

General Henry Lawton's division with more than 6,000 men to clear the American right flank by capturing a hilltop settlement called El Caney. Shafter expected Lawton to accomplish this in about two hours. Then Lawton was to march around the Spanish flank and attack San Juan Heights. The plan was sound, but its execution proved very difficult. The attack soon became badly disorganized due to poor coordination, difficult terrain, and tropical heat. Although the Spanish garrison at El Caney numbered only 520 men, they were well entrenched and were armed with modern Mauser rifles, and they were determined fighters. One of the attacking regiments was a volunteer unit, the 2nd Massachusetts Infantry. Its soldiers carried obsolete black-powder rifles, which proved a crippling disadvantage. Spanish fire drove the volunteers out of the line. Even though the American forces outnumbered the defenders by better than 10 to 1, they were unable to capture El Caney until shortly after 4:00 p.m. when the Spaniards began to run out of ammunition.

Primary Source

July 1, 1898, was a momentous day for the Second Massachusetts, as it was for Cuba and for the future of much of the world's history. Capron's battery early opened up on the stone fort at El Caney, and as the Second moved forward, the men heard for the first time the peculiar hiss of Spanish Mauser bullets, as they came over, high in the air. As the regiment advanced, the wounded of other organizations began to filter back to the rear. Soon, the whine of the Mausers was broken by the heavier sound of Remington bullets, which had an explosive snap, as they passed overhead. Rolls were thrown off and left under guard, and through the tall grass and delayed by occasional barbed-wire fences, the regiment moved forward and took position in a sunken road, which served as part protection from the hot fire of the Spanish troops.

El Caney, a little town nestling against the hills, lay almost directly in front of the regiment, with the now famous stone fort to the right on a small elevation. Well constructed trenches could be seen in front of the stone fort and surrounding the edges of the town, while attractive looking little block-houses, each occupied by a few Spanish sharpshooters, effectively flanked any effort by American troops to encircle the town. A little to the left of the position was the village church, converted into a fort with pierced loopholes, and the entire Spanish field of rifle fire was strongly protected against and American assault, by row upon row of wire entanglements.

The duty assigned to Ludlow's brigade on July 1st, was apparently to take position on the left of the American line of battle, and block the enemy's possible retreat to the city of Santiago. As the Second Massachusetts opened fire on the Spanish lines, the remainder of the brigade, the 8th and the 22nd Regular Infantry, were hotly engaged in firing regular volleys with their Krag-Jörgensons. But the Second, with its Springfield rifles and lacking smokeless ammunition, soon found itself at a tremendous disadvantage, as the smoke

from the black powder cartridges betrayed to the Spanish riflemen, the position of the Second, with uncanny accuracy. This, indeed, proved such a murderous handicap, that in a short while, most organizations of the regiment were instructed to hold their fire, and wait until the Spanish forces were driven from their defenses by American rifle and artillery fire.

And so the Second Massachusetts was placed in the most uncomfortable and nerve racking position, of lying prone under terrific hostile fire, without being able to reply in kind. Physical activity under fire, either forward or to the rear, is not to be compared in nerve strain to an inactive passivity, which is nevertheless quite as important at times, as the more dramatic movement of charging troops. "They also serve who only stand and wait." And the Second, mistakenly equipped with out-of-date weapons, acquitted itself at El Caney as New England soldiers have done in every war of the Republic.

Source: Society of the Army of Santiago de Cuba, *The Santiago Campaign: Reminiscences . . .* (Richmond, VA: Williams Printing Company, 1927).

56. James A. Moss, Account of the 25th U.S. Infantry in the Santiago Campaign, 1927

Introduction

When the commander of the American forces in Cuba, Major General William Shafter, received intelligence that the Spanish were about to be reinforced, he resolved to attack against San Juan Heights. The Battle of Santiago took place on July 1, 1898. Shafter ordered a frontal attack against the heights. To support the frontal attack, Shafter sent General Henry Lawton's division with more than 6,000 men to clear the American right flank by capturing a hilltop settlement called El Caney. Shafter expected Lawton to accomplish this in about two hours. Then Lawton was to march around the Spanish flank and attack San Juan Heights. The plan was sound, but its execution proved difficult. The attack soon became disorganized due to poor coordination, difficult terrain, and tropical heat. Although the Spanish garrison at El Caney numbered only 520 men, they were well entrenched and armed with modern Mauser rifles, and they were determined fighters. The American attack made little progress until the defenders began to run out of ammunition. Shortly after 4:00 p.m., the Americans finally managed to storm a stone fort that was the key to the Spanish position. The 25th Infantry was one of four black regular army regiments that participated in the Cuban campaign. All of the commissioned officers in these regiments were white. A white company-grade officer wrote the following account of the 25th Infantry at El Caney.

Primary Source

About noon orders were received to strip for action, and leaving a guard of eight recruits in charge of the blanket rolls and haversacks, the regiment started to advance. Two hundred yards takes them to the main El Caney-Santiago Road. Turning to the right they follow this road half a mile or so, and making another turn in the same direction, the command enters a by-road. Here they halt. A Spanish sharpshooter, stationed in the top of a cocoanut tree, has just seen the column, and is making things interesting for some of them; bullets from El Caney are beginning to whiz overhead. Word is passed, "Lie low, men!"

The dead, dying and wounded are being taken past to the rear. The wounded and their attendants are telling the Twenty-fifth: "Give them hell, boys; they've been doing us dirt all morning." A member of the Second Massachusetts, carrying several canteens, and going to the rear for water, says to our soldiers: "The buggers are hidden behind rocks, in weeds and in underbrush, and we just simply can't locate them; they are shooting our men all to pieces."

The procession is, indeed, terrible! Men with arms in slings; men with bandaged legs and bloody faces; men stripped to the waist, with a crimson bandage around the chest or shoulder; men staggering along unaided; men in litters—some groaning, some silent, with hats or bloodstained handkerchiefs over their faces; some dead, some dying! It all seems like a dream—a terrible dream!

"Forward, march," comes the command. The regiment advances a few hundred yards and halts. Two companies (G, Lieutenants McCorkle and Moss, and H, Lieutenant Caldwell) are at once ordered to form the firing line, the position of which is about 800 yards from and facing a stone fort on a high, commanding hill, almost in the town of El Caney. The other two companies of the battalion (Captain Scott's) are in support, and the rest of the regiment is in reserve. The Twenty-fifth's left connects with the Fourth's right.

"Forward, guide left, march," is given, and advancing two hundred yards through a grass field, hidden from the enemy's view by a double row of trees, they reach a barbed wire fence. Some of the soldiers are supplied with wire cutters; the command at once cuts its way through, and crossing a lane, enters an open pineapple patch. Ye gods! it is raining lead! The line recoils like a mighty serpent, and then, in confusion, advances again. The Spaniards now see them and are pouring a most murderous fire into their ranks. Men are dropping everywhere. C Company (Lieutenant Murdock) is rushing up to reinforce the line. The bullets are cutting the pineapples under our very feet—the slaughter is awful!

One platoon of E Company (Lieutenant Kinnison) is running up to strengthen the left of the line. D Company (Captain Edwards and Lieutenant Hunt) is on the right, working its way through high weeds and jungle underbrush.

The Spaniards are using smokeless powder, and being under cover, we cannot locate them. A few yards to our left are high weeds, a few paces to the right thick underbrush and trees, a short distance to the front a veritable jungle—all, for more than we know, alive with Spaniards. The bullets, missives of death from sources unknown, are raining into our faces. A soldier comes running up and cries out, "Lieutenant, we're shooting into our own men!" Mid the crackling of rifles, the whizzing of bullets, the killing and wounding of men, and the orders of the officers, great is the confusion! How helpless, oh, how helpless we feel! Our men are being shot down under our very feet, and we, their officers, can do nothing for them. It seems as if fate is about to turn against us. The faithful darkies, with determination and devotion stamped in every line of their black faces, are looking appealingly to their white officers, almost saying, "Lieutenant, jes tell me wat ter do, an' ah'll do it!"

The officers in the pineapple patch are now holding a consultation, and decide there is but one thing for United States Regulars to do—advance! Advance until they find the enemy.

The onward movement is just about to start. Lieutenant McCorkle is under a small cherry tree, kneeling on one knee; unbuttoning his shirt, he lowers his head and beholds in the pit of his right arm a ghastly wound, and then, poor fellow, he falls over, mortally wounded. A man on his right exclaims, "Ugh!" and dropping his rifle, falls dead. Another just in front cries out, "I'm shot!" Bullets are dropping like hail! One officer and two privates make two attempts to carry their wounded commander's body to a place of shelter, but both times they are driven back by Spanish bullets; a third effort, however, is successful.

McCorkle is dead! Moss takes command of the company. A rush of fifty yards takes them to a place of comparative shelter; here they rest a while.

Lieutenant Murdock is wounded, and Lieutenant Moss takes command of his company also; another rush over exposed ground, and C and G Companies find shelter in a small stream.

Lieutenants Caldwell and Kinnison have been gradually working their way up another stream, and are now about two hundred yards from the fort, and for the first time since the firing line was formed do our men see the Spaniards.

Zip, zip, zip! The air is filled with bullets! Captain Edwards drops, wounded through the right groin, and Lieutenant Hunt takes command of the company.

"Now, men, altogether!" and a dash of forty yards takes C and G Companies to the crest of a small hill, where they join Lieutenants Caldwell and Kinnison.

Lieutenant Hunt's company is firing over the crest of a hillock fifty yards to the front and right.

Our firing line is now no more than one hundred and fifty yards from the fort, and our men are doing grand work. A general fusillading for a few minutes, and then orders are given for no one but marksmen and sharpshooters to fire. Thirty or forty of these dead-shots are pouring lead into every rifle-pit, door, window and porthole in sight. The earth, brick and mortar are fairly flying! The Spaniards are shaken and demoralized; bare-headed and without rifles, they are frantically running from their rifle-pits to the fort, and from the fort to the rifle-pits. Our men are shooting them down like dogs. A young officer is running up and down, back of the firing line, and waving his hat above his head, is exclaiming to the men in the rear: "Come on, come on, men; we've got 'em on the run!" "Remember the *Maine*!" shouts a sergeant. "Give them hell, men!" cries out an officer. "There's another!" shouts a soldier; bang, bang, bang! and another Spaniard drops. Four are shot down in the door of the fort.

A Spaniard appears in the door of the fort and presents to the Twenty-fifth a white flag, but is shot down before the firing line can be controlled. Another takes up the flag, and he, too, falls.

The fort has been silenced. However, a galling flank fire is now coming from the village and a small block-house on our left. As long as we remain in our present position we can accomplish but little, as the walls of the block-house are impervious to our bullets. It is therefore decided to rush forward and change direction to the left, thus gaining a position facing and slightly above the block-house.

The line is now being formed for the final rush; all is ready—they're off. One company of the Twelfth Infantry, which has been working its way up on the right is also rushing up. Lieutenant Kinnison is wounded and taken off the field. Men are still dropping by the wayside, but on, on, up, up, they go, those dusky boys in blue.

The line is now occupying its new position; some of our men are shooting into the town and others are shooting down through the roof of the block-house; the Spaniards are falling over one another to get out. The heavy firing has ceased, and after twenty-five or thirty minutes of desultory firing, El Caney itself surrenders. Where but a moment ago floated the Spanish flag now flutters the stars and stripes!

And thus it was that at El Caney, "The Hornet's Nest," our colored regulars fought and won.

Source: Capt. James A. Moss, "The Battle of El Caney," *Journal U.S. Cavalry Association* 14 (July 1903–April 1904): 81–88.

57. John Black Atkins, British Account of the Action at San Juan, Cuba, 1899

Introduction

John B. Atkins was a special correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*, a British newspaper. He sailed from England in April 1898 to cover the war; joined the American forces in Tampa, Florida; and accompanied them during the invasion of Cuba. He observed the landing of the troops in Santiago and witnessed from a distance the fighting at El Caney and San Juan Hill on July 1, 1898. After spending time in quarantine because of the risk of spreading yellow fever, Atkins sailed to Puerto Rico, where he interviewed General Nelson A. Miles about the 19-day campaign to capture Puerto Rico. Atkins published a book of his experiences in 1899. The passage below describes American soldiers marching to attack San Juan Heights. The attack soon became badly disorganized. Making their way through a junglelike forest, the Americans could not see the Spanish until they came very close. The Spanish, on the other hand, had premeasured the ranges and were able to deliver accurate artillery fire. Moreover, the Americans betrayed their position by towing a Signal Corps balloon along with the attacking column. This balloon pinpointed the front of the advancing line of troops, and Spanish artillery soon began striking the ground where soldiers were holding the balloon's tow rope.

Primary Source

Gradually the fire crept down the rope. The enemy realised what was at the bottom of it. The loss round it was disastrous. Still the column moved on. Men were dropping. To the private soldier the whole thing was mysterious, unnerving, baffling. Where was the fire coming from? The enemy were invisible. Were they on a hill which could not be seen? Were they entrenched? Was it a front or an enfilading fire, or were the enemy already in the rear? The pop and ping of the Mauser were near at hand, but it is as difficult to tell where a rifle shot is fired in the bush as to tell where pennies are being clicked when your eyes are shut.

Still the advance continued blindly along the mile and a half of lane. The balloon was drilled with as many holes as a pepper-box; it began to grow flabby, to curl up, and to lose its shape. Then it came down limply, having rendered enough disservice for the day. At last the brook was crossed for the second time. Men fell and splashed in the water, and the water itself was spitting with the bullets. Under the shelter of one bank some surgeons were already busy with the wounded. Men being carried back through the lane on litters with streaming faces or bodies called on the men advancing to get "even with the enemy" for them.

All the men I happen to have seen hit have behaved in the same way. When they were struck they fell down; they might have been struck only in the arm, leg or foot, but they fell down. And they re-

marked—one may insist on the word, for they never cried out aloud—“I’m hit,” “I’m done,” or “They’ve got me”; nothing more. If there was vehemence in suffering or in exclamation it came later. In the first moments a man will regard himself with astonishment rather than with despair. And nearly all wounded men I have spoken to have told me that when the ball hit them they felt as though someone had struck them a numbing blow with a stout stick or a club.

Source: John Black Atkins, *The War in Cuba: The Experiences of an Englishman with the United States Army* (London: Smith, Elder, 1899), 124–125.

58. John Black Atkins, British Views on the Merits of Spanish Artillery, 1899

Introduction

In 1886, the Frenchman Paul Vieille invented a smokeless gunpowder. Vieille’s invention was safer to transport because it would not burn unless compressed. However, unlike black powder, it would burn even when wet and thus did not have to be stored and transported in watertight conditions. Smokeless powder was three times more powerful than black powder. This gave a bullet a higher muzzle velocity, which in turn allowed a flatter trajectory. The effect was to allow a shooter to fire accurately at a much longer range. Also, because smokeless powder was more powerful, cartridges were smaller and lighter. Thus, soldiers could carry more ammunition. The most important tactical advantage came during a firefight. Soldiers shooting black-powder weapons emitted a thick smoke plume that both obscured the shooter’s vision and marked his position. The Spanish infantry in Cuba had rifles that fired smokeless powder, while many of the American volunteer units still had black-powder weapons. John B. Atkins, a British special correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*, witnessed the battlefield implications of this difference. Atkins sailed from England in April 1898 to cover the war. He joined the American forces in Tampa, Florida, and accompanied them during the invasion of Cuba.

Primary Source

There were the Spanish lines on the top of the hill, and there was artillery fire, but little of it was the fire of American guns. The American artillery had changed and changed its position because it was weak and insufficient. The Spanish guns were excellently controlled by Ordoñez, the inventor of the Ordoñez gun. And the Spaniards used chiefly smokeless powder. It was almost impossible to say exactly where some of their batteries were placed, for there was nothing but the flash to guide one, and that is a poor guide on a sunny day. One of the American captains of artillery spent most of the day searching for a battery on the side of a hill which he was expected

to destroy. The smoke lay in front of the American guns in the almost still air, and made prompt and opportune firing difficult. One of the lessons of the day was the inestimable value of smokeless powder.

Source: John Black Atkins, *The War in Cuba: The Experiences of an Englishman with the United States Army* (London: Smith, Elder, 1899), 128–129.

59. Jacob Kent, Official Report on the Santiago Campaign, 1898 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The most important field battle of the war, the Battle of Santiago, took place on July 1, 1898. Major General William Shafter ordered an attack against San Juan Heights. The approach march soon became badly disorganized due to poor coordination, difficult terrain, and tropical heat. The Americans advanced along a jungle trail while under Spanish artillery fire. The leading regiment, the 71st New York Volunteers, panicked and refused to proceed. The Regular Army regiments and the 1st Volunteer Cavalry, Theodore Roosevelt’s Rough Riders, pushed ahead and deployed along the San Juan River. Here the situation became tense. The Americans were without artillery support, their rifle ammunition was running low, casualties were increasing, and communication among the senior officers was so poor that no one seemed to be in charge. At this key moment, Lieutenant John Parker advanced his Gatling Gun Detachment into close range of the Spanish entrenchments. His fire unnerved the defenders and inspired the Americans to charge the heights. The following description of the fighting comes from the official report of Brigadier General Jacob Kent, who commanded the army’s 1st Division. During the battle, the division lost 12 officers and 77 men killed, 32 officers and 463 men wounded, and 58 missing.

Primary Source

The enemy’s infantry fire, steadily increasing in intensity, now came from all directions, not only from the front and the dense tropical thickets on our flanks, but from sharp-shooters thickly posted in trees in our rear, and from shrapnel apparently aimed at the balloon. Lieut.-Colonel Derby, of Gen. Shafter’s staff, met me about this time, and informed me that a trail or narrow way had been discovered from the balloon, a short distance back, leading to the left of a ford lower down the stream. I hastened to the forks made by this road, and soon after the 71st New York Regiment of Hawkins’ Brigade came up. I turned them into the by-path indicated by Lieut.-Col. Derby, leading to the lower ford, sending word to Gen. Hawkins of this movement. This would have speedily delivered them in their proper place on the left of their brigade, but under the galling fire of the enemy the leading battalion of this regiment was thrown into confusion and recoiled in disorder on the

troops in the rear. At this critical moment the officers of my staff practically formed a cordon behind the panic-stricken men, and urged them to again go forward. I finally ordered them to lie down in the thicket and clear the way for others of their own regiment, who were coming up behind. This many of them did, and the Second and Third Battalions came forward in better order and moved them along the road toward the ford.

One of my staff officers ran back waving his hat to hurry forward the Third Brigade, who, upon approaching the forks, found the way blocked by men of the 71st New York. There were other men of this regiment crouching in the bushes, many of whom were encouraged by the advance of the approaching column to arise and go forward. As already stated, I had received orders some time before to keep in rear of the Cavalry Division. Their advance was much delayed, resulting in frequent halts, presumably to drop their blanket-rolls, and due to the natural delay in fording a stream. These delays under such a hot fire grew exceedingly irksome, and I therefore pushed the head of my division as quickly as I could toward the river, in column of files of twos, paralleled in the narrow way by the cavalry. This quickened the forward movement, and enabled me to get into position as speedily as possible for the attack. Owing to the congested condition of the road, the progress of the narrow column was, however, painfully slow. I again sent a staff officer at a gallop to urge forward the troops in the rear.

The head of Wikoff's Brigade reached the forks at 12.20 P.M., and hurried on the left, stepping over prostrate forms of men of the Seventy-first. This heroic brigade, consisting of the 13th, 9th, and 24th United States Infantry, speedily crossed the stream and was quickly deployed to the left of the lower ford. While personally superintending this movement, Col. Wikoff was killed,—the command of the brigade then devolving upon Lieut.-Colonel Worth, 13th Infantry, who immediately fell, severely wounded; and then Lieut.-Col. Liscum, 24th Infantry, who five minutes later also fell under the withering fire of the enemy. The command of the brigade then devolved upon Lt.-Col. E. P. Ewers, 9th Infantry. Meanwhile I had again sent a staff officer to hurry forward the Second Brigade, which was bringing up the rear. The 10th and 2d Infantry, soon arriving at the forks, were deflected to the left to follow the Third Brigade; while the 21st was directed along the main road to support Hawkins.

Crossing the lower ford a few minutes later, the 10th and 2d moved forward in column, in good order, toward the green knoll already referred to as my objective on the left. Approaching the knoll, the regiments deployed,—passed over the knoll, and ascended the high ridge beyond, driving back the enemy in the direction of his trenches. I observed this movement from the Fort San Juan Hill. Colonel E. P. Pearson, 10th Infantry, commanding the Second Brigade, and the officers and troops under his command, deserve great credit for the soldierly manner in which this

movement was executed. I earnestly recommend Col. Pearson for promotion. Prior to this advance of the Second Brigade, the Third, connecting with Hawkins' gallant troops on the right, had moved toward Fort San Juan, sweeping through a zone of most destructive fire, scaling a steep and difficult hill, and assisting in capturing the enemy's strong position, Fort San Juan, at 1.30 P.M. This crest was about 125 feet above the general level, and was defended by deep trenches and a loopholed brick fort surrounded by barbed-wire entanglements. . . .

The bloody fighting of my brave command cannot be adequately described in words. The following list of killed, wounded, and missing, tells the story of their valor.

Source: Joseph Wheeler, *The Santiago Campaign 1898* (London: Wolfe, 1898), 61–66.

60. William Shafter, Letter Critical of Calixto García and William Sampson, July 4, 1898

Introduction

General Máximo Gómez commanded the Cuban army that rose up against Spanish rule in 1895. However, it was General Calixto García whose name became well known to Americans. When the United States intervened in Cuba, Gómez ordered García and his command of several thousand Cuban troops to assist the U.S. forces. García initially expressed faith in Major General William Shafter, commander of the U.S. Army troops, and expected to deploy his men in cooperation with Shafter's. From the beginning, the U.S. Army benefitted from the very existence of the Cuban insurgents because the Spanish commander hesitated to move troops to oppose the U.S. landing. However, American-Cuban cooperation soon began to break down. Although the Cubans had been fighting the Spanish for years, Americans revealed racist attitudes and denigrated Cuban fighting abilities. The Cubans in turn began to suspect that the United States was fighting not for Cuban independence but to take possession of Cuba. In this letter, written days after the American capture of San Juan Hill, General Shafter criticized García for his purported failure to prevent the Spanish from reinforcing Santiago and Admiral William Sampson for declining to bring his fleet into Santiago Harbor.

Primary Source

Playa Del Este, Via Haiti, *July 4, 1898–11.50 p.m.*
Adjutant-general, U.S.A., *Washington:*

Headquarters Fifth Army Corps, in camp near Santiago de Cuba,
4. There appears to be no reasonable doubt that General Pando suc-

ceeded in entering Santiago last night with his force, said to be about 5,000 men. This puts a different aspect upon affairs, and while we can probably maintain ourselves, it would be at the cost of very considerable fighting and loss. General Lawton reports that General Garcia, who was to block entrance of Pando, informed him at 10 o'clock last night that Pando had passed in on Cobre road. Lawton says can not compel General Garcia to obey my instructions, and that if they intend to place themselves in any position where they will have to fight, and that if they intend to reduce Santiago, we will have to depend alone upon our own troops, and that we will require twice the number we now have. I sent message to Admiral Sampson, asking if he proposed entering the harbor so as to give us his assistance. Commodore Watson replies that he does not know Admiral Sampson's intentions since the destruction of the Spanish squadron, but does not himself think fleet should try to go into harbor of Santiago. This, under the circumstances, is not very encouraging. Have been expecting a division from Tampa and Duffield's second brigade from Camp Alger, but only a small number of recruits has appeared so far. We have got to try and reduce the town, now that the fleet is destroyed, which was stated to be the chief object of the expedition. There must be no delay in getting large bodies of troops here. The town is in a terrible condition as to food, and people are starving, as stated by foreign consuls this morning, but the troops can fight and have large quantities of rice, but no other supplies. There will be nothing done here until noon of the 5th, and I suppose I can put them off a little longer to enable people to get out. Country here is destitute of food or growing crops, except mangoes. Men are in good spirits and so far in good health, though it is hard to tell how long the latter will continue. I am sorry to say I am no better and, in addition to my weakness, can not be out on account of slight attack of gout, but hope to be better soon. Lieutenant Miley had interview with consuls this morning, and his report will be telegraphed immediately. I do not send this in cipher, as time is precious.

SHAFTER, *Major-General*.

Source: United States, Adjutant General's Office, *Correspondence relating to the War with Spain . . .* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1993), 87.

61. Arsenio Linares, Telegram Reporting on the Santiago Campaign, July 12, 1898

Introduction

General Arsenio Linares commanded the Spanish forces involved in the battle for San Juan Heights, the decisive field battle of the Santiago Campaign. After losing San Juan Heights on July 1, 1898, Linares retired behind entrenchments guarding the city of Santi-

ago. American forces and their Cuban allies surrounded Santiago, and a short siege ensued. The 13,500-man Spanish garrison at Santiago was short of food and ammunition. The Spanish objective was to defend Santiago because the Spanish fleet was anchored in the harbor. On July 3, the strategic situation changed when the Spanish ships attempted to escape. American naval forces destroyed the Spanish fleet. When Linares was wounded, General José Toral replaced him. Toral's orders were to defend Santiago as long as possible and then try to escape with his army to the city of Holguin. If he could not fight his way clear, he was to negotiate with the Americans for permission to march to Holguin. Amid intermittent negotiations, a significant firefight took place on July 10–11. When dealing with the American negotiators, Toral presented a tough, confident front. General Linares held a much different attitude. On July 12, Linares sent this telegram to his government in Madrid, Spain, describing the desperate situation as he saw it.

Primary Source

Santiago De Cuba, July 12, 1898.

The General-in-chief, To The Secretary Of War:

Although prostrated in bed from weakness and pain, my mind is troubled by the situation of our suffering troops, and therefore I think it my duty to address myself to you, Mr. Secretary, and describe the true situation. Enemy's position very near city, ours extending 14 kilometres (1,400 yards): our troops are exhausted and sickly in an alarming proportion, cannot be brought to the hospital, needing them in trenches. Cattle without fodder or hay. Fearful storm of rain, which has been pouring continuously for the last 20 hours. Soldiers without permanent shelter, their only food consisting of rice; have no way of changing or drying clothes. Our losses very heavy; many chiefs and officers are among the dead, wounded, and sick; their absence deprives the forces of their leaders in this very critical moment. Under these conditions it is impossible to open a breach on the enemy, because this would take a third of our men, who cannot go out and whom the enemy would decimate; the result would be a terrible disaster, without obtaining, as you desire, the salvation of eleven maimed battalions. To make a sortie protected by the Division of Holguin, it is necessary to attack the enemy's line simultaneously. The forces of Holguin cannot come here except after many long days' marching. Impossible for them to transport rations. Unfortunately the situation is desperate. The surrender is imminent, otherwise we will only gain time to prolong our agony. The sacrifice would be sterile, and the men understand this. With his lines so near us he will annihilate our forces without exposing his; as he did yesterday, cannonading by land from elevations without our being able to discover their batteries; and by sea the fleet has a perfect knowledge of the place, and bombard by elevation with a mathematical accuracy. Santiago is not Gerona, a walled city, part of the metropolis, defended inch by inch by her own people without distinction,—old women and children who helped with their lives,

moved by the holy ideas of freedom, and with the hopes of help which they received. Here I am alone. All the people have fled, natives as well as Spaniards, even those holding public offices, with few exceptions. Only the priests remain, and they wish to leave the city today headed by their archbishop. These defenders do not start now a campaign full of enthusiasm and energy; but for three years they have been fighting the climate, privations, and fatigues, and they have to confront now this critical situation when they have no enthusiasm or physical strength. They have no ideals, because they defend the property of people who have deserted them, and of those who are the allies of the American forces. The honor of arms has its limits; and I appeal to the judgment of the Government and the entire Nation, whether these patient troops have not repeatedly saved it since the 18th of May,—date of the first bombardment. If it is necessary that I sacrifice them for reasons unknown to me, or if it is necessary for some one to take the responsibility for the issue foreseen and announced by me before in several telegrams, I willingly offer myself as a sacrifice to my country, and I will take charge of the command for the act of surrender; as my modest reputation is of small value when the interest of the Nation is at stake.

LINARES.

Source: Joseph Wheeler, *The Santiago Campaign, 1898* (London: Wolfe, 1898), 132–134.

62. Terms of the Spanish Surrender of Santiago, July 16, 1898

Introduction

After losing San Juan Heights on July 1, 1898, in the decisive field battle of the Santiago Campaign, Spanish forces retired behind entrenchments guarding the city of Santiago. American forces and their Cuban allies surrounded Santiago, and a short siege ensued. The 13,500-man Spanish garrison at Santiago was short of food and ammunition. The Spanish objective was to defend Santiago because the Spanish fleet was anchored in the harbor. On July 3, the strategic situation changed when the Spanish ships attempted to escape. American naval forces destroyed the Spanish fleet. When the Spanish commander, General Arsenio Linares, was wounded, General José Toral replaced him. Toral's orders were to defend Santiago as long as possible and then try to escape with his army. Linares cabled Madrid on July 12 detailing the desperate situation at Santiago. Toral presented a tough, confident front while negotiating with the Americans for the surrender of Santiago. Among his conditions was that the United States was to transport the surrendered Spanish troops home to Spain and that the Spanish soldiers would be permitted to keep their side arms. The July 16 capitulation applied only to the district surrounding Santiago. It did not mark the end of the war.

Primary Source

Terms of the military convention for the capitulation of the Spanish forces occupying the territory which constitutes the division of Santiago de Cuba, and described as follows: All that portion of the island of Cuba east of a line passing through Aserradero, Dos Palmas, Cauto Abajo, Escondida, Tanamo, and Aguidora, said troops being in command of Gen. José Toral, agreed upon by the undersigned commissioners: Brig. Gen. Don Federico Escario, lieutenant-colonel of staff: Don Ventura Fontan, and, as interpreter, Mr. Robert Mason, of the city of Santiago de Cuba, appointed by General Toral, commanding the Spanish forces on behalf of the Kingdom of Spain, and Maj. Gen. Joseph Wheeler, U. S. V.; Maj. Gen. H. W. Lawton, U. S. V.; and First Lieut. J. D. Miley, Second Artillery, A. D. C., appointed by General Shafter, commanding the American forces, on behalf of the United States:

1. That all hostilities between American and Spanish forces in this district absolutely and unequivocally cease.
2. That this capitulation includes all the forces and war material in said territory.
3. That the United States agrees with as little delay as possible to transport all the Spanish troops in said district to the Kingdom of Spain, the troops being embarked, as far as possible, at the port nearest the garrisons they now occupy.
4. That the officers of the Spanish army be permitted to retain their side arms and both officers and private soldiers their personal property.
5. That the Spanish authorities agree to remove, or assist the American Navy in removing, all mines or other obstructions to navigation now in the harbor of Santiago and its mouth.
6. That the commander of the Spanish forces deliver, without delay, a complete inventory of all arms and munitions of war of the Spanish forces in above described district to the commander of the American forces; also a roster of said forces now in said district.
7. That the commander of the Spanish forces, in leaving said district, is authorized to carry with him all military archives and records pertaining to the Spanish army now in said district.
8. That all that portion of the Spanish forces known as volunteers, mobilizados, and guerrillas who wish to remain in the island of Cuba are permitted to do so upon condition of delivering up their arms and taking a parole not to bear arms against the United States during the continuance of the present war between Spain and the United States.

9. That the Spanish forces will march out of Santiago de Cuba with honors of war, depositing their arms thereafter at a point mutually agreed upon, to await their disposition by the United States Government, it being understood that the United States commissioners will recommend that the Spanish soldier return to Spain with the arms he so bravely defended.

10. That the provisions of the foregoing instrument become operative immediately upon its being signed.

Entered into this 16th day of July, 1898, by the undersigned commissioners, acting under instructions from their respective commanding generals and with the approbation of their respective Governments.

Source: United States, Adjutant General's Office, *Correspondence relating to the War with Spain* . . . (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1993), 151–152.

63. Calixto García, Letter to William R. Shafter, July 1898

Introduction

General Máximo Gómez commanded the Cuban army that rose up against Spanish rule in 1895. However, it was General Calixto García whose name became well known to Americans. When the United States intervened in Cuba, Gómez ordered García and his command of several thousand Cuban troops to assist the U.S. forces. García initially expressed faith in Major General William Shafter, commander of the U.S. army troops, and expected to deploy his men in cooperation with Shafter's. From the beginning, the U.S. Army benefitted from the very existence of the Cuban insurgents because the Spanish commander hesitated to move troops to oppose the U.S. landing. However, American-Cuban cooperation soon began to break down. Although the Cubans had been fighting the Spanish for years, Americans revealed racist attitudes and denigrated Cuban fighting abilities. The Cubans in turn began to suspect that the United States was fighting not for Cuban independence but to take possession of Cuba. General Shafter excluded García and his troops from the negotiations and surrender of Santiago and gave the Cubans no credit for their contribution to the victory. The day after the surrender, García resigned his command in protest and wrote this letter to Shafter.

Primary Source

Sir: On May 12 the Government of the Republic of Cuba ordered me as commander of the Cuban Army in the East to co-operate with the American Army, following the plans and obeying the orders of its commander. I have done my best, Sir, to fulfill the wishes of my

Government, and I have been until now one of your most faithful subordinates, honoring myself in carrying out your orders and instructions as far as my powers have allowed me to do it.

The City of Santiago surrendered to the American Army, and news of that important event was given to me by persons entirely foreign to your staff. I have not been honored with a single word from yourself informing me about the negotiations for peace or the terms of the capitulation by the Spaniards. The important ceremony of the surrender of the Spanish Army and the taking possession of the city by yourself took place later on, and I only knew of both events by public reports.

I was neither honored, Sir, with a kind word from you inviting myself or any officer of my staff to represent the Cuban Army on that memorable occasion.

Finally, I know that you have left in power at Santiago the same Spanish authorities that for three years I have fought as enemies of the independence of Cuba. I beg to say that these authorities have never been elected at Santiago by the residents of the city, but were appointed by royal decrees of the Queen of Spain.

I would agree, Sir, that the army under your command should have taken possession of the city, the garrison, and the forts. I would give my warm co-operation to any measure you may have deemed best under American military law to hold the city for your army, and to preserve public order until the time comes to fulfill the solemn pledge of the people of the United States to establish in Cuba a free and independent Government. But when the question arises of appointing authorities in Santiago de Cuba, under the peculiar circumstances of our thirty years' strife against the Spanish rule, I cannot see but with the deepest regret that such authorities are not elected by the Cuban people, but are the same ones selected by the Queen of Spain, and hence the ministers to defend against the Cubans and the Spanish sovereignty.

A rumor, too absurd to be believed, General, ascribes the reason of your measures and of the orders forbidding my army to enter Santiago to fear of massacres and revenge against the Spaniards. Allow me, Sir, to protest against even the shadow of such an idea. We are not savages, ignoring the rules of civilized warfare. We are a poor, ragged army, as ragged and as poor as was the army of your forefathers in their noble war for independence, but, as did the heroes of Saratoga and Yorktown, we respect too deeply our cause to disgrace it with barbarism and cowardice.

In view of all these reasons I sincerely regret to be unable to fulfill any longer the orders of my Government, and therefore I have tendered today to the Commander in Chief of the Cuban Army, Major Gen. Maximo Gomez, my resignation as commander of this section of our army.

Awaiting his resolution, I withdraw my forces to the interior. Very respectfully yours,

Calixto García

Source: "Gen. Garcia to Gen. Shafter," *New York Times*, July 23, 1898.

64. William Shafter, General Order No. 26, July 19, 1898

Introduction

Throughout military history, generals have used speeches and proclamations to inspire their forces. The invention of the printing press allowed them to publish and circulate these addresses. One traditional form is the Congratulatory Order issued by the commanding general at the end of a campaign. Major General William Shafter commanded V Corps in Cuba. He conducted a short but bloody campaign against the Spanish that began with a landing at Daiquiri, east of Santiago Bay, on June 22, 1898. After the key Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 1, Shafter's forces lay siege to the town. On July 16, the Spanish surrendered Santiago, and on August 13, word came that Spain had signed a peace agreement. Shafter's pride in his accomplishment is reflected in General Order No. 26, dated three days after the surrender of Santiago. Given the lack of a printing press on campaign in Cuba, only typewritten copies were circulated. The order makes no mention of any contribution by Cuban forces to the victory. During the campaign and thereafter, opinion about Shafter's performance was mixed. Some historians believe that if the Spanish in Cuba had been commanded by a better, more energetic leader, Shafter's army would have been defeated.

Primary Source

Headquarters U. S. Troops,
Santiago de Cuba, July 19, 1898.

General Orders No. 26.

The successful accomplishment of the campaign against Santiago de Cuba, resulting in its downfall and surrender of Spanish forces, the capture of large military stores, together with the destruction of the entire Spanish fleet in the harbor, which, upon the investment of the city, was forced to leave, is one of which the Army can well be proud.

This has been accomplished through the heroic deeds of the Army and its officers and men. The major-general commanding offers his sincere thanks for their endurance of hardships heretofore unknown in the American Army.

The work you have accomplished may well appeal to the pride of your countrymen and has been rivaled upon but few occasions in the world's history. Landing upon an unknown coast, you faced dangers in disembarking and overcame obstacles that even in looking back upon seem insurmountable. Seizing, with the assistance of the Navy, the towns of Baiquiri and Siboney, you pushed boldly forth, gallantly driving back the enemy's outposts in the vicinity of La Guasimas, and completed the concentration of the army near Sevilla, within sight of the Spanish stronghold at Santiago de Cuba. The outlook from Sevilla was one that might have appalled the stoutest heart. Behind you ran a narrow road made well-nigh impassable by rains, while to the front you looked upon high foot-hills covered with a dense tropical growth, which could only be traversed by bridle-paths terminating within range of the enemy's guns. Nothing daunted, you responded eagerly to the order to close upon the foe, and, attacking at El Caney and San Juan, drove him from work to work until he took refuge within his last and strongest entrenchment immediately surrounding the city. Despite the fierce glare of a Southern sun and rains that fell in torrents, you valiantly withstood his attempts to drive you from the position your valor had won, holding in your vise-like grip the army opposed to you. After seventeen days of battle and siege, you were rewarded by the surrender of nearly 24,000 prisoners, 12,000 being those in your immediate front, the others scattered in the various towns of eastern Cuba, freeing completely the eastern part of the island from Spanish troops.

This was not done without great sacrifices. The death of 230 gallant soldiers and the wounding of 1,284 others, shows but too plainly the fierce contest in which you were engaged. The few reported missing are undoubtedly among the dead, as no prisoners were taken. For those who have fallen in battle, with you the commanding general sorrows, and with you will ever cherish their memory. Their devotion to duty sets a high example of courage and patriotism to our fellow-countrymen. All who have participated in the campaign, battle, and siege of Santiago de Cuba will recall with pride the grand deeds accomplished, and will hold one another dear for having shared great suffering, hardships, and triumphs together.

All may well feel proud to inscribe on their banners the name of Santiago de Cuba.

By command of Major-General Shafter.

E. J. McClernand,
Asst. Adj.-Gen.

Source: John H. Parker, *The Gatlings at Santiago*, 1898, Project Gutenberg, <http://www.gutenberg.lib.md.us/etext04/thgtl10.txt>.

65. Correspondence Regarding Shafter's Expulsion of Reporters from Santiago, July 1898

Introduction

During the Cuban War of Independence that began in 1895, a number of U.S. reporters entered Cuba to cover the war. New York newspapers as well as newspapers throughout the nation sympathized with the plight of Cubans and stoked war fever by publishing lurid accounts of Spanish cruelty. Two New York newspaper publishers, William Randolph Hearst of the *Journal* and Joseph Pulitzer of the *World*, fiercely competed for readers by trying to outdo one another with colorful war reporting. Numerous war correspondents were on hand when U.S. forces landed in Cuba. The American public devoured the published eyewitness accounts of the Spanish-American War. Barely a week after the surrender of Santiago, Major General William Shafter ejected from the town three reporters from Hearst's *Journal*. The indignant outcry from the *Journal* caused the U.S. secretary of war to write Shafter asking about the incident and requesting that he admit other *Journal* reporters. Shafter's letter recounts the refusal of the well-known war correspondent Sylvester Scovel to obey orders and come down from his rooftop vantage point. Scovel allegedly then tried to punch Shafter but missed. Shafter was willing to admit another *Journal* reporter in Scovel's place and considered himself to be restrained for not having Scovel shot.

Primary Source

War Department, Washington, July 23, 1898

General Shafter, Cuba:

The New York Journal is in terrible distress because of their exclusion from Santiago. I would like very much if representatives of that paper could be returned with your approval. What of the report of the assault of Sylvester Scovel upon you? If the report is true, he should receive severe punishment. Are you getting the troops back into the hills? Our ship at New Orleans for the two immune regiments has been laid up. They will not start from there until Monday. Can not some cover be found for those prisoners? We shall get ships to you to ship them as soon as possible. It may be a week before any of them arrive.

R.A. Alger, Secretary of War

Santiago De Cuba, Via Haiti, July 24, 1898, 9:46 a.m.

Secretary of War, Washington:

The exclusion of those three men of the Journal should not be revoked. One thousand prisoners war, and some of them in the town

with the Cubans ready to make trouble. The action of these men deserved death. The Journal can send other men here if it chooses, and they will be treated with every courtesy. Scovel was abusive and insubordinate, refusing to obey order of one of my staff officers to leave the roof of building when officers were about to raise American flag, and had to be ejected. He then came to me and was very insolent in complaining to me of my staff officer's action, one word leading to another, until he struck at me, but did not hit me. I could have tried him and probably had him shot, if I desired, but I preferred to fire him from the island. A trial would only have given him the notoriety he seeks. . . .

Shafter, Major-General

Source: United States, Adjutant General's Office, *Correspondence relating to the War with Spain* . . . (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1993), 175–176.

66. William Shafter, Correspondence on Strained Relations with Calixto García, July 29, 1898

Introduction

When the United States intervened in Cuba, General Calixto García and his command of several thousand Cuban troops were deployed to assist the U.S. forces. García initially expressed faith in Major General William Shafter, commander of the U.S. Army troops, and said that he expected to deploy his men in cooperation with Shafter's. From the beginning, the U.S. Army benefitted from the very existence of the Cuban insurgents because they made the Spanish commander hesitate to move troops to oppose the U.S. landing. However, American-Cuban cooperation soon began to break down. Although the Cubans had been fighting the Spanish for years, Americans revealed racist attitudes and denigrated Cuban fighting abilities. The Cubans in turn began to suspect that the United States was fighting not for Cuban independence but to take possession of Cuba. General Shafter excluded García and his troops from the surrender of Santiago and gave the Cubans no credit for their contribution to the victory. The day after the surrender, García resigned his command in protest and wrote an indignant letter to Shafter. Once García's letter was published in the U.S. press, Shafter wrote this letter to the U.S. secretary of war giving his version of events. In it Shafter alleges that García failed to prevent the Spanish from reinforcing Santiago.

Primary Source

Santiago De Cuba, July 29, 1898, 2:50 a.m.

Hon. R.A. Alger, Secretary of War, Washington, D.C.:

Have the Sun of Saturday, July 23, in which comments are made as to my treatment of General Garcia. I desire to say that General Garcia was invited by me personally to go into the city of Santiago at the time I entered it, but he declined upon the ground that the Spanish civil officers were left in power. It was fully explained to him that those officials were continued in power until it was convenient to change them for others. General Garcia's assistance to me has been purely voluntary on his part, and he was told at the beginning that I did not exercise any control over him except such as he chose to give. The trouble with General Garcia was that he expected to be placed in command at this place; in other words, that we would turn the city over to him. I explained to him fully that we were at war with Spain, and that the question of Cuban independence could not be considered by me. Another grievance was that, finding that several thousand men marched in without opposition from General Garcia, I extended my own lines in front of him and closed the gap, as I saw that I had to depend on my own men for any effective investment of the place.

Shafter, Major-General

Source: United States, Adjutant General's Office, *Correspondence relating to the War with Spain* . . . (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1993), 185.

67. Richard Harding Davis, Criticism of William Shafter at Santiago, 1898

Introduction

When the Cubans fought their third insurrection against Spanish rule, a number of American newspaper reporters slipped into Cuba at some risk to themselves. The reporters' stories fanned the flames of war fever as newspapers called for the United States to intervene to oust the Spanish from Cuba. One of the period's most famous war correspondents was the dashing Richard Harding Davis, who reported for several newspapers and magazines during the Cuban War of Independence and the ensuing Spanish-American War. His dispatches about the insurrection and the war are collected in two books that he published in 1898. Like other reporters of the era, Davis did not hesitate to lace his reporting with generous helpings of his own opinions. In this excerpt, he levels scathing criticism at Major General William Shafter, the aged American Civil War veteran placed in command of the U.S. Army expedition to Cuba. Shafter came in for a lot of criticism after the Santiago Campaign. In this example, Davis argues that since Shafter's ill health prevented him from looking over the ground before ordering troops into combat, he should have resigned his command; instead, he issued orders that led to unnecessary losses. Davis continued his career as a war correspondent into World War I.

Primary Source

"Of course, the enemy knows where those two trails leave the wood," he said; "they have their guns trained on the openings. If our men leave the cover and reach the plain from those trails alone they will be piled up so high that they will block the road." This is exactly what happened, except that instead of being led to the sacrifice through both trails the men were sent down only one of them, and the loss was even greater in consequence. This is recorded here because even if the general in command did not know what to do, it is satisfactory to remember that we had other commanders there who did, with less political influence, but with greater military intelligence. It is quite safe to say that there is not the least doubt in the minds of any of the officers of the Fifth Army Corps, that had the attack on Santiago been planned by Generals Chaffee, Kent, or Lawton it would have been conducted as admirably as was the Porto Rican campaign, under Generals Miles, Schwan, Henry, and Wilson, and with the loss of one-fourth the number of men who were sacrificed. General Shafter saw the field of battle only once before the fight took place. That was on June 29th, when he rode out to El Poso hill and surveyed the plain below. He was about the last officer in his army corps to climb that hill and make this survey, and he did not again go even that far to the front until the night after the battle, and he did not see the trenches for days after the battle had taken place. His trip to El Poso, which was three miles distant from his head-quarters, was apparently too much for his strength, and the heat during the ride prostrated him so greatly that he was forced to take to his cot, where he spent the greater part of his stay in Cuba before the surrender. On the day after the battle of San Juan he said, hopelessly, to a foreign *attache*: "I am prostrate in body and mind." He could confess this to a stranger, and yet, so great was the obstinacy, so great the vanity and self-confidence of the man, that, although he held the lives and health of 13,000 soldiers in his care, he did not ask to be relieved of his command. I do not think his not coming to the front was due to personal timidity, although in their anger and exasperation at his absence his officers freely accused him of allowing his personal safety to stand in the way of his duty, and so little regard had they for him that I have heard a colonel countermand his orders in the presence of other generals. His remaining in the rear was undoubtedly due to physical disability, and to the fact that he was ill and in pain.

There are some people who claim that the very fact of Shafter's retaining command when he was suffering showed his bull-dog pluck and courage, but I cannot accept that point of view. A man who could not survive a ride of three miles on horseback, when his men were tramping many miles on foot with packs and arms, and under a tropical sun; who was so occupied and concerned with a gouty foot that he could not consider a plan of battle, and who sent seven thousand men down a trail he had never seen, should resist the temptation to accept responsibilities his political friends thrust upon him, responsibilities he knows he cannot bear. This is the offence that I impute to Shafter: that while he was not even able to

rise and look at the city he had been sent to capture, he still clung to his authority. His self-confidence was untouched. His self-complacency was so great that in spite of blunder after blunder, folly upon folly, and mistake upon mistake, he still believed himself infallible, still bullied his inferior officers, and still cursed from his cot. He quarrelled with Admiral Sampson; he quarrelled with General Garcia; he refused to allow Colonel Greenleaf, Surgeon-in-Chief of the army, to destroy the pest-houses in Siboney, and he disobeyed the two orders sent him by General Miles from Tampa and again from Washington, directing him not to allow our soldiers to occupy the Cuban houses.

Source: Richard Harding Davis, *The Cuban and Porto Rican Campaigns* (New York: Scribner, 1898), 182–185.

68. Stephen Crane, "Marines Signaling Under Fire at Guantánamo," February 1899

Introduction

Stephen Crane's best-known work, his American Civil War novel *The Red Badge of Courage*, was published in 1895. Although he had never been a soldier, Crane's realistic portrayal of combat attracted favorable attention. A newspaper hired Crane as a war correspondent, and he barely survived a shipwreck while trying to enter Cuba to cover the insurrection. He then traveled to Europe to cover the Greco-Turkish War in 1897. When war broke out with Spain the following year, Crane volunteered for the U.S. Navy but was rejected for his poor physical condition and failing health. Instead, he went to war as a correspondent for the *World*. After a falling out with the *World*, he switched to the rival *Journal*. This article, considered by rival reporter Richard Harding Davis to be the finest writing of the entire war, appeared in the February 1899 issue of *McClure's Magazine*. Crane's eyewitness account reveals the courage of four U.S. marines whose duty it was to signal a ship lying offshore and direct it to provide covering fire during a raging battle. Their task made them prominent targets, yet they never failed to obey orders. Crane died of tuberculosis in 1900 at the age of 28.

Primary Source

THEY were four Guantanamo marines, officially known for the time as signalmen, and it was their duty to lie in the trenches of Camp McCalla, that faced the water, and, by day, signal the *Marblehead* with a flag and, by night, signal the *Marblehead* with lanterns. It was my good fortune—at that time I considered it my bad fortune, indeed—to be with them on two of the nights when a wild storm of fighting was pealing about the hill; and, of all the actions of the war, none were so hard on the nerves, none strained courage so near the panic point, as those swift nights in Camp McCalla. With a thousand rifles rattling;

with the field-guns booming in your ears; with the diabolic Colt automatics clacking; with the roar of the *Marblehead* coming from the bay, and, last, with Mauser bullets sneering always in the air a few inches over one's head, and with this enduring from dusk to dawn, it is extremely doubtful if any one who was there will be able to forget it easily. The noise; the impenetrable darkness; the knowledge from the sound of the bullets that the enemy was on three sides of the camp; the infrequent bloody stumbling and death of some man with whom, perhaps, one had messed two hours previous; the weariness of the body, and the more terrible weariness of the mind, at the endlessness of the thing, made it wonderful that at least some of the men did not come out of it with their nerves hopelessly in shreds.

But, as this interesting ceremony proceeded in the darkness, it was necessary for the signal squad to coolly take and send messages. Captain McCalla always participated in the defense of the camp by raking the woods on two of its sides with the guns of the *Marblehead*. Moreover, he was the senior officer present, and he wanted to know what was happening. All night long the crews of the ships in the bay would stare sleeplessly into the blackness toward the roaring hill.

The signal squad had an old cracker-box placed on top of the trench. When not signaling, they hid the lanterns in this box; but as soon as an order to send a message was received, it became necessary for one of the men to stand up and expose the lights. And then—oh, my eye—how the guerrillas hidden in the gulf of night would turn loose at those yellow gleams!

Signaling in this way is done by letting one lantern remain stationary—on top of the cracker-box, in this case—and moving the other over it to the left and right and so on in the regular gestures of the wig-wagging code. It is a very simple system of night communication, but one can see that it presents rare possibilities when used in front of an enemy who, a few hundred yards away, is overjoyed at sighting so definite a mark.

How, in the name of wonders, those four men at Camp McCalla were not riddled from head to foot and sent home more as repositories of Spanish ammunition than as marines is beyond all comprehension. To make a confession—when one of these men stood up to wave his lantern, I, lying in the trench, invariably rolled a little to the right or left, in order that, when he was shot, he would not fall on me. But the squad came off scathless, despite the best efforts of the most formidable corps in the Spanish army—the Escudra de Guantanamo. That it was the most formidable corps in the Spanish army of occupation has been told me by many Spanish officers and also by General Menocal and other insurgent officers. General Menocal was Garcia's chief-of-staff when the latter was operating busily in Santiago province. The regiment was composed solely of *practicos*, or guides, who knew every shrub and tree on the ground over which they moved.

Whenever the adjutant, Lieutenant Draper, came plunging along through the darkness with an order—such as: "Ask the *Marblehead* to please shell the woods to the left"—my heart would come into my mouth, for I knew then that one of my pals was going to stand up behind the lanterns and have all Spain shoot at him.

The answer was always upon the instant: "Yes, sir." Then the bullets began to snap, snap, snap, at his head while all the woods began to crackle like burning straw. I could lie near and watch the face of the signalman, illumed as it was by the yellow shine of lantern light, and the absence of excitement, fright, or any emotion at all, on his countenance, was something to astonish all theories out of one's mind. The face was in every instance merely that of a man intent upon his business, the business of wigwagging into the gulf of night where a light on the *Marblehead* was seen to move slowly.

These times on the hill resembled, in some days, those terrible scenes on the stage—scenes of intense gloom, blinding lightning, with a cloaked devil or assassin or other appropriate character muttering deeply amid the awful roll of the thunder-drums. It was theatrical beyond words; one felt like a leaf in this booming chaos, this prolonged tragedy of the night. Amid it all one could see from time to time the yellow light on the face of a preoccupied signalman.

Possibly no man who was there ever before understood the true eloquence of the breaking of the day. We would lie staring into the east, fairly ravenous for the dawn. Utterly worn to rags, with our nerves standing on end like so many bristles, we lay and watched the east—the unspeakably obdurate and slow east. It was a wonder that the eyes of some of us did not turn to glass balls from the fixity of our gaze.

Then there would come into the sky a patch of faint blue light. It was like a piece of moonshine. Some would say it was the beginning of daybreak; others would declare it was nothing of the kind. Men would get very disgusted with each other in these low-toned arguments held in the trenches. For my part, this development in the eastern sky destroyed many of my ideas and theories concerning the dawning of the day; but then I had never before had occasion to give it such solemn attention.

This patch widened and whitened in about the speed of a man's accomplishment if he should be in the way of painting Madison Square Garden with a camel's hair brush. The guerrillas always set out to whoop it up about this time, because they knew the occasion was approaching when it would be expedient for them to elope. I, at least, always grew furious with this wretched sunrise. I thought I could have walked around the world in the time required for the old thing to get up above the horizon.

One midnight, when an important message was to be sent to the *Marblehead*, Colonel Huntington came himself to the signal place with Adjutant Draper and Captain McCauley, the quartermaster. When

the man stood up to signal, the colonel stood beside him. At sight of the lights, the Spaniards performed as usual. They drove enough bullets into that immediate vicinity to kill all the marines in the corps.

Lieutenant Draper was agitated for his chief. "Colonel, won't you step down, sir?"

"Why, I guess not," said the gray old veteran in his slow, sad, always-gentle way. "I'm in no more danger than the man."

"But, sir—" began the adjutant.

"Oh, it's all right, Draper."

So the colonel and the private stood side to side and took the heavy fire without either moving a muscle.

Day was always obliged to come at last, punctuated by a final exchange of scattering shots. And the light shone on the marines, the dumb guns, the flag. Grimy yellow face looked into grimy yellow face, and grinned with weary satisfaction. Coffee!

Usually it was impossible for many of the men to sleep at once. It always took me, for instance, some hours to get my nerves combed down. But then it was great joy to lie in the trench with the four signalmen, and understand thoroughly that that night was fully over at last, and that, although the future might have in store other bad nights, that one could never escape from the prison-house which we call the past.

At the wild little fight at Cusco there were some splendid exhibitions of wigwagging under fire. Action began when an advance detachment of marines under Lieutenant Lucas with the Cuban guides had reached the summit of a ridge overlooking a small valley where there was a house, a well, and a thicket of some kind of shrub with great broad, oily leaves. This thicket, which was perhaps an acre in extent, contained the guerrillas. The valley was open to the sea. The distance from the top of the ridge to the thicket was barely two hundred yards.

The *Dolphin* had sailed up the coast in line with the marine advance, ready with her guns to assist in any action. Captain Elliott, who commanded the two hundred marines in this fight, suddenly called out for a signalman. He wanted a man to tell the *Dolphin* to open fire on the house and the thicket. It was a blazing, bitter hot day on top of the ridge with its shriveled chaparral and its straight, tall cactus plants. The sky was bare and blue, and hurt like brass. In two minutes the prostrate marines were red and sweating like so many hull-buried stokers in the tropics.

Captain Elliott called out: "Where's a signalman? Who's a signalman here?"

A red-headed mick—I think his name was Clancy—at any rate, it will do to call him Clancy—twisted his head from where he lay on his stomach pumping his Lee, and, saluting, said that he was a signalman.

There was no regulation flag with the expedition, so Clancy was obliged to tie his blue polka-dot neckerchief on the end of his rifle. It did not make a very good flag. At first Clancy moved a ways down the safe side of the ridge and wigwagged there very busily. But what with the flag being so poor for the purpose, and the background of ridge being so dark, those on the *Dolphin* did not see it. So Clancy had to return to the top of the ridge and outline himself and his flag against the sky.

The usual thing happened. As soon as the Spaniards caught sight of this silhouette, they let go like mad at it. To make things more comfortable for Clancy, the situation demanded that he face the sea and turn his back to the Spanish bullets. This was a hard game, mark you—to stand with the small of your back to volley firing. Clancy thought so. Everybody thought so. We all cleared out of his neighborhood. If he wanted sole possession of any particular spot on that hill, he could have it for all we would interfere with him.

It cannot be denied that Clancy was in a hurry. I watched him. He was so occupied with the bullets that snarled close to his ears that he was obliged to repeat the letters of his message softly to himself. It seemed an intolerable time before the *Dolphin* answered the little signal. Meanwhile, we gazed at him, marveling every second that he had not yet pitched headlong. He swore at times.

Finally the *Dolphin* replied to his frantic gesticulation, and he delivered his message. As his part of the transaction was quite finished—whoop!—he dropped like a brick into the firing line and began to shoot; began to get "hunky" with all those people who had been plugging at him. The blue polka-dot neckerchief still fluttered from the barrel of his rifle. I am quite certain that he let it remain there until the end of the fight.

The shells of the *Dolphin* began to plow up the thicket, kicking the bushes, stones, and soil into the air as if somebody was blasting there.

Meanwhile, this force of two hundred marines and fifty Cubans and the force of—probably—six companies of Spanish guerrillas were making such an awful din that the distant Camp McCalla was all alive with excitement. Colonel Huntington sent out strong parties to critical points on the road to facilitate, if necessary, a safe retreat, and also sent forty men under Lieutenant Magill to come up on the left flank of the two companies in action under Captain Elliott. Lieutenant Magill and his men had crowned a hill which covered entirely the flank of the fighting companies, but when the *Dolphin* opened fire, it happened that Magill was in the line of the shots. It became

necessary to stop the *Dolphin* at once. Captain Elliott was not near Clancy at this time, and he called hurriedly for another signalman.

Sergeant Quick arose, and announced that he was a signalman. He produced from somewhere a blue polka-dot neckerchief as large as a quilt. He tied it on a long, crooked stick. Then he went to the top of the ridge, and turning his back to the Spanish fire, began to signal to the *Dolphin*. Again we gave a man sole possession of a particular part of the ridge. We didn't want it. He could have it and welcome. If the young sergeant had had the smallpox, the cholera, and the yellow fever, we could not have slid out with more celerity.

As men have said often, it seemed as if there was in this war a God of Battles who held His mighty hand before the Americans. As I looked at Sergeant Quick wigwagging there against the sky, I would not have given a tin tobacco-tag for his life. Escape for him seemed impossible. It seemed absurd to hope that he would not be hit; I only hoped that he would be hit just a little, little, in the arm, the shoulder, or the leg.

I watched his face, and it was as grave and serene as that of a man writing in his own library. He was the very embodiment of tranquillity in occupation. He stood there amid the animal-like babble of the Cubans, the crack of rifles, and the whistling snarl of the bullets, and wigwagged whatever he had to wig-wag without heeding anything but his business. There was not a single trace of nervousness or haste.

To say the least, a fight at close range is absorbing as a spectacle. No man wants to take his eyes from it until that time comes when he makes up his mind to run away. To deliberately stand up and turn your back to a battle is in itself hard work. To deliberately stand up and turn your back to a battle and hear immediate evidences of the boundless enthusiasm with which a large company of the enemy shoot at you from an adjacent thicket is, to my mind at least, a very great feat. One need not dwell upon the detail of keeping the mind carefully upon a slow spelling of an important code message.

I saw Quick betray only one sign of emotion. As he swung his clumsy flag to and fro, an end of it once caught on a cactus pillar, and he looked sharply over his shoulder to see what had it. He gave the flag an impatient jerk. He looked annoyed.

Source: Stephen Crane, *The Work of Stephen Crane*, Vol. 9, *Wound in the Rain* (New York: Knopf, 1926), 117–125.

69. Stephen Crane, "Regulars Get No Glory," July 1898

Introduction

Stephen Crane's best-known work, his American Civil War novel *The Red Badge of Courage*, was published in 1895. Although he had never been a soldier, his realistic portrayal of combat attracted favorable attention. A newspaper hired Crane as a war correspondent, and he barely survived a shipwreck while trying to enter Cuba to cover the insurrection. He then traveled to Europe to cover the Greco-Turkish War in 1897. When war broke out with Spain the following year, he volunteered for the U.S. Navy but was rejected for his poor physical condition and failing health. Instead, he went to war as a correspondent for the *World*. After a falling out with the *World*, he switched to the rival *Journal*. In this article, which appeared in the July 20, 1898, issue of the *New York World*, Crane criticized American newspapers for their fawning coverage of wealthy, well-connected volunteers and their neglect of common soldiers. He paints a moving portrait of a composite common soldier, one Private Nolan, who fights bravely and dies, uncelebrated, in service of his country. Crane died of tuberculosis in 1900 at the age of 28.

Primary Source

Siboney, July 9. Of course people all over the United States are dying to hear the names of men who are conspicuous for bravery in Shafter's army. But as a matter of fact nobody with the army is particularly conspicuous for bravery. The bravery of an individual here is not a quality which causes him to be pointed out by his admiring fellows; he is, rather, submerged in the general mass. Now, cowardice—that would make a man conspicuous. He would then be pointed out often enough, gut—mere bravery—that is no distinction of the Fifth Corps of the United States Army.

The main fact that has developed in this Santiago campaign is that the soldier of the regular army is the best man standing on two feet on God's green earth. This fact is put forth with no pretense whatever of interesting the American public in it. The public doesn't seem to care very much for the regular soldier.

The public wants to learn of the gallantry of the Reginald Marma Duke Maurice Montmorenci Sturtevant, and for goodness sake how the poor old chappy endures that dreadful hard-tack and bacon. Whereas, the name of the regular soldier is probably Michael Nolan and his life-sized portrait was not in the papers in celebration of his enlistment.

Just plain Private Nolan, blast him—he is of no consequence. He will get his name in the paper—oh, yes, when he is "killed." Or when he is "wounded." Or when he is "missing." If some good Spaniard shoots him through he will achieve a temporary notoriety, figuring in the lists for one brief moment in which he will appear to

the casual reader mainly as part of a total, a unit in the interesting sum of men slain.

In fact, the disposition to leave out entirely all lists of killed and wounded regulars is quite a rational one since nobody cares to read them, anyhow, and their omission would allow room for oil paintings of various really important persons, limned as they were in the very act of being at the front, proud young men riding upon horses, the horses being still in Tampa and the proud young men being at Santiago, but still proud young men riding upon horses.

The ungodly Nolan, the sweating, swearing, overloaded, hungry, thirsty, sleepless Nolan, tearing his breeches on the barbed wire entanglement, wallowing through the muddy fords, pursuing his way through the stiletto-pointed thickets, climbing the fire-crowned hill—Nolan gets shot. One Nolan of this regiment or that regiment, a private, great chums in the time of peace with a man by the name of Hennessy, him that had a fight with Snyder. Nearest relative is a sister, chambermaid in a hotel in Omaha. Hennessy, old fool, is going around looking glum, buried in taciturn silence, a silence that lasts two hours and eight minutes; touching tribute to Nolan.

There is a half-bred fox terrier in barracks at Reno. Who the deuce gets the dog now? Must by rights go to Hennessy. Brief argument during which Corporal Jenkins interpolates the thoughtful remark that they haven't had anything to eat that day. End of Nolan.

The three shining points about the American regular are his illimitable patience under anything which he may be called upon to endure, his superlative marksmanship and his ability in action to go ahead and win without any example or leading or jawing or trumpeting whatsoever. He knows his business, he does.

He goes into battle as if he had been fighting every day for three hundred years. If there is heavy firing ahead he does not even ask a question about it. He doesn't even ask whether the Americans are winning or losing. He agitates himself over no extraneous points. He attends exclusively to himself. In the Turk or Cossack this is a combination of fatalism and wooden-headedness. It need not be said that these qualities are lacking in the regular.

After the battle, at leisure—if he gets any—the regular's talk is likely to be a complete essay on practical field operations. He will be full of views about management of such and such a brigade, the practice of this or that battery, and be admiring or scornful in regard to the operations of the right flank. He will be a tireless critic, bolstering his opinions with technical information procured heaven only knows where. In fact, he will alarm you. You may say: "This man gabbles too much for to be a soldier."

Then suddenly the regular becomes impenetrable, enigmatic. It is a question of Orders. When he hears the appointed voice raised in giv-

ing and Order, he is a changed being. When an Order comes he has no more to say: he simply displays as fine a form of unquestioning obedience as there is to be seen anywhere. It is his sacred thing, his fetich, his religion. Nothing now can stop him but a bullet.

In speaking of Reginald Marmaduke Maurice Montmorenci Sturtevant and his life-sized portraits, it must not be supposed that the unfortunate youth admires that sort of thing. He is a man and a soldier, although not so good either as a man or soldier as Michael Nolan. But he is in this game honestly and sincerely; he is playing it gallantly; and, if from time to time he is made to look ridiculous, it is not his fault at all. It is the fault of the public.

We are as a people a great collection of the most arrant kids about anything that concerns war, and if we can get a chance to perform absurdly we usually seize it. It will probably take us three more months to learn that the society reporter, invaluable as he may be in times of peace, has no function during the blood and smoke of battle.

I know of one newspaper whose continual cabled instructions to its men in Cuba were composed of interrogations as to the doings and appearance of various unhappy society young men who were decently and quietly doing their duty along o' Nolan and the others. The correspondents of this paper, being already impregnated with soldierly feeling, finally arose and said they'd be blamed if they would stand it.

And shame, deep shame, on those who, because somebody once led a cotillion can seem to forget Nolan—Private Nolan of the regulars—shot through, his half-bred terrier masterless in Reno and his sister being chambermaid in a hotel in Omaha; Nolan, no longer sweating, swearing, overloaded, hungry, thirsty, sleepless, but merely a corpse, attired in about 40 cents' worth of clothes. Here's three volleys and taps to one Nolan, of this regiment or that regiment, and maybe some day, in a fairer, squarer land, he'll get his picture in the paper too.

Source: Stephen Crane, *New York World*, July 20, 1898, p. 6.

70. Pascual Cervera, Prewar Naval Correspondence, 1898

Introduction

As Spain and the United States prepared for war, Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete shared with Spain's top naval official his misgivings about the sorry state of the Spanish fleet. Nevertheless, Cervera soon received orders to sail for Cuba and wrote, prophetically "I go to the sacrifice." His fleet of seven decrepit vessels sailed on April

30, 1898, and achieved the safety of Santiago Harbor on May 19. Cervera's arrival inspired U.S. military strategists to change their plans and assault Santiago instead of Havana. By May 29, the blockade mounted by two U.S. naval squadrons, commanded by Admiral William T. Sampson and Commodore Winfield Scott Schley, had bottled up Cervera's fleet in Santiago Harbor. American interservice rivalry was such that during the U.S. Army's operations against Santiago, its commanding officer, Major General William Shafter, complained of lack of cooperation from Admiral Sampson. On the Spanish side, on July 3, Cervera obeyed orders to take his entire fleet out of the harbor to defend Spanish honor. He knew that it would be a suicide mission. Overwhelming American firepower sank all his ships and killed more than 300 sailors. This tipped the scales against the Spanish defenders of Santiago, and they surrendered the town on July 16. Cervera himself was captured and eventually returned to Spain.

Primary Source

From the admiral.

CADIZ, April 6, 1898.

In last night's mail I received your letter of the 11th having previously received your telegram concerning the same matter. It is precisely on account of the general anxiety prevailing that it is very important to think of what is to be done, so that, if the case arises, we may act rapidly and with some chance of efficiency, and not be groping about in the dark or, like Don Quixote, go out to fight windmills and come back with broken heads.

If our naval forces were superior to those of the United States, the question would be an easy one; all we would have to do would be to bar their way. But as our forces, on the contrary, are very inferior to theirs, it would be the greatest of follies to attempt to bar their way, which could only be done by giving them a decisive naval battle. That would simply mean a sure defeat, which would leave us at the mercy of the enemy, who could easily take a good position in the Canaries, and by establishing there a base of operations, crush our commerce and safely bombard our maritime cities. It is there for absolutely necessary to decide what we are going to do, and, without disclosing our proposed movements, be in a position to act when the time comes.

This was the substance of my telegram, and my ideas have not changed since then. If we are caught without a plan of war, there will be vacillations and doubts; and, after defeat, there may come humiliation and shame.

You will understand these frank and loyal statements of an old friend and comrade, who desires nothing more than to help the Government and act with circumspection.

PASCUAL CERVERA

ST. VINCENT, CAPE VERDE,
April 24, 1898.

The telegram ordering us to start has just arrived, and I have given orders to trans-ship from the *Cadiz* to these vessels coal, supplies, crews, and the artillery of the destroyers, which was on board the *Cadiz*.

I intended to sail without finishing the provisioning of the ships, but since the *Cadiz* is to remain here I have decided to ship as much coal as possible, I will try to sail to-morrow.

As the act has been consummated, I will not insist upon my opinion concerning it. May God grant that I be mistaken! You see I was right when I told you that by the end of April the *Pelago*, *Carlos V*, *Vitoria*, and *Numancia* would not be finished; that the *Colón* would not have her big guns unless we took the defective ones; that we should not have the 14-centimeter ammunition with which to fight, etc.

With a clear conscience I go to the sacrifice, but I can not understand the [unanimous] decision of the general officers of the navy against my opinion.

I have been informed of the sailing of a cargo of [5,700 tons of] coal for Puerto Rico, where it is expected to arrive on the 11th or 12th of May, but I am much afraid that it may fall into the hands of the enemy.

It is a mistake to suppose that I can accept or avoid a naval battle at will. The *Vizcaya*, on account of her stay in Havana and not having had her bottom cleaned for nine months, is nothing more than a buoy, and I can not abandon her.

Source: Severo Gomez Nunez, *The Spanish-American War: Blockades and Coast Defense* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1899), 43–44.

71. Richmond Pearson Hobson, The Sinking of the *Merrimac*, 1899 [Excerpt]

Introduction

When war broke out between Spain and the United States, President William McKinley ordered the U.S. Navy to blockade Cuba. Admiral Pascual Cervera evaded the blockade to bring his seven-vessel fleet into Santiago Harbor on May 19, 1898. By May 29, the two blockading squadrons, commanded by Admiral William T. Sampson and Commodore Winfield Scott Schley, had discovered the location of Cervera's fleet and bottled it up in Santiago Harbor. On June 3, a small group of volunteers led by Lieutenant Richmond Pearson Hobson

undertook a daring operation to obstruct the channel leading to the harbor by sinking the *Merrimac* in its entrance. However, as the vessel went down, it drifted into a wider part of the channel so that the wreck failed to block the entire waterway. Hobson and his men survived Spanish gunfire and, clinging to pieces of wreckage, surrendered to Admiral Cervera himself. As they were taken aboard, Spanish sailors expressed admiration for their courage. They were later exchanged for Spanish prisoners. On July 3, Cervera obeyed orders to take his entire fleet out of the harbor to defend Spanish honor, knowing that it would be a suicide mission. The ships had to go in single file through the narrowed channel. Overwhelming American firepower sank all his ships and killed more than 300 sailors.

Primary Source

We must have remained thus for eight or ten minutes, while the guns fired ammunition as in a proving-ground test for speed. I was looking out of the chock, when it seemed that we were moving. A range was taken on the shore. Yes, the bow moved. Sunk deep, the tide was driving it on and straightening us out. My heart sank. Oh, for the war-heads! Why did not the admiral let us have them! The tide wrenched us off Estrella, straightened us out, and set us right down the channel toward the part where its width increases. Though sinking fast, there still remained considerable freeboard, which would admit of our going some distance, and we were utterly helpless to hasten the sinking.

A great wave of disappointment set over me; it was anguish as intense as the exultation a few minutes before. On the tide set us, as straight as a pilot and tugboats could have guided. Socapa station fired two mines, but, alas! they missed us, and we approached the bight leading to Churruca Point to the right, and the bight cutting off Smith Cay from Socapa on the left, causing the enlargement of the channel. I saw with dismay that it was no longer possible to block completely. The *Merrimac* gave a premonitory lurch, then staggered to port in a death-throe. The bow almost fell, it sank so rapidly. We crossed the keel-line of a vessel removed a few hundred feet away, behind Socapa; it was the *Reina Mercedes*. Her bow torpedoes bore on us. Ah! to the right the *Pluton* was coming up from the bight, her torpedoes bearing. But, alas! cruiser and destroyer were both too late to help us. They were only in at the death.

The stricken vessel now reeled to port. Someone said: "She is going to turn over on us, sir," to which I replied: "No; she will right herself in sinking, and we shall be the last spot to go under." The firing suddenly ceased. The vessel lowered her head like a faithful animal, proudly aware of its sacrifice, bowed below the surface, and plunged forward. The stern rose and heeled heavily; it stood for a moment, shuddering, then started downward, righting as it went.

A great rush of water came up the gangway, seething and gurgling out of the deck. The mass was whirling from right to left "against the sun"; it seized us and threw us against the bulwarks, then over

the rail. Two were swept forward as if by a momentary recession, and one was carried down into a coal-bunker—luckless Kelly. In a moment, however, with increased force, the water shot him up out of the same hole and swept him among us. The bulwarks disappeared. A sweeping vortex whirled above. We charged about with casks, cans, and spars, the incomplete stripping having left quantities on the deck. The life-preservers stood us in good stead, preventing chests from being crushed, as well as buoying us on the surface; for spars came end on like battering-rams, and the sharp corners of tin cans struck us heavily.

The experience of being swept over the side was rather odd. The water lifted and threw me against the bulwarks, the rail striking my waist; the upper part of the body was bent out, the lower part and the legs being driven heavily against what seemed to be the plating underneath, which, singularly enough, appeared to open. A foot-ball instinct came promptly, and I drew up my knees; but it seemed too late, and apparently they were being driven through the steel plate, a phenomenon that struck me as being most singular; yet there it was, and I wondered what the sensation would be like in having the legs carried out on one side of the rail, and the body on the other, concluding that some embarrassment must be expected in swimming without legs. The situation was apparently relieved by the rail going down. Afterward Charette asked: "Did those oil-cans that were left just forward of us trouble you also as we were swept out?" Perhaps cans, and not steel plates, separated before my kneecaps.

When we looked for the life-boat we found that it had been carried away. The catamaran was the largest piece of floating debris; we assembled about it.

[...]

I called out in a strong voice to know if there was not an officer in the boat; if so, an American officer wished to speak with him with a view to surrendering himself and seamen as prisoners of war. The curtain was raised; an officer leaned out and waved his hand, and the rifles came down. I struck out for the launch and climbed on board aft with the assistance of the officer, who, hours afterward, we learned was Admiral Cervera himself. With him were two other officers, his juniors. To him I surrendered myself and the men, taking off my revolver-belt, glasses, canteen, and life-preserver. The officers looked astonished at first, perhaps at the singular uniforms and the begrimed condition of us all, due to the fine coal and oil that came to the surface; then a current of kindness seemed to pass over them, and they exclaimed: "Valiente!" Then the launch steamed up to the catamaran, and the men climbed on board, the two who had been coughing being in the last stages of exhaustion and requiring to be lifted. We were prisoners in Spanish hands.

Source: Richmond Pearson Hobson, *The Sinking of the "Merrimac": A Personal Narrative* (New York: Century, 1899), 108–115, 123.

72. Anonymous U.S. Naval Officer's Description of the Destruction of Pascual Cervera's Fleet, 1898

Introduction

As Spain and the United States prepared for war, Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete shared with Spain's top naval official his misgivings about the sorry state of the Spanish fleet. Nevertheless, Cervera soon received his orders to sail for Cuba and wrote, prophetically, "I go to the sacrifice." His fleet of seven decrepit vessels sailed on April 30, 1898, and achieved the safety of Santiago Harbor on May 19. By May 29, the two blockading squadrons, commanded by Admiral William T. Sampson and Commodore Winfield Scott Schley, had discovered the location of Cervera's fleet and bottled it up in Santiago Harbor. Cervera's arrival inspired U.S. military strategists to change their plans and assault Santiago instead of Havana. On July 3, Cervera obeyed orders to take his entire fleet out of the harbor to defend Spanish honor, knowing that it would be a suicide mission. Overwhelming American firepower sank all the ships and killed more than 300 sailors. Another 1,700 seamen were rescued by the Americans and became prisoners of war. Cervera himself was captured and eventually returned to Spain. Of note in this anonymous American officer's account is the courtesy with which the captors and their captives treated one another as the battle ended.

Primary Source

As I was not a personal witness of the naval battle by which Cervera's fleet was destroyed, I will insert the account written by a naval officer who participated; which account appeared in the *New York Herald* of July 7, 1898. It is as follows:

"In anticipation of a great battle between the American fleet and the Cape Verde squadrons, commanded by Admiral Cervera, the *Herald* secured the services of an expert naval authority on board one of the battleships to write a technical description of the fight when it occurred. The writer is well known to the *Herald*, and it is therefore able to vouch for its authenticity:

"ON BOARD U.S.S. IOWA, OFF SANTIAGO, July 4.

BY DESPATCH BOAT TO PORT ANTONIO, July 6.

"On Sunday morning, July 3d, our watching ships lay rolling in the easy surges off the entrance of the harbor of Santiago. Their distances from the guarded haven varied from four to six thousand yards, and there, with an unsparing alertness, they waited for that promised dash which all hoped for, but feared might never come.

"A little after three bells in the forenoon watch the inspection of the ship had been concluded, and as Lieutenant Van Duzer, the officer of the watch, was relieving the navigating officer, Lieutenant Scheutze, then officer of the deck, he heard a quick cry to call the

captain, followed by a shout, 'There come the Spaniards out of the harbor!'

"The trained eye of the alert officer had marked the thin trail of drifting smoke, and before the signal 'Clear ship for action' had been given, the bows of the Spanish vessels, rushing in 'Line ahead,' were seen darting around Socapa Point for the open sea.

"In a moment all was bustle and trained energy. Men rushed to their quarters, guns were trained, and in less than twenty seconds the whistling shriek of a rapid-fire gun warned the startled fleet of the hot work awaiting. In two minutes every gun on shipboard was cast loose, manned, loaded, and ready for the long-expected signal to fire.

"At the yard-arm of our battleship a string of signal flags warned the fleet the enemy was trying to escape; but even before the answering pennants of the other ships announced their understanding of the message, every vessel was dashing to the stations long before allotted for the emergency which had come at last.

"It was a splendid spectacle. The Spaniards, with bottled steam, cleared the harbor's mouth seemingly in a moment. Under their eager prows a column of foam whitened the long billows, and their bubbling wakes left a furrow as straight and sharp as a racing yacht making a winning run for the finish line.

"Their course was shaped for the westward; but fast as they sped in their desperate break for freedom, faster flew the shells of the pursuing Americans. The first heavy shell from the *Iowa's* battery fell short, and then, by a lucky mischance, so did the second; but afterward the rain of shot fell surely and unsparingly upon the fleeing foe.

"Not a whit behind in this eager fusilade roared the batteries of the Spanish ships. Their port broadsides flamed and grumbled, but it was more a splendid display of fireworks than a successful effort to damage the unharmed targets of the Yankee ships. In fifteen minutes after they were discovered the four Spanish armored cruisers had cleared the wide entrance, and five minutes later the torpedo-boat destroyers, hugging the beach and seeking the sheltering broadside of their sister ships, flew into the turmoil of the action.

"At this time every gun of the American squadron that could be brought to bear was pumping projectiles into the enemy. In an instant, it almost seemed, one ship of the *Vizcaya* class burst into flames, caused, undoubtedly, by a long, sure shot from the *Oregon* or the *Texas*.

"A minute later a 12-inch projectile sent from the *Iowa's* forward turret struck the flagship *Maria Teresa* near her after smoke-pipe. A tremendous explosion followed. Then she was shrouded in smoke and was lighted with lurid flames; and then when the pow-

der-cloud blew down the wind she was seen helm hard a-port rushing for the beach.

"Twenty-five minutes after the first ship had been sighted, half the Spanish fleet had surrendered or was on fire.

"As our vessels rushed toward them every ship was hulled time and again; and it almost seemed, in the sureness and directness of our batteries, as if it were the target practice of a summer morning, and not the annihilation of a squadron.

"Even this interval would have been shortened measurably, for, aiding them and hindering us, was the cloud of smoke, which concealed and at the best only half revealed the wrecked enemy.

"It was a grand, sad sight, a pathetic one to seamen, who know how much patient thought and patriotic effort had gone into the construction of these splendid vessels, now lying, bruised and burning, on the shores they had hoped to defend.

"There was no time, however, to indulge in emotions of sympathy or of pity, for still rushing eagerly westward, closely followed by the *New York*, and at a further distance by the *Indiana*, came the torpedo-boat destroyers.

"In the hot eagerness of destruction we turned loose our smaller guns on these loudly heralded and ineffective craft, and finally by a lucky hit dropped a 12-inch shell into the bow of the leading destroyer. At the same instant the little *Hist* was rapidly closing upon them, pouring a sickening fire into their fragile hulls.

"The *Gloucester* joined in this splendid assault, and so sure and so effective was their raid of rapid-fire projectiles that both torpedo boats swung their helms hard a-port, ran for the shore, and buried what was left of them among the pitiless rocks of the coast.

"By a quarter past ten we were in full cry after the other Spanish ships, then about four miles ahead, and busy with hot replies to the determined assault of the *Oregon*, *Texas*, and *Brooklyn*.

"Bending every energy to overtake the *Colon*, which was then five miles away and perhaps two miles ahead in a direct line, and a mile and a half further in shore, we picked up the flying *Vizcaya*.

"The game must have seemed up to her then, for with a quick turn to starboard she ran shoreward, and we saw in an instant that she was flaming fore and aft. A beautiful Spanish flag floating from her gaff, and another higher still from her main topmast head, showed her to be the flagship of the second in command. She lagged heavily in the water; no longer did she carry a bone in her teeth, and her foaming wake was gone.

"When we drew near we saw something had gone amiss with her, for just as we swung with a touch of our helm to give her a finishing broadside, the beautiful flags drifted from truck and gaff end and the white flag of surrender went up, and the cheers of our ship went with it.

"We stopped our engines when close aboard, and hoisted out our boats to save her people. We received on board two hundred and fifty of her crew, the *Hist* took another hundred, and that was all that was left of them; for the other hapless sailors were lying dead and wounded on her burning decks.

"The conflagration aboard this ship was astounding; and even now, when the opportunity for calm reflection has come, it is impossible to explain where so much inflammable material could have been collected on board an armored vessel. Through the air-ports and gun-ports of the doomed ship quivering fires shone with a blood-red light upon the light woodwork of the bridge and upper deck, and long tongues of flame licked the towering masts.

"Over the ship a cloud of rosy light hovered, and when, after a time, the explosions of the free powder were added, great volumes of smoke shut out the sky. Several explosions of terrific force followed; but notwithstanding this, and while the flames were still quivering through every outlet and encircling the hull, our boats were busy with the rescue of the unfortunate wounded and those more lucky survivors who had sought the water or the shore as their only refuge from a dreadful death.

"The glorious *Texas*, no longer the 'hoodoo' of the fleet, gave its principal attention to the *Vizcaya*, and one of her 12-inch shells, smashing through the fire-room of the Spaniard, caused her to make that quick turn to the shore which at first we did not understand.

"The *New York* was so far to the eastward that she had a long chase and a stern chase before she got into the action, and she passed us just after the *Vizcaya* surrendered. She made a splendid marine picture as she rushed eagerly by in a hot chase after the *Colon*; and as she shot past, we gave Sampson cheer after cheer, and cheer after cheer came back to us from as gallant a crew as ever served a gun or fed a roaring furnace.

"Some of the crew swam to the beach; but, finding the hostile shores commanded by alert parties of Cuban soldiers, they fought in a mad endeavor to get on board the ships' boats rather than surrender to an enemy whom they knew to be pitiless. Every officer and man on the *Iowa* gave clothes of some sort to the rescued sailors, and their reception must have taught them that the despised Yankee was not the inhuman brute their officers had pictured.

"The paymaster's stores of the ship were drawn on lavishly to clothe the Spanish officers and men; and when after a while they were

dried and fed, it was interesting to note the relief all seemed to feel, now that their long suspense of so many weary weeks was over and done.

"When the Spanish captain of the *Vizcaya*, that courteous Eulate of whom we heard so much when his ship was in the harbor of New York, was lifted over the side and half carried aft, he presented his sword to Captain Evans as the symbol; but Evans, gentle as he is brave, declined to receive it, and, waving it back with a friendly gesture, he grasped the hand of the Spaniard and welcomed his brother officer to the hospitality of the ship.

"Much affected by his reception, Captain Eulate asked permission to meet the *Iowa*'s officers; and to each he gave a warm grip of his hand and a friendly word of gratitude, before he was carried below.

"The *Oregon* and *Brooklyn* joined in the attack, but were a little too far out to get into the best of it; and their efforts were directed more to head off and catch the *Colon* than to join in the general action. There was a wisdom in this approved of all good sailors; for they knew what work was cut out for them, and in what good hands the other ships were left.

"At one time, the *Iowa* was engaged with all the ships single-handed. The Spanish officers told us later that their orders were to concentrate their fire on her, and every effort must be made to disable her, as she was the most dangerous antagonist of all awaiting them. But, as one of the Spanish officers added, with a fine air of perplexity, 'We found that all the ships were equally dangerous; and that, after all was said and done, it was four ships against four, and one of these, the *Brooklyn*, was much more lightly armored and gunned than any of ours.'

"Reckoning up the data of this memorable fight, which it was our good fortune to take part in, we find, that—

"In less than twenty-five minutes two of their ships were wrecked;

"In less than three-quarters of an hour the third surrendered;

"In fifty-six minutes from the time the first dashing Spaniard was sighted, all hands were piped down, the guns were secured, and our boats were in the water to save what was left of the *Vizcaya*'s crew.

"At five o'clock in the afternoon of that memorable Sunday, the *Iowa* arrived off the entrance to Santiago, the *Gloucester* keeping company with us after speaking to the *Indiana* and exchanging cheers that made the welkin ring. When alongside the *Indiana*, Captain Evans hailed his brother-in-law, Captain Taylor of that ship, and told him to send Admiral Cervera on board and he would put at his disposal the vacant admiral's cabin of our ship.

"The gallant but defeated sailor came alongside in the *Gloucester*'s boat, and was received with all the honors due his rank and station. The full marine guard was paraded, the bugles flourished a salute;

and when the official side was finished the reception accorded him by the captured officers of the *Vizcaya* showed the affectionate regard with which this fearless gentleman was held by those who served under him.

“Captain Eulate wore the sword Captain Evans had refused to accept; and he pointed to it with a pathetic pride as he told of the reception accorded him by the *Iowa*’s captain. It was an affecting and heart-warming sight, and made a fitting close to a day that will be memorable for the glories it yielded to our arms at sea.”

Source: Joseph Wheeler, *The Santiago Campaign, 1898* (London: Wolfe, 1898), 96–106.

73. José Muller y Tejeiro, Account of the Naval Battle of Santiago de Cuba, 1899

Introduction

As Spain and the United States prepared for war, Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete shared with Spain’s top naval official his misgivings about the sorry state of the Spanish fleet. Nevertheless, Cervera soon received his orders to sail for Cuba and wrote, prophetically, “I go to the sacrifice.” His fleet of seven decrepit vessels sailed on April 30, 1898, and achieved the safety of Santiago Harbor on May 19. By May 29, the two blockading squadrons, commanded by Admiral William T. Sampson and Commodore Winfield Scott Schley, had discovered the location of Cervera’s fleet and bottled it up in Santiago Harbor. Cervera’s arrival inspired U.S. military strategists to change their plans and assault Santiago instead of Havana. On July 3, Cervera obeyed orders to take his entire fleet out of the harbor to defend Spanish honor, knowing that it would be a suicide mission. Overwhelming American firepower sank every ship and killed more than 300 sailors. The Americans rescued another 1,700 and made them prisoners of war. An unknown number of shipwrecked Spanish sailors were able to swim to shore. Cervera himself was captured and eventually returned to Spain. The author of this article compiled several accounts by Spanish eyewitnesses, including the pilots who guided the ships out of the harbor.

Primary Source

NAVAL BATTLE OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

July 3d.—The hostile fleet in sight, about five miles distant.

At 9:45 the Spanish fleet went out. Shortly after, a violent bombardment was heard.

At 10:40 the Morro said: “The Spanish fleet is fighting in wing formation at Punta Cabrera; the enemy does not have the range and it seems as though they would succeed in escaping. The American

fleet is composed of the *Brooklyn*, *Indiana*, *Iowa*, *Texas*, *Massachusetts*, *Oregon*, and one yacht. The ships from Aguadores have come to assist in the battle.”

At 11:15 no more firing was heard.

At 12:30 the Morro said: “When the fleet went out it did so slowly. After the four large ships had gone out the destroyers went, and all of the American ships fell upon them. Our fleet opposed the attack and the destroyers hurried to join them, but near Punta Cabrera one of them took fire and ran ashore. The other continued to fire and when she saw herself lost she lowered two boats filled with men; one reached the coast, the other was captured. On leaving the destroyer they set it afire and she ran aground burning.”

So they are both lost. When our fleet passed Punta Cabrera one of the ships, apparently the *Teresa*, went close to the shore and a great deal of smoke was seen. The *Iowa* and *New York* were pursuing her and the others followed them. By this time the hostile ships from Aguadores were already taking part in the fight.

At 2 an English warship was signaled to the south.

At 3 the Morro said that the ships which pursued our fleet were twenty-four in all; fifteen warships, armored and unarmored; the others merchant vessels equipped for war.

At 6:30 the pilot, Miguel Lopez, said that at his house at Cinco Rcales, he had five shipwrecked from the *Teresa* and *Oquendo*, and they said there must be others at Cabañitas.

The tug *Esmeralda*, with the second commander of marine and Ensign Nardiz, with the pilot, López, and ten armed sailors, went out to gather them up. Forces of the army also went out in the steamer *Colón* to protect those who might be returning by roads and paths along the coast.

At nightfall Colonel Escario’s column arrived from Manzanillo.

My friend, Mr. Robert Mason, Chinese consul, who is interested in naval matters, and has a good understanding of everything concerning them, witnessed the battle from the Vigia del Medio, which is the highest mountain in the bay, and overlooks a great part of it. But we must take into account that, as it is quite distant from the coast, the ships that pass close to it cannot be seen. As soon as he arrived he told me what had happened as he had seen it, and I put it down as he dictated it to me. The following is what I heard from his own lips, word for word, without changing anything in this interesting account:

“The *Teresa* went out first, then the *Vizcaya* and *Colón*; after a somewhat longer interval, the *Oquendo*, then the destroyers. The Admiral passed the Morro at 9:45. A little to windward of the Morro (west) was the *Brooklyn*. Opposite the Morro another ship, apparently the *Massachusetts*, and I could distinguish no other war ships from the Vigia. When the Admiral passed the Morro the hostile ships and the Morro and Socapa opened a violent fire simultaneously; the hostile ships that could not be seen and that were at Aguadores also opened fire at the same time. After passing the Morro, the Admiral went west and was lost from sight on account of the Socapa. The *Vizcaya* followed, and then the other two. In the meantime the destroyers remained in the bay. The

Spanish ships were now visible again, the *Vizcaya* in the lead, the *Colón*, *Oquendo*, and *Maria Teresa*, in line ahead at a certain distance from the American fleet. The Spanish fleet was firing slowly, the American ships lively, so that I did not lose sight again of the Spanish ships, but often of the American ships on account of the smoke. In the meantime the American warships and two yachts were gathered opposite the Socapa, and when the destroyers came out it seemed impossible that they should be able to escape. The fire was horrible from the large guns, as well as from the rapid-fire guns. Nevertheless, the destroyers were lost from sight, but they appeared again, firing from their stern guns. As long as the ships could be distinguished it could not be estimated whether they had received injuries of any kind. When they disappeared from sight, at 10:30, we could see no injuries in the masts or smokestacks, or anything special. At this time we saw all the American ships firing in a westerly direction, and at that hour the *New York*, which had not yet entered the fight, passed the bay headed westward. When I left the battle I had not seen any ship run aground nor on fire, either Spanish or American.”

Before I continue, in order to give a better understanding, I will recall the fact that the coast between Santiago and Punta Cabrera, a stretch of about six miles, forms a kind of bay on which are situated Cabanas and Guaicabon; that Punta Cabrera projects south and is very high land, consequently the ships which are west of it and close to the coast cannot be seen. It is absolutely necessary to remember this in order to understand why it was that the final result of the battle was not seen.

At 9:30 the Spanish fleet started up; first the *Maria Teresa*. Admiral Cervera's flagship, the *Vizcaya*, then the *Cristóbal Colón*, and *Oquendo*. Behind these the *Plutón* and *Furor*. This was the order of sortie as I learned from the pilots López and Nuñez.

The *Brooklyn*, *Iowa*, *Indiana*, *Texas*, *Massachusetts*, *Oregon*, and one yacht were waiting at the mouth of the harbor. The others arrived soon from Aguadores, where they had been, with their engines going and under steam. One of the last ones to arrive was the *New York*, which, the same as the *Brooklyn*, has a twenty-mile speed.

The Spanish ships, which necessarily had to go out in line-ahead, received, as each went out, the fire of all the American ships, which they could not answer until they had passed the bank of Diamante, because they could not present the broadside, consequently their guns, to the enemy. Therefore, as long as they were inside of the harbor, they all sustained a terrible fire.

Nevertheless, they came out without serious injuries and reached the open sea. The *Vizcaya*, which was the fastest ship, but had not had her bottom cleaned, was making only thirteen miles, and the other ships had to regulate their speed by hers in order to preserve the line.

I suppose, from what happened, and taking into account the order of the sortie, that Admiral Cervera intended to protect the retreat of the *Vizcaya*, accompanied by the *Colón* (which did not have her turret guns mounted), with the *Oquendo* and *Maria Teresa*, and

then have the latter, by putting on forced draft, rejoin the former, but both were set on fire by the stern, which they presented to the hostile fire, and they were soon converted into one immense blaze and went aground on the coast, the *Teresa* about seven miles from Santiago harbor, west of Punta Cabrera, then close to her the *Oquendo*. These events I learned at nightfall from the shipwrecked who had arrived. The fate of the *Vizcaya* and *Cristóbal Colón* I will anticipate, in order to complete the account of what happened to the whole fleet as it was told me by an officer of the Austrian cruiser *Maria Teresa* (same name as ours) the next day.

When the *Oquendo* and *Teresa* had been lost, two or three American ships remained there to consummate the surrender and gather up the shipwrecked and wounded and take the others prisoners. The other ships continued to pursue the *Vizcaya* and the *Colón*. The first of the two also took fire at the stern and stranded at a distance of about twenty miles (toward Aserraderos); the second did not take fire. Probably her engine was damaged and she ran up on the coast about sixty miles distant (off Tarquino).

Such was the hecatomb (for there is no other name for it) of our ill-fated fleet, and I do not believe that history records another like it. Not a single ship was saved from the catastrophe. The commanders and officers of all the ships knew well what was going to happen, when, calm and serene in spite of everything and ready to do their duty fully, they took leave of each other and of their comrades who remained on shore, as they did not belong to the fleet.

A person who has witnessed and seen with his own eyes an event like the one which I have in vain tried to describe, must necessarily be of interest, even though of little prominence and education. For that reason I have had the pilots Miguel Lopez and Apolonio Nunez, who took out the *Teresa* and *Oquendo*, respectively, repeat to me a hundred times what they had seen. I shall not copy everything they said; that would be too much of a task, but only what relates to the battle and which gives an idea of that veritable hell, for that is what the mouth of Santiago harbor was for fifteen minutes.

Miguel Lopez, who is cool-headed and daring on land as well as on the sea, said to me about as follows:

“I was in the forward tower by the side of Admiral Cervera, who was as calm as though he had been at anchor in his own cabin, and was observing the channel and the hostile ships and only said these words:

“‘Pilot, when can we shift the helm?’ He had reference to turning to starboard, which could only be done after we had passed Diamante bank. After a few seconds he said.

‘Pilot, advise me when we can shift the helm.’

‘I will advise you, Admiral,’ I answered.

“A few moments later I said: ‘Admiral, the helm may be shifted now.’

“In a moment the Admiral, without shouting, without becoming excited, as calm as usual, said: ‘To starboard,’ and the next minute, ‘Fire!’ At the same moment, simultaneously, the two guns of the turret and those of the port battery fired on a ship which seemed to me to be the *Indiana*. I thought the ship was sinking. I

cannot tell you, Don Jose, all that passed. By this time there were already many dead and wounded in the battery, because they had been firing on us for some time, and I believe that in spite of the water that was in the ship she was already on fire then. The Admiral said to me:

“‘Good-by, pilot; go now; go, and be sure you let them pay you, because you have earned it well.’ And he continued to give orders.”

These were, more or less, the words that Miguel Lopez spoke to me, and which he repeats to anyone who wishes to hear them.

Apolonio Nunez, who took out the *Oquendo*, is very different from Lopez, not daring, but rather easily frightened. These were his impressions:

“When we arrived at Santa Catalina battery, they were already firing. There was a hail of bullets on board which cannot be compared to anything. I was in the tower looking after the course of the ship. The commander, who is very kind, and who knew me because I had taken the ship in on the 19th, said to me:

“‘You can go, pilot; we can get along now, and later on perhaps you will not be able to go.’ I thanked him and should have gone gladly enough, I can tell you, but I was afraid they might shift the helm before they passed *Diamante*, and you can imagine Don Jose, what would have happened. I remained on board, and when we had passed the bank I said to him: ‘Commander, you can shift the helm.’

“‘Go, pilot, go,’ he said, and then he commanded to put to starboard and shouted, ‘Fire!’ The noise caused by the big forward gun and the shaking of the ship made more impression on me than the fire of the Yankees. I thought the *Oquendo* had been cut in two. I do not even want to remember it. I was lowered in a boat and then I thought I was a dead man. The bullets were falling all around me. Finally I reached Estrella Cove, where Miguel Lopez had already arrived. I did not even dare look at the battle, which was now outside of the harbor.”

These two accounts, which, perhaps, do not inspire the interest which no doubt they possess, because I have not been able to remember the exact words of the men, although in substance they are the same, may give an idea of that never-to-be-forgotten sortie which had such fatal consequences.

I supposed that the American fleet would await the Spanish fleet at the mouth of the harbor and absolutely prevent it from going out, under penalty of having the ships attacked. But that requires a great deal of courage and presence of mind. Nevertheless, it would have been the safest means for accomplishing it. By not doing so they exposed themselves to being outwitted and this is proved by the fact that our ships succeeded in getting out of the harbor and as far as Punta Cabrera (about six miles), so that they really accomplished the most difficult part, and there is no doubt that if they had not been set on fire and if they had had a speed of even eighteen miles they would have run the blockade.

It will also have been noticed that the three ships built in Spain all had the same fate; they were burned. The one built in Italy, although not having the turret guns, and which had suffered from the hostile fire much longer, because she “died” later than the oth-

ers, was not burned; she had a different fate, but not that. I believe I am not bold in affirming that if the four ships had been protected like the *Colón*, they would have outwitted the enemy’s pursuit. In that event they might have reached Havana, for as the whole, or nearly the whole, American fleet was in front of Santiago, they would have met no one to prevent them and the situation would have been very different.

A few of the shipwrecked arrived in the tug *Colón*, and were embarked by our commander of marine in the cruiser *Reina Mercedes*.

The tug *Esmeralda*, with Ensign Nardiz, ten armed sailors, and the pilot Lopez, went to Cabañitas Cove to gather up shipwrecked; but, although they made a careful search, they found none.

At night Colonel Escario’s column, whose forces have already been mentioned, arrived from Manzanillo. The next day General Escario told me that when he heard the fire of the battle in the morning, he proceeded with a small vanguard to the heights of the harbor of Bayamo, and that the detachment there told him the same thing, viz., that they saw our ships run the blockade and disappear past Punta Cabrera.

To my mind there is nothing so interesting and eloquent as the account of a naval battle by persons who have taken part in it. Lieutenants Bustamente and Caballero, second in command of the destroyers *Furor* and *Plutón*, respectively, who escaped by a miracle from the horrible hecatomb, in which the greater part of their crews perished, told me two days after the catastrophe, still sick and tired, of the battle which their ships sustained. Their accounts follow:

Mr. Caballero.—“The last ships were already outside of the harbor when tire destroyers, which had stopped between the Socapa and Cay Smith for the purpose of getting up steam, proceeded and passed through the channel as far as Punta Morrillo, where the *Furor*, which was in the lead, put to port as though trying to go east, but when she discovered the *Gloucester* and other ships which were near Aguadores, she put to starboard, following the lead of our fleet, which was already at some distance, opening fire on the *Gloucester* which we (the two destroyers) had left astern. And the *Indiana*, *Oregon*, *Iowa*, and *Texas*, which we had passed in the order named on the port hand, continued to fire very rapidly, which made it extremely difficult for us to serve the guns. After we had passed Cabanas we commenced to gain on the *Furor*, and when we came up with her and were about fifty meters to starboard, she listed rapidly on that side, her rudder having been disabled, and passed astern of us at a distance of one meter, and sank by the stern, standing up almost vertically, and was buried in the sea a moment later, before reaching Punta Cabrera.

“As we (the *Plutón*) were making a great deal of water we continued close to the shore to reach Punta Cabrera, and when we were close to the headland which it forms, we received a thirty-two centimeter projectile, which exploded the forward group of boilers, blowing up the whole deck and cutting off communication between the two ends. She then veered to starboard and struck on the headland, tearing off a great part of the bow. The shock threw her back

some distance, then she struck again. I jumped into the water and reached the shore.

"I climbed up on the headland of Punta Cabrera and lay there for about fifteen minutes, during which the fire continued. When it was at an end I went into the mountains and gathered up such personnel of the ship as I met—about twenty or twenty-five—and with them I went around a small hill for the purpose of hiding from the coast and took the road to Santiago de Cuba, avoiding the roads and seeking the densest thickets and woods. The pilot, on pretext that the road which I was following was not a good one, left us and did not again put in an appearance. We continued walking in an easterly direction—some clothed, others naked, and the rest half clothed—for two hours, resting now and then and trying to keep close to the coast. When we reached the beach we met Lieutenant Bustamente with a group of shipwrecked from the 'Furor' (his ship) and some from the 'María Teresa.' We saw a yacht with the English flag close to the coast maneuvering back of Punta Cabrera, as though trying to gather up the shipwrecked there. We made signals to her with a shirt, and seeing that she paid no attention to us we walked on, avoiding the formation of large groups and hiding ourselves as much as possible.

"About 3:30 we reached the harbor of Cabanas, which we had to cross swimming, and on the opposite shore, about 9 o'clock at night, we reached the trenches of the Socapa, where at last we could rest for the night, with the assistance of some guerrillas, who supplied us with what they could."

Mr. Bustamente.—"When we (the *Furor*) reached the mouth of the harbor and saw the Spanish fleet we thought that by shaping our course westward we could seek the protection of the Spanish fleet, which was already at some distance, and we maneuvered accordingly. One of the projectiles struck one of the hatches of the boiler ventilators, thereby reducing the pressure and consequently the speed of the ship. By this time the projectiles were falling on board in large numbers. One of the shells struck Botswain Dueñas, cutting him in two; one part fell between the tiller-ropes, interrupting them momentarily, and it was necessary to take it out in pieces. Another projectile destroyed the engine and the servo-motor, so that the ship could neither proceed nor maneuver. Another had struck the after shellroom, exploding and destroying it.

Our torpedoes had their warheads on and were ready to be used, but we did not launch them because we were never at a convenient distance from the enemy. Under these circumstances, the commander of the destroyers, Captain Fernando Villamil, gave orders to abandon the ship, and I, with part of the crew, jumped into the water, about three miles from the coast. In the water, one of the men near me, I believe the first boatswain, was struck by a bullet in the head and was buried in the water forever. The ship, in the meantime, after a horrible series of explosions, went down. When we reached the land we went in an easterly direction toward Santiago. Shortly after we met Lieutenant Caballero and with him and his men we reached Santiago, and following the same road and the same fortunes; as they are identical, I will not here relate them."

To what has been said it is useless to add another word.

Source: Fitzhugh Lee, *Cuba's Struggle against Spain* . . . (New York: American Historical Press, 1899), 321–328.

74. Finley Peter Dunne, "Mr. Dooley" on the Destruction of Pascual Cervera's Fleet, 1898

Introduction

American humorist Finley Peter Dunne created the character Mr. Dooley, the Irish proprietor of a Chicago bar. So popular were Dunne's newspaper pieces featuring the character that members of the president's cabinet were rumored to ask, "What would Mr. Dooley say?" when contemplating national policy decisions. Mr. Dooley weighed in on no less a matter than the destruction of the Spanish fleet outside Santiago Harbor. Admiral Pascual Cervera had been ordered, against his better judgment, to bring his decrepit fleet to Cuba at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. Two U.S. naval squadrons, commanded by Admiral William T. Sampson and Commodore Winfield Scott Schley, bottled up Cervera's fleet in Santiago Harbor beginning on May 29, 1898. On July 3, Cervera obeyed orders to take his entire fleet out of the harbor to defend Spanish honor, knowing that it would be a suicide mission. Overwhelming American firepower destroyed the entire fleet and killed more than 300 sailors. Dunne's column pokes fun at all parties. It portrays the American admirals playing cards while sending out rowboats to sink the Spanish fleet, claims that the singing of "Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight" drove Cervera to jump overboard, and describes American politicians sending congratulatory telegrams to themselves.

Primary Source

ON THE DESTRUCTION OF CERVERA'S FLEET.

[These comments were made by Mr. Dooley during a strike of the stereotypers, which caused the English newspapers of Chicago temporarily to suspend publication.]

"I HEAR," said Mr. Hennessy, "that th' stereopticons on th' newspapers have sthruck."

"I sh'd think they wud," said Mr. Dooley. "Th' las' time I was down town was iliction night, whin Charter Haitch's big la-ad was ilicted, an' they was wurrukin' th' stereopticons till they was black in th' face. What's th' news?"

"Th' What Cheer, loway, Lamp iv Freedom is on th' sthreet with a tillygram that Shafter has captured Sandago de Cuba, an' is now

settin' on Gin'ral Pando's chest with his hands in his hair. But this is denied be th' Palo Gazoot, the Macoupin County Ray-gisther, an' th' Meridian Sthreet Afro-American. I also see be th' Daily Scoor Card, th' Wine List, th' Deef Mute's Spokesman, th' Morgue Life, the Bill iv Fare, th' Stock Yards Sthraight Steer, an' Jack's Tips on th' Races, the on'y daily paper printed in Chicago, that Sampson's fleet is in th' Suez Canal bombarding Cades. Th' Northwestern Christyan Advycate says this is not thrue, but that George Dixon was outpointed be an English boxer in a twenty-r-round go in New York."

"Ye've got things mixed up," said Mr. Dooley. "I get th' news sthraight. 'Twas this way. Th' Spanish fleet was bottled up in Sandago Harbor, an' they dhrew th' cork. That's a joke. I see it in th' pa-apers. Th' gallant boys iv th' navy was settin' out on th' deck, definidin' their counthry an' dhrawin' three ca-ards apiece, whin th' Spanish admiral con-eluded 'twud be better f'r him to be desthroyed on th' ragin' sea, him bein' a sailor, thin to have his fleet captured be cav'lry. An-nyhow, he was willin' to take a chance; an' he says to his sailors: 'Span-yards,' he says, 'Castiles,' he says, 'we have et th' las' bed-tick,' he says; 'an', if we stay here much longer,' he says, 'I'll have to have a steak off th' armor plate fried f'r ye,' he says. 'Lave us go out where we can have a r-run f'r our money,' he says. An' away they wint. I'll say this much f'r him, he's a brave man, a dam brave man. I don't like a Spanyard no more than ye do, Hinnissy. I niver see wan. But, if this here man was a—was a Zulu, I'd say he was a brave man. If I was aboard wan iv thim yachts that was convarted, I'd go to this here Cervera, an' I'd say: 'Manuel,' I'd say, 'ye're all right, me boy. Ye ought to go to a doctor an' have ye'er eyes re-set, but ye're a good fellow. Go downstairs,' I'd say, 'into th' basemint iv the ship,' I'd say, 'an' open th' cupboard jus' nex' to th' head iv th' bed, an' find th' bottle marked "Floridy Wather," an' threat ye'er- silf kindly.' That's what I'd say to Cervera. He's all right.

"Well, whin our boys see th' Spanish fleet comin' out iv th' harbor, they gathered on th' deck an' sang th' naytional anthem, 'They'll be a hot time in th' ol' town tonight.' A lift-nant come up to where Admiral Sampson was settin' playin' sivin up with Admiral Schley. 'Bill,' he says, 'th' Spanish fleet is comin' out,' he says. 'What talk have ye?' says Sampson. 'Sind out some row-boats an' a yacht, an' desthroy thim. Clubs is thrumps,' he says, and he wint on playin'. Th' Spanish fleet was attackted on all sides be our br-rave la-ads, nobly assisted be th' dispatch boats iv the newspapers. Wan by wan they was desthroyed. Three battleships attackted th' convarted yacht Gloucester. Th' Gloucester used to be owned be Pierpont Morgan; but 'twas convarted, an' is now leadin' a dacint life. Th' Gloucester sunk thim all, th' Christobell Comma, the Viscera, an' th' Admiral O'Quinn. It thin wint up to two Spanish torpedo boats an' giv thim wan punch, an' away they wint. Be this time th' sojers had heerd of the victhry, an' they gathered on th' shore, singin' th' naytional anthem, 'They'll be a hot time in th' ol' town to-night, me babby.' Th' glorious ol' chune, to which Washington an' Grant an' Lincoln marched, was took up be th' sailors on th' ships, an' Admiral Cervera r-run wan iv his boats

ashore, an' jumped into th' sea. At last accounts th' fbllovin' dispatches had been received: 'To Willum McKinley: Congratulations on ye'er noble victhry. (Signed) Willum McKinley.' 'To Russell A. Alger: Ye done splendid. (Signed) Russell A. Alger.' 'To James Wilson, Sirety iv Agriculture: This is a gr-reat day f'r loway. Ar-re ye much hur-rted? (Signed) James Wilson.'"

"Where did ye hear all this?" asked Mr. Hennessy, in great amazement.

"I r-read it," said Mr. Dooley, impressively, "in the Staats Zeitung."

Source: Finley Peter Dunne, *Mr. Dooley in Peace and War* (Boston: Small, Maynard, 1898), 68–72.

75. Pedro López de Castillo, Letter to American Soldiers, August 22, 1898

Introduction

After losing San Juan Heights on July 1, 1898, in the decisive field battle of the Santiago Campaign, Spanish forces retired behind entrenchments guarding the city of Santiago. American forces and their Cuban allies surrounded Santiago, and a short siege ensued. The 13,500-man Spanish garrison at Santiago was short of food and ammunition. On July 3, the strategic situation changed when American naval forces destroyed the Spanish fleet. General José Toral, who had replaced the ailing Spanish commander General Arsenio Linares, presented a tough, confident front while negotiating with the Americans for the surrender of Santiago. Among his conditions was that the United States was to transport the surrendered Spanish troops home to Spain and that the Spanish soldiers would be permitted to keep their side arms. The July 16 capitulation applied only to the district surrounding Santiago and did not mark the end of the war. In August after the final cessation of U.S.-Spanish hostilities, some 11,000 Spanish soldiers boarded American ships for their return to Spain. This letter, supposedly penned by a Spanish infantry private, offers good wishes to the American soldiers, compliments them on their honor and courage, and then contrasts them to the Cubans. The writer characterizes Cubans as a skulking amoral people incapable of living under the rule of law.

Primary Source

To Major-General Shafter, Commanding the American Army in Cuba.

Sir: The Spanish soldiers who capitulated in this place on the 16th of July last, recognizing your high and just position, pray that through you all the courageous and noble soldiers under your command may receive our good wishes and farewell, which we send them on

embarking for our beloved Spain. For this favor, which we have no doubt you will grant, you will gain the everlasting gratitude and consideration of 11,000 Spanish soldiers, who are your most humble servants

Pedro Lopez de Castillo, Private of Infantry

Also the following letter addressed to the soldiers of the American Army:

SOLDIERS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY,—We would not be fulfilling our duty as well-born men, in whose breasts there lives gratitude and courtesy, should we embark for our beloved Spain without sending to you our most cordial and sincere good wishes and farewell. We fought you with ardor, with all our strength endeavoring to gain the victory, but without the slightest rancor or hate towards the American nation. We have been vanquished by you (so our generals and chiefs judged in signing the capitulation), but our surrender and the bloody battles preceding it have left in our souls no place for resentment against the men who fought us nobly and valiantly. You fought and acted in compliance with the same call of duty as we, for we all but represent the power of our respective states; you fought us as men, face to face, and with great courage, as before stated, a quality which we had not met with during the three years we have carried on this war against a people without religion, without morals, without conscience, and of doubtful origin, who could not confront the enemy, but, hidden, shot their noble victims from ambush and then immediately fled. This was the kind of warfare we had to sustain in this unfortunate land. You have complied exactly with all the laws and usages of war as recognized by the armies of the most civilized nations of the world; have given an honorable burial to the dead of the vanquished, have cured their wounded with great humanity, have respected and cared for your prisoners and their comfort; and, lastly, to us whose condition was terrible you have given freely of food, of your stock of medicines, and you have honored us with distinction and courtesy; for after the fighting the two armies mingled with the utmost harmony. With this high sentiment of appreciation from us all there remains but to express our farewell, and with the greatest sincerity we wish you all happiness and health in this land which will no longer belong to our dear Spain, but will be yours who have conquered it by force and watered it with your blood as your conscience called for under the demand of civilization and humanity; but the descendants of the Congo and of Guinea, mingled with the blood of unscrupulous Spaniards and of traitors and adventurers—these people are not able to exercise or enjoy their liberty, for they will find it a burden to comply with the laws which govern civilized communities. From eleven thousand Spanish soldiers.

Pedro Lopez de Castillo, Soldier of Infantry, Santiago de Cuba, 21st August, 1898.

Source: United States, Adjutant General's Office, *Correspondence relating to the War with Spain* . . . (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1993), 249–250.

76. Valery Havard, Description of the Medical Corps in the Santiago Campaign, 1927 [Excerpt]

Introduction

When U.S. forces landed in Cuba in 1898, medical science did not yet comprehend the nature of tropical diseases. During the Santiago Campaign, about half of General William Shafter's army fell ill with malaria, typhoid, and yellow fever. After the capture of Santiago, the army's health continued to deteriorate. Seven senior officers, including Theodore Roosevelt, drafted a letter—known as the Round-Robin Letter—recommending the immediate evacuation of U.S. troops from Cuba. Its publication by the press embarrassed political and military leaders and influenced the decision to recall many of the disease-ravaged American forces from Cuba to Montauk Point, Long Island. Here the army had established an isolated detention camp where those who suffered from tropical diseases received better care. The Cuban experience motivated the Medical Corps to begin a project to determine the cause of yellow fever. It marked the beginning of a longer-term trend toward a forward-looking modern military medical service. The following account was written by an army Medical Corps officer who served as chief surgeon for the American forces in Cuba. It relates the incidence and treatment of sickness in Cuba and the army's response to the Reed Commission's findings on the role of mosquitoes in disease transmission.

Primary Source

The number of fever cases continued to increase in the entire command. A careful examination at this time led to the conclusion that from ten to twenty percent (perhaps less) of the sick were yellow fever in the infantry divisions, and less than five percent in the cavalry division. These cases were sent to the yellow fever hospital or otherwise segregated and did not spread, but the malarial and bilious types of fever steadily increased to an alarming extent, amounting to sixty, seventy, or more, percent of the command. This situation placed a very anxious responsibility upon the Medical Department, and presented a problem which has never been satisfactorily solved, namely: Why should the command (5th Corps) remain in good health during the hardships of the campaign (heat, fatigue, scant and indifferent food, lack of shelter), and as soon as the enemy surrendered and our troops began to enjoy rest, comfort and plenty of food, malarial and other undefined forms of fever rapidly spread to such a frightful degree? Opinions differ. Mine is that yellow fever and malarial fever were never widespread, and that

most of the sickness thus following a short but exhausting campaign, was the result of improper diet, overeating and intemperance in a tropical climate.

The indications for treatment were, without doubt, after excluding yellow fever, to send back the 5th Corps to the United States and replace it by fresh troops, as was subsequently demonstrated. But the fear of importing yellow fever was so great that the decision to do so was very slowly and grudgingly arrived at by the War Department, and only after a "round-robin," in which all medical officers joined, was formulated and forwarded to Washington.

The Spanish army had also a high percentage of sickness after the surrender, but much smaller than that of our own army. It included a number of malarial and typhoid cases, but consisted chiefly of cases resulting from unhygienic conditions, such as fatigue, overheating, bad and deficient food. The Spanish sick also improved more rapidly than our own and were all deemed (justly or not) well enough to return home with the troops. Doubtless many would have had their lives saved by more prolonged rest and treatment before embarking.

[...]

In September, 1898, the 5th Corps was ordered back to the United States, volunteer troops taking its place. The Department of Santiago and Puerto Principe was organized, with Brigadier General Lawton as Commanding General, but almost immediately replaced by Brigadier General Leonard Wood. I remained as Chief Surgeon of the Department.

One of my principal endeavors, thereafter, was the instruction of the medical officers of the volunteer regiments in the special sanitary duties which tropical conditions imposed upon them. Military posts, each with hospital or dispensary, were established or re-established in all the principal towns and visited as often as possible, generally with the Commanding General.

[...]

In 1899 a new yellow fever hospital was constructed on an ideal site, and island in the bay of Santiago, placed in charge of Dr. Fabricius, expert bacteriologist, and later of Dr. Orlando Ducker.

Sad and gloomy was the summer of 1899 in Santiago, through the breaking out of a virulent epidemic of yellow fever from which a number of Americans were victims. Surgeon Clendennin, U.S.A., who was in command of the general hospital and devoted to his arduous work died from it in a few days. Dr Fabricius, as before stated on duty at the Yellow Fever Island, was another victim at about the same time. Assistant Surgeon Newgarden, U.S.A., had a severe attack but recovered. This epidemic was so successfully fought that it

had entirely disappeared in November. Since then, it is believed that not a single case has originated in that city. It should be noted that this result was obtained before the agency of the mosquito as transmitter of yellow fever had been suspected.

In April of 1900, upon the recommendation of General Wood, I was transferred to Havana as Chief Surgeon of the Department of Cuba, my duties including not only the administration of the medical department of the troops of occupation, but also the supervision of all infectious diseases on the island. Yellow fever prevailed to an unusual extent in Havana during the year 1900, especially among Americans. Much of my time was accordingly devoted, in concert with Major Gorgas (then health officer of Havana), to the study and application of measures of prevention, isolation and disinfection.

During the same year there were three other outbreaks of yellow fever, namely, at Pinar del Rio, Santa Clara and Quemados, towns which I personally visited as often as was advisable to insure the carrying out of all necessary regulations.

In October of that year, I myself suffered from an attack of yellow fever.

As soon as the Reed Commission had conclusively proved the transmission of yellow fever by mosquitoes, Major J.R. Kean, then Acting Chief Surgeon of the Department of Cuba, recommended the issue of G.O. No. 6, December 21, 1900, in which he stated that: "It is now well established that malaria, yellow fever and filarial infection are transmitted by the bites of mosquitoes,"—the first official publication of this fact. On my return from leave to Havana, in April, 1901, having likewise become convinced of the scientific accuracy of the experiments of the Reed Commission, and with the approval of the Surgeon General, it became necessary to lay greater emphasis upon the new measures of prophylaxis and treatment imposed by the Commission's conclusions. Instructions were accordingly sent (Circular No. 5, April 27, 1901) to all military posts and civil hospitals on the Island, directing explicitly the institution and correct operation of these measures. Thus was first and fully applied on a large scale, by Major Kean and myself, the wonderful and epoch-making discovery of Reed and his colleagues.

Source: Society of the Army of Santiago de Cuba, *The Santiago Campaign: Reminiscences* . . . (Richmond, VA: Williams Printing Company, 1927), 217–219.

77. George Kennan, Description of Army Field Hospitals in Cuba, 1899 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The American public devoured the many published eyewitness accounts of the Cuban War of Independence and the ensuing Spanish-American War. News correspondents were on hand when U.S. forces landed in Cuba and throughout the war and its aftermath. Among them was the noted explorer, lecturer, and author George Kennan (a distant relative of the famous 20th-century diplomat with the same name). Kennan had gone to work at the age of 12 for a telegraph company and subsequently traveled to Siberia to lay out telegraph lines. During his travels he met and wrote about political dissidents exiled by the tsarist regime, thus giving voice to his true talents. Kennan came to Cuba in a dual capacity, as a journalist and a Red Cross volunteer. Here he describes in graphic detail the sufferings of wounded U.S. soldiers, including their long waits for medical attention or even a sip of water. In one instance, five army surgeons worked around the clock to perform more than 300 operations in just under 24 hours. Before and after treatment, wounded soldiers had to lie outdoors with no protection from pouring rain and baking sun. The outspoken Kennan also published his assertion that General William Shafter was entirely to blame for the high incidence of yellow fever in his command, noting that in contrast the marines suffered almost no tropical disease.

Primary Source

At sunset the five surgeons had operated upon and dressed the wounds of one hundred and fifty-four men. As night advanced and the wounded came in more rapidly, no count or record of the operations was made or attempted. Late in the evening of Friday, division and regimental surgeons began to come back to the hospital from the front, and the operating force was increased to ten. More tables were set out in front of the tents, and the surgeons worked at them all night, partly by moonlight and partly by the dim light of flaring candles held in the hands of stewards and attendants. Fortunately, the weather was clear and still, and the moon nearly full. There were no lanterns, apparently, in the camp, at least, I saw none in use outside of the operating-tent, and if the night had been dark, windy, or rainy, four fifths of the wounded would have had no help or surgical treatment whatever until the next day. All the operations outside of a single tent were performed by the dim light of one unsheltered and flaring candle, or at most two. More than once even the candles were extinguished for fear that they would draw the fire of Spanish sharp-shooters who were posted in trees south of the camp, and who exchanged shots with our pickets at intervals throughout the night. These cold-blooded and merciless guerrillas fired all day Friday at our ambulances and at our wounded as they were brought back from the battle-line, and killed two of our Red Cross men. There was good reason to fear, therefore, that they

would fire into the hospital. It required some nerve on the part of our surgeons to stand beside operating-tables all night with their backs to a dark tropical jungle out of which came at intervals the sharp reports of guerrillas' rifles. But there was not a sign of hesitation or fear. Finding that they could not work satisfactorily by moonlight, brilliant although it was, they relighted their candles and took the risk. Before daybreak on Saturday morning they had performed more than three hundred operations, and then, as the wounded had ceased to come in, and all cases requiring immediate attention had been disposed of, they retired to their tents for a little rest. The five men who composed the original hospital force had worked incessantly for twenty-one hours.

Of course the wounded who had been operated upon, or the greater part of them, had to lie out all night on the water-soaked ground; and in order to appreciate the suffering they endured the reader must try to imagine the conditions and the environment. It rained in torrents there almost every afternoon for a period of from ten minutes to half an hour, and the ground, therefore, was usually water-soaked and soft. All the time that it did not rain the sun shone with a fierceness of heat that I have seldom seen equaled, and yet at night it grew cool and damp so rapidly as to necessitate the putting on of thicker clothing or a light overcoat. Many of the wounded soldiers, who were brought to the hospital from a distance of three miles in a jolting ambulance or army wagon, had lost their upper clothing at the bandaging-stations just back of the battle-line, where the field-surgeons had stripped them in order to examine or treat their wounds. They arrived there, consequently, half naked and without either rubber or woolen blankets; and as the very limited hospital supply of shirts and blankets had been exhausted, there was nothing to clothe or cover them with. The tents set apart for wounded soldiers were already full to overflowing, and all that a litter-squad could do with a man when they lifted him from the operating-table on Friday night was to carry him away and lay him down, half naked as he was, on the water-soaked ground under the stars. Weak and shaken from agony under the surgeon's knife and probe, there he had to lie in the high, wet grass, with no one to look after him, no one to give him food and water if he needed them, no blanket over him, and no pillow under his head. What he suffered in the long hours of the damp, chilly night I know because I saw him, and scores more like him; but the reader, who can get an idea of it only through the medium of words, can hardly imagine it.

When the sun rose Saturday morning, the sufferings of the wounded who had lain out all night in the grass were intensified rather than relieved, because with sunshine came intense heat, thirst, and surgical fever. An attempt was made to protect some of them by making awnings and thatched roofs of bushes and poles; but about seven o'clock ambulances and wagons loaded with wounded began again to arrive from the battle-line, and the whole hospital force turned its attention to them, leaving the suffering men in the grass to the care of the camp cooks and a few slightly

wounded soldiers, who, although in pain themselves, could still hobble about carrying hard bread and water to their completely disabled and gasping comrades.

The scenes of Saturday were like those of the previous day, but with added details of misery and horror. Many of the wounded, brought in from the extreme right flank of the army at Caney, had had nothing to eat or drink in more than twenty-four hours, and were in a state of extreme exhaustion. Some, who had been shot through the mouth or neck, were unable to swallow, and we had to push a rubber tube down through the bloody froth that filled their throats, and pour water into their stomachs through that; some lay on the ground with swollen bellies, suffering acutely from stricture of the urinary passage and distention of the bladder caused by a gunshot wound; some were paralyzed from the neck down or the waist down as a result of injury to the spine; some were delirious from thirst, fever, and exposure to the sun; and some were in a state of unconsciousness, coma, or collapse, and made no reply or sign of life when I offered them water or bread.

They were all placed on the ground in a long, closely packed row as they came in; a few pieces of shelter-tenting were stretched over them to protect them a little from the sun, and there they lay for two, three, and sometimes four hours before the surgeons could even examine their injuries. A more splendid exhibition of patient, uncomplaining fortitude and heroic self-control than that presented by these wounded men the world has never seen. Many of them, as appeared from their chalky faces, gasping breath, and bloody vomiting, were in the last extremity of mortal agony; but I did not hear a groan, a murmur, or a complaint once an hour. Occasionally a trooper under the knife of the surgeon would swear, or a beardless Cuban boy would shriek and cry, "Oh, my mother, my mother!" as the surgeons reduced a compound fracture of the femur and put his leg in splints; but from the long row of wounded on the ground there came no sound or sign of weakness. They were suffering, some of them were dying, but they were strong. Many a man whose mouth was so dry and parched with thirst that he could hardly articulate would insist on my giving water first, not to him, when it was his turn, but to some comrade who was more badly hurt or had suffered longer. Intense pain and the fear of impending death are supposed to bring out the selfish, animal characteristics of man; but they do not in the higher type of man. Not a single American soldier, in all my experience in that hospital, ever asked to be examined or treated out of his regular turn on account of the severity, painful nature, or critical state of his wound. On the contrary, they repeatedly gave way to one another, saying: "Take this one first he's shot through the body. I've only got a smashed foot, and I can wait." Even the courtesies of life were not forgotten or neglected in that valley of the shadow of death. If a man could speak at all, he always said, "Thank you," or "I thank you very much," when I gave him hard bread or water. One beardless youth who had been shot through the throat, and who told me in a husky whisper that he had had no water in thirty-six hours, tried

to take a swallow when I lifted his head. He strangled, coughed up a little bloody froth, and then whispered: "It's no use; I can't. Never mind!" Our Dr. Egan afterward gave him water through a stomach-tube. If there was any weakness or selfishness, or behavior not up to the highest level of heroic manhood, among the wounded American soldiers in that hospital during those three terrible days, I failed to see it. As one of the army surgeons said to me, with the tears very near his eyes: "When I look at those fellows and see what they stand, I am proud of being an American, and I glory in the stock. The world has nothing finer."

[...]

Late in August it was decided that the marines should return to the United States, notwithstanding their satisfactory state of health, and on the 26th of that month they reached Portsmouth, New Hampshire, with only two men sick. They had been gone a little more than eleven weeks, ten of which they had spent in Cuba, and in that time had not lost a single man from disease, and had never had a higher sick-rate than two and one half per cent.

In view of this record, as compared with that of any regiment in General Shafter's command, we are forced to inquire: What is the reason for the difference? Why should a battalion of marines be able to live ten weeks in Cuba, with out the loss of a single man from disease, and with a sick-rate of only two and one half per cent, while so hardy and tough a body of men as the Rough Riders, under substantially the same climatic conditions, had become so reduced in four weeks that seventy-five per cent of them were unfit for duty, and fifty per cent of them fell out of the ranks from exhaustion in a march of five miles?

The only answer I can find to these questions is that the marines had suitable equipment and intelligent care, while the soldiers of General Shafter's command had neither.

When the marines landed in Guantanamo Bay, every tent and building that the Spaniards had occupied was immediately destroyed by fire, to remove any possible danger of infection with yellow fever. When General Shafter landed at Siboney, he not only disregarded the recommendation of his chief surgeon to burn the buildings there, but allowed them to be occupied as offices and hospitals, without even so much as attempting to clean or disinfect them. Yellow fever made its appearance in less than two weeks. The marines at Guantanamo were supplied promptly with light canvas uniforms suitable for a tropical climate, while the soldiers of General Shafter's army sweltered through the campaign in the heavy clothing that they had worn in Idaho or Montana, and then, just before they started North, were furnished with thin suits to keep them cool at Montauk Point in the fall. The marines drank only water that had been boiled or sterilized, while the men of General Shafter's command drank out of brooks into which the heavy afternoon showers were constantly washing fecal and other decaying organic matter from the banks. The marines

were well protected from rain and dew, while the regulars of the Fifth Army-Corps were drenched to the skin almost every day, and slept at night on the water-soaked ground. The marines received the full navy ration, while the soldiers had only hardtack and fat bacon, and not always enough of that. Finally, the marines had surgeons enough to take proper care of the sick, and medicines enough to give them, while General Shafter, after leaving his reserve medical supplies and ambulance corps at Tampa, telegraphs the adjutant-general on August 3 that “there has never been sufficient medical attendance or medicines for the daily wants of the command.” In short, the marines observed the laws of health, and lived in Cuba according to the dictates of modern sanitary science, while the soldiers, through no fault of their own, were forced to violate almost every known law of health, and to live as if there were no such thing as sanitary science in existence.

Source: George Kennan, *Campaigning in Cuba* (New York: Century, 1899), 134–137, 264–265.

78. Clara Barton, On the American Red Cross in Cuba after the Santiago Campaign, 1912 [Excerpt]

Introduction

In 1864, the Red Cross was founded in Switzerland with the signing of the Geneva Convention. The convention conferred neutral status on field hospitals and ambulances as well as medical personnel and equipment. It established a red cross on a white background as the symbol of neutrality, to be marked on ambulances or worn as arm-bands. Clara Barton, the tireless volunteer in service of the American Civil War wounded, founded the American Red Cross in 1881 and served as its president until 1904. At her urging, the United States signed on to the Geneva Convention in 1882. During the Cuban War of Independence, Barton—now in her late seventies—received permission from Spain, also a party to the Geneva Convention, to enter Cuba and distribute food to the starving *reconcentrados* (inmates of concentration camps). She did so in February 1898 but was urged to withdraw as war between the United States and Spain became imminent. In May 1898, Barton was denied permission to reenter Cuba to deliver more food on the grounds that the food would fall into the hands of Spanish troops. In July after the U.S. victory at Santiago, Barton’s relief ship received permission to land at Santiago as soon as the U.S. Navy could remove all the mines. This excerpt describes wartime conditions in Cuba as well as attitudes toward women in war zones.

Primary Source

... Dr. Smith left us, and was replaced by a major-surgeon, who would escort us over to the “Texas,” only some rods distant. I did

not at once recall him, but among his first remarks were, “You have been at the front?” “Yes, Major.” “I should think you would find it very unpleasant there.” “Such scenes are not supposed to be pleasant.” “What do you go for?” I scarcely know what reply was made to this abrupt question, but the significance was that possibly we could be useful there. “There is no need of your going there—it is no place for women. I consider women very much out of place in a field hospital.” “Then I must have been out of place a good deal of my lifetime, Doctor, for I have been there a great deal.” “That doesn’t change my opinion, and if I had my way, I would send you home.” “Fortunately for me, if for no one else, Doctor, you have not your way.” “I know it, but again that doesn’t change my opinion. I would send you home.” By this time we were rowing pretty near our own boat, and it was admissible for me to maintain the silence that I felt dignity called for. I made no other remark to him beyond “Good morning, Major,” as we separated for our respective ships.

This is a foolish little episode to enter in one’s diary, not worth the time of writing, especially in days like these, only as it will serve as a landmark, a kind of future milestone noting the progress of humane sentiment, and the hopeful advancement of the civilization and enlightenment of the world. Only a few years ago the good major would have actually possessed the power of which this advancement has relieved him. Finding an accumulation of work at our ship, large mails from the North having arrived, it was Monday before we could return to the front, Mrs. Porter accompanying us. This journey was also made in an army wagon, and a wretched, miserable wagon it was. We found the camp in perfect running order. Mrs. Gardner had stood like a rock through it all, neglecting nothing, quiet, calm, peaceful, faithful, busy—how well she had done, I have no words to express. Everybody grateful to her, everybody loving her.

The camp had now from one hundred to two hundred men. There began to be strong talk of yellow fever, not only at Siboney but at the front as well.

The negotiations between General Shafter and the Spanish army at Santiago were still going on. The flag of truce that threatened every day to come down still floated. The Spanish soldiers had been led by their officers to believe that every man who surrendered (and the people as well), would be butchered instantly, the city should fall and the American troops should come in. But when General Shafter commenced to send back convoys of captured Spanish officers, their wounds faithfully dressed and carefully placed on stretchers and borne under flags of truce to the Spanish lines at Santiago and set down at the feet of the general as a tender gift back to him, and when in astonishment he learned the object of the flag of truce and sent companies of soldiers to form in line and present arms while the cortege of wounded were borne through by American troops, a lesson was learned that went far toward the surrender of that city.

I happened to know that it was not without some very natural home criticism that General Shafter persisted in his course in the face of the time-honored custom of “hostages.” One can readily understand that the voluntary giving up of prisoners, officers at that, in view of an impending battle might seem in the light of old-time army usages a waste, to characterize it by no harder term. It is possible that none of the officers on that field had ever read the articles of the Treaty of Geneva or fully realized that that treaty had become a law or that their commander, possibly without fully realizing it himself, was acting in full accord with its wise and humane principles.

The main talk of the camp was now “yellow fever.” On Monday night occurred one of the most fearful storms which I have ever seen—rain, thunder and lightning. Our tent had been well protected and deeply ditched, but the water rolled around it in the ditches like rivers. The thunder shook the ground; the lightning blazed like a fire. As I have said, the camp was as level as a floor. No water could really run off. During most of that night the men in the tents laid in five to six inches of water. Before daybreak the rain had ceased, some water had run away—some soaked in—and the ground was passable. The next day followed another rain. It was now discovered by the medical authorities that from there having been at first one case of fever, there were now one hundred and sixteen; that a fever camp would probably be made there and the wounded gotten away. It was advisable then that we return to our ship and attempt, as far as possible, to hold that free from contagion. I was earnestly solicited to do this in view of what was expected of our ship and of what was expected of us—that we not only protect ourselves, but our cargo and ship from all contamination and even suspicion. I faithfully promised this, and again we called for an army wagon, leaving all supplies that were useful for the men here, sending to Caney what was most needed there and taking only our personal effects, we again placed ourselves in an army wagon with a tarpaulan over us and started for Siboney. In less than twenty minutes the rain was pouring on us and for two hours it fell as from buckets. The water was from a foot and a half to two feet deep in the road as we passed along. At one time our wagon careened, the mules were held up, and we waited to see whether it should go over or could be brought out—the water a few inches only from the top of the lower side. It was scarcely possible for us to stir, hemmed in as we were, but the men from the other wagons sprang to our wheels, hanging in the air on the upper side, and we were simply saved by an inch. The mud and water was at least two and one-half feet deep where we should have gone down.

But like other things, this cleared away. We came into Siboney about three o’clock, in a bright glare of sunshine, to find the town utterly burned, all buildings gone or smoking, Dr. and Mrs. Lesser and the faithful Sisters as well, in a “yellow fever” hospital a mile and a half out of the city, reached by rail. All customary work was suspended. The atmosphere was thick and blue with smoke. Men

ran about the grounds smutted and bareheaded like children. My medical knowledge was not sufficient to allow me to judge if everybody there had the yellow fever, but general observation would go far toward convincing a very ordinary mind that everybody had gone crazy.

All effort was made to hold our ship free from suspicion. The process of reasoning leading to the conclusion that a solid cargo, packed in tight boxes in the hold of a ship, anchored at sea, could become infected in a day from the land or a passing individual, is indeed, an intricate process; but we had some experience in this direction, as, for instance, Captain McCalla in his repeated humane attempts to feed the refugees around Guantanamo had called again for a hundred thousand rations, saying that if we could bring them to him soon, he could get them to the thousands starving in the woods. We lost no time, but got the food out and started with it in the night. On reaching Guantanamo we were met at a distance out and called to, asking if anyone on our ship had been on shore at Siboney within four days, if so, our supplies could not be received, and we took them away, leaving the starving to perish.

On Friday morning the constantly recurring news of the surrender of Santiago was so well established that we drew anchor and came up to the flagship and the following letter was addressed to Admiral Sampson:

“STATE OF TEXAS,” *July 16, 1898.* ADMIRAL SAMPSON, *Commanding United States Fleet off Santiago, Flagship “New York”:* ADMIRAL;—It is not necessary for me to explain to you my errand, nor its necessity; both your good head and heart divine it more clearly than any words of mine can represent.

I send this to you by one of our men, who can tell you all you will wish to know. Mr. Elwell has resided and done mercantile and shipping business in Santiago for the last seven years; is favorably known to all its people; has in his possession the keys to the best warehouses and residences in the city, to which he is bidden welcome by the owners. He is the person appointed four months ago to help distribute this food, and did so with me until the blockade. There seems to be nothing in the way of our getting this 1400 tons of food into a Santiago warehouse and giving it intelligently to the thousands who *need* and *own* it. I have twenty good helpers with me. The New York Committee is clamoring for the discharge of the “State of Texas,” which has been raised in price to \$400 a day.

If there is still more explanation needed, I pray you, Admiral, let me see you.

Respectfully and cordially,

(Signed) CLARA BARTON.

This was immediately responded to by Captain Chadwick, who came on board, assuring me that our place was at Santiago—as quickly as we could be gotten there.

On Saturday, the sixteenth, feeling that it might still be possible to take the supplies to Guantanamo, requested by Captain McCalla, a letter was addressed as follows:

STEAMSHIP "STATE OF TEXAS," July 16, 1898. CAPTAIN CHADWICK, *Flagship "New York" off Santiago*:

CAPTAIN:—If there is a possibility of going into Santiago before to-morrow morning, please let me know, and we will hold just where we are and wait.

If there is *no* possibility of this, we could run down to Guantanamo and land Captain McCalla's 100,000 rations in the evening and be back here to-morrow morning.

Will you please direct me.

Yours faithfully,

CLARA BARTON.

Reply to the above:

U. S. FLAGSHIP "NEW YORK," 1ST RATE,

OFF SANTIAGO DE CUBA, July 17, 1898.

DEAR Miss BARTON:—We are now engaged in taking up mines, just so soon as it is safe to go in your ship will go. If you wish, you can anchor in near us, and send anything up by boats, or, if we could get lighters, drawing less than eight feet, food may be sent by the lighters, but it is not yet possible for the ship to go in. There are four "contact" mines, and four what are known as "observation" mines, still down.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) F. E. CHADWICK

Source: Clara Barton, *The Red Cross in Peace and War* (Meriden, CT: Journal Publishing Co., 1912), 569–575.

79. Curtis V. Hard, On American Yellow Fever Victims in Cuba, 1898

Introduction

Curtis V. Hard of Wooster, Ohio, was born in 1845. At the age of 19 he enlisted in an Ohio regiment that fought in the American Civil War. Hard was a prosperous banker, 53 years old and married with three children, when the United States declared war on Spain. President William McKinley was from Ohio and had himself fought in the Civil War. McKinley's background helped influence the state of Ohio to rapidly mobilize some 8,000 volunteers. Within 24 hours of the declaration of war, the 8th Ohio Volunteers, with 1,021 officers and men, reported for duty. Later, two of McKinley's nephews joined the regiment. The regiment joined Major General William Shafter's V Corps for the Santiago Campaign in June 1898. On July 11, medical officers detected the first cases of an illness that they believed was yellow fever. The sick list quickly grew to alarming

proportions. Neither the military nor the civil authorities understood the cause of the fevers that spread through the American forces. Officers and men alike knew that September marked the usual onset of the dreaded yellow fever season. Everyone, including the medical officers, confused the symptoms that Colonel Hard described with the symptoms of yellow fever. In fact, the cause was malaria spread by mosquito bites. By August, sickness was so widespread that Shafter's command was withdrawn from Cuba. The 8th Ohio Volunteers never saw combat, but a total of 25 soldiers died from sickness.

Primary Source

Chaplain Campbell arrived in camp on the morning of August 3 and thereafter took charge, of course, of all matters of this kind. Although personally known to only a few of the officers and men he received a hearty greeting. After a hurried introduction and a brief explanation of the situation, he pulled on his rubber boots and rubber coat and started out in the rain and mud to cheer the sick and get acquainted with the well. Inside of two or three hours he had said something to every man, and from that time until the end of his service he was busy caring for the sick, comforting the dying, and burying the dead.

Before we left the island to return to the States fourteen more deaths occurred in the Eighth, eight of them at Sevilla Hill and six at Siboney. Privates William K. Adams and Moses McDowell of Company H died at Sevilla Hill August 3 and Sergeant Charles Thoman of Company A, Bucyrus, at the same place August 4. On the fifth Private George Coleman, of Company M, died at Sevilla, and Private Frank Gibler of Company I died and was buried at Siboney. There were three deaths again on the seventh of August, all of them at Siboney: Privates George L. Happer, of Millersburg, of Company H, Ora N. Royer of Company K, Alliance, and Corporal Dudley Wilson of Company G, Wadsworth. Captain John A. Leininger of Company F had been unfit for duty much of the time after landing but never went to the hospital. At length on the seventh of August it was thought best to send him into Santiago to the officers' hospital where it was thought he could have better care. We were shocked on the evening of the eighth when his colored servant came into camp with the news that the captain was dead. The officers of his company, with a detail of men, at once went into the city and carefully interred the remains in the Santiago cemetery.

Private Ebbie Bland of Company A died on the eleventh of August at Siboney. Private Irwin Lautzenheiser of Company D, Wooster, died at Sevilla Hill August 13. His brother, also a member of Company D, was with him during his sickness and at his death, which occurred only a few days before our departure for the north. Corporal John S. Lee of company G, a cousin of Captain Lee, died August 15 at Siboney, and on the sixteenth Corporal Charles E. Tarner of Company L died in the camp on San Juan Hill, only a few hours before the orders for our embarkation were delivered. He was

buried in the trenches—one of the last things the men of his company did before starting into the city. The next day before we went on board the Mohawk we learned that Ward A. Wilford of Akron, a member of Company B, had died on the sixteenth at Siboney. This made a total of twenty-two men whose bodies we left on the island of Cuba as we sailed away, the Eighth Ohio's contribution to its freedom from Spanish domination.

The death rate was not alarming. But the sickness was appalling. The percentage of sick reported each day by the regiments varied all the way from twenty to forty. Of those not reported sick a very large proportion were weak, emaciated, and unfit for duty. It is safe to say that if the emergency had arisen not five thousand men in that whole army could have marched five miles and carried their accouterments and a single day's rations. Just what ailed us it is difficult for us laymen to determine when the doctors disagreed so widely. Our surgeons did not believe it was yellow fever, and in this opinion they were supported by many, perhaps a majority of the surgeons on the island. But whatever name it may be designated it was an exceedingly debilitating and depressing ailment. Its victims lost appetite, ambition, and sometimes nerve. Many were afflicted with dementia of various degrees, and there were not a few sad cases of extreme insanity. And then there was before us continually the fear that after the whole army had become exhausted and enervated by this fever, whatever it was, when September came the genuine, unadulterated, sure-enough yellow fever would assail us, and then no man would have the physical strength to withstand the siege.

Source: Curtis V. Hard, *Banners in the Air: The Eighth Ohio Volunteers and the Spanish-American War* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1988), 5.

80. Round-Robin Letter to William Shafter on Sickness among the Troops, August 1898

Introduction

When U.S. forces landed in Cuba in 1898, medical science had not yet penetrated the nature of tropical diseases. Fearing the outbreak of yellow fever among the troops, U.S. authorities tried to mobilize 10,000 so-called Immunes, men from southern climates who were believed to be immune to tropical diseases. During the siege of Santiago, about half of General William Shafter's army fell ill with malaria, typhoid, and yellow fever. The army's health continued to deteriorate after the siege ended. One of the volunteer regiments serving in Shafter's army was the Rough Riders, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt became so alarmed about his men's poor health that he wrote a letter to Shafter insisting that his unit be evacuated. To ensure that authorities, including Shafter, paid attention, Roosevelt gave a copy of the letter

to an Associated Press correspondent who in turn published it. This document became known as the Round-Robin Letter because seven generals in addition to Roosevelt signed the letter. Prior to the letter's publication, President McKinley and his secretary of war had already decided to bring the disease-ravaged V Corps home. However, to the public it appeared that the letter's publication had caused the decision. It seemed to confirm that an incompetent and callous administration had allowed the heroes of Santiago to sicken and die.

Primary Source

[THE following is the report of the Associated Press correspondent of the "round-robin" incident. It is literally true in every detail. I was present when he was handed both letters; he was present while they were being written.]

SANTIAGO DE CUBA, August 3d (delayed in transmission).—Summoned by Major-General Shafter, a meeting was held here this morning at headquarters, and in the presence of every commanding and medical officer of the Fifth Army Corps, General Shafter read a cable message from Secretary Alger, ordering him, on the recommendation of Surgeon-General Sternberg, to move the army into the interior, to San Luis, where it is healthier.

As a result of the conference General Shafter will insist upon the immediate withdrawal of the army North.

As an explanation of the situation the following letter from Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, commanding the First Cavalry, to General Shafter, was handed by the latter to the correspondent of the Associated Press for publication:

MAJOR-GENERAL SHAFTER,

SIR: In a meeting of the general and medical officers called by you at the Palace this morning we were all, as you know, unanimous in our views of what should be done with the army. To keep us here, in the opinion of every officer commanding a division or a brigade, will simply involve the destruction of thousands. There is no possible reason for not shipping practically the entire command North at once.

Yellow-fever cases are very few in the cavalry division, where I command one of the two brigades, and not one true case of yellow fever has occurred in this division, except among the men sent to the hospital at Siboney, where they have, I believe, contracted it.

But in this division there have been 1,500 cases of malarial fever. Hardly a man has yet died from it, but the whole command is so weakened and shattered as to be ripe for dying like rotten sheep, when a real yellow-fever epidemic instead of a fake epidemic, like the present one, strikes us, as it is bound to do if we stay here at the height of the sickness season, August and the beginning of September. Quarantine against malarial fever is much like quarantining against the toothache.

All of us are certain that as soon as the authorities at Washington fully appreciate the condition of the army, we shall be sent home. If we are kept here it will in all human possibility mean an ap-

palling disaster, for the surgeons here estimate that over half the army, if kept here during the sickly season, will die.

This is not only terrible from the standpoint of the individual lives lost, but it means ruin from the standpoint of military efficiency of the flower of the American army, for the great bulk of the regulars are here with you. The sick list, large though it is, exceeding four thousand, affords but a faint index of the debilitation of the army. Not twenty per cent are fit for active work.

Six weeks on the North Maine coast, for instance, or elsewhere where the yellow-fever germs can not possibly propagate, would make us all as fit as fighting-cocks, as able as we are eager to take a leading part in the great campaign against Havana in the fall, even if we are not allowed to try Porto Rico.

We can be moved North, if moved at once, with absolute safety to the country, although, of course, it would have been infinitely better if we had been moved North or to Porto Rico two weeks ago. If there were any object in keeping us here, we would face yellow fever with as much indifference as we faced bullets. But there is no object.

The four immune regiments ordered here are sufficient to garrison the city and surrounding towns, and there is absolutely nothing for us to do here, and there has not been since the city surrendered. It is impossible to move into the interior. Every shifting of camp doubles the sick-rate in our present weakened condition, and, anyhow, the interior is rather worse than the coast, as I have found by actual reconnoissance. Our present camps are as healthy as any camps at this end of the island can be.

I write only because I can not see our men, who have fought so bravely and who have endured extreme hardship and danger so uncomplainingly, go to destruction without striving so far as lies in me to avert a doom as fearful as it is unnecessary and undeserved. Yours respectfully,
THEODORE ROOSEVELT, *Colonel Commanding Second Cavalry Brigade.*

After Colonel Roosevelt had taken the initiative, all the American general officers united in a "round robin" address to General Shafter. It reads:

We, the undersigned officers commanding the various brigades, divisions, etc., of the Army of Occupation in Cuba, are of the unanimous opinion that this army should be at once taken out of the island of Cuba and sent to some point on the northern sea-coast of the United States; that can be done without danger to the people of the United States; that yellow fever in the army at present is not epidemic; that there are only a few sporadic cases; but that the army is disabled by malarial fever to the extent that its efficiency is destroyed, and that it is in a condition to be practically entirely destroyed by an epidemic of yellow fever, which is sure to come in the near future.

We know from the reports of competent officers and from personal observations that the army is unable to move into the interior, and that there are no facilities for such a move if attempted, and that it could not be attempted until too late. Moreover, the best

medical authorities of the island say that with our present equipment we could not live in the interior during the rainy season without losses from malarial fever which is almost as deadly as yellow fever.

This army must be moved at once, or perish. As the army can be safely moved now, the persons responsible for preventing such a move will be responsible for the unnecessary loss of many thousands of lives.

Our opinions are the result of careful personal observation, and they are also based on the unanimous opinion of our medical officers with the army, who understand the situation absolutely.

J. FORD KENT,

Major-General Volunteers Commanding First Division, Fifth Corps.

J. C. BATES,

Major-General Volunteers Commanding Provisional Division.

ADNAH R. CHAFFEE,

Major-General Commanding Third Brigade, Second Division.

SAMUEL S. SUMNER,

Brigadier - General Volunteers Commanding First Brigade, Cavalry.

WILL LUDLOW,

Brigadier - General Volunteers Commanding First Brigade, Second Division.

ADELBERT AMES,

Brigadier-General Volunteers Commanding Third Brigade, First Division.

LEONARD WOOD,

Brigadier-General Volunteers Commanding the City of Santiago.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, *Colonel Commanding Second Cavalry Brigade.*

Major M. W. Wood, the chief surgeon of the First Division, said: "The army must be moved North," adding, with emphasis, "or it will be unable to move itself."

General Ames has sent the following cable message to Washington:

CHARLES H. ALLEN, *Assistant Secretary of the Navy:*

This army is incapable, because of sickness, of marching anywhere except to the transports. If it is ever to return to the United States it must do so at once.

Source: Theodore Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders* (New York: Scribner, 1905).

81. Adna Chaffee, On the Health of the Army, 1898

Introduction

About half of Major General William Shafter's V Corps fell ill with malaria, typhoid, and dysentery during the two-week siege of Santiago. After the formal occupation of Santiago on July 17, 1898, about 20,000 American troops encamped in the hills outside the

city. Yellow fever, malaria, and typhoid began to spread. On July 27, Shafter reported that more than 4,000 men were hospitalized due to sickness. Thousands more sick men never reported to the hospital. Brigadier General Adna Chaffee commanded an infantry brigade in V Corps. Chaffee had distinguished himself at the Battle of El Caney and participated in the siege of Santiago. During this time he observed the continued decline in the army's health and fell seriously ill himself. The first excerpt, taken from his notes written at the time, records his impressions of the alarming spread of illness. The second excerpt records his participation in what became known as the Round-Robin Letter. Theodore Roosevelt had become so alarmed about his men's poor health that he wrote a letter to Shafter insisting that his unit be evacuated. Seven generals including Chaffee also signed the letter. To ensure that authorities paid attention, Roosevelt leaked the letter to the press. Despite his intense concern for the well-being of the troops, Chaffee, a career army officer, would have preferred to wait for the letter to work through proper military channels.

Primary Source

For three weeks the American army had been subjected to a great strain from hard work under most unfavorable conditions. General Chaffee had been seriously ill, and the number of men on sick reports was increasing by leaps and bounds. Release from the strain of watchfulness and anxiety gave the first opportunity to withdraw from the trenches and look after the welfare of the troops who had borne every hardship and danger in the most soldierly manner.

Chaffee's notes during this period of the siege recite:

We have a tremendous sick list, both officers and men. Malarial fever chiefly, while many are sick from exhaustion and want of a change of diet. As soon as the company kitchens can be got on shore the men will improve rapidly. Providence has been most kind to this army, it seems to me. Had not the Spanish army surrendered before our own broke down physically, a very different condition of things would exist here today. We could not have maintained our hold before Santiago with our army sick as it is now, and with the enemy active in our front, and I think we may thank God very gratefully for this victory, gained in the face of many blunders and in spite of a woeful degree of unpreparedness for campaigning in this country. We are all so satisfied with results obtained that I dare say no one feels like complaining of inefficiency and deficiencies everywhere. At Tampa we saw the complete breaking down of the quartermaster and commissary departments, but all seemed to think the medical department would be efficient and adequate. Horrible disappointment—no one will ever know how great unless someone shall have the nerve to write a true history of this campaign.

Mail began to arrive after the surrender with considerable regularity, and one of General Chaffee's notes records:

I receive a good many letters each mail from mothers, sisters, and friends of soldiers inquiring about them. War is an awful thing when we think of the extent of the range of its miseries.

To every part of the land—our country—to the home of the poor, as to the home of the well-to-do and of the rich. All mothers' hearts cry out in the same sad voice: "Tell me something of my darling boy. Is he wounded; is he dead? The papers say he is killed but I will not believe it so." Fortunately I can answer a great many inquiries and say your son is alive and well. I find it a wonderfully pleasant duty when I can do this in place of saying, "Your son is lost to you."

The condition of the army at Santiago was made known to the nation through the medium of a signed statement of those in authority and characterized by the press as a "round robin." General Chaffee's notes furnish evidence of his views in the plain-spoken manner characteristic of the man:

Yesterday [August 2, 1898] all the general officers who were able met at Corps Headquarters to talk over the matter of health of the army and what should be done. Dispatches from Washington seem to indicate that we are to be left to chance in this place rather than make an effort to get us away from an impending and almost certain epidemic of yellow fever. Because a few sporadic cases have occurred, mostly at Siboney, where we landed, the purpose seems to be to let the whole army take its chances with the plague, rather than run the risk of infecting a transport, or landing a case on the shore of the United States.

Had the withdrawal begun immediately after the surrender took place, two-thirds of this army might be today in the United States without the slightest danger to itself or our own people. Now our men are so weakened by malarial fever that they have not the power to resist yellow fever if it breaks out, and we shall lose many unless something be done at once. Washington theory about stamping out the fever, if it appears in our midst as an epidemic, is quite absurd to us who are here on the ground, and have examined with care all the country round about. Theory seldom works out practically in such matters. It is suggested that we move camp frequently, and get to the high grounds or mountains. They do not seem to know that when we get there we would not be able to feed our men; that the soil is a black loam, and at this season a quagmire because of the daily rains. Where we are—the first hills from the bay—the ground is hard and gravelly, and the heavy storms frequently pass us by.

It was the unanimous opinion of all the generals and the chief surgeons yesterday that the army should be sent home at once, and we strengthened General Shafter's hands with a paper to that effect, which he can use or not as he pleases. We feel very anxious, because of the condition of our men who are too weak to go through an epidemic of yellow fever.

It provoked me last week to see transport after transport leave the bay with hardly a soul on board besides the crew. All should have been loaded with troops. Probably all has been said here now that will be said and done. We shall submit to the decision. If we remain, God only knows what the result will be. We believe that more than half this army will never see America—the United States—unless it be moved without delay from here.

I think we have already lost by disease more than we lost in battle—a great many more than were killed certainly. Nearly every day one or two poor fellows are placed in the ground. Perhaps two hundred of the Second Division will be left; too sick to be moved now.

Source: William Harding Carter, *The Life of Lieutenant General Chaffee* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1917).

82. Leonard Wood, Letter about the Death of Dr. Lazear, November 1900

Introduction

When U.S. forces landed in Cuba in 1898, medical science had not yet penetrated the nature of tropical diseases. During and after the Santiago Campaign, numerous U.S. soldiers fell ill with yellow fever and other diseases. Major Walter Reed was appointed in 1900 to lead a commission established to study the spread of yellow fever in Cuba. Reed came to believe that a certain species of mosquito was the means by which yellow fever was transmitted. He requested and received from Major General Leonard Wood, military governor of Cuba, permission and funding to conduct human experiments. Reed's two colleagues, Dr. James Carroll and Dr. Jesse Lazear, along with a number of American soldiers and Spanish residents of Cuba volunteered to be exposed to yellow fever. They either submitted to mosquito bites, received injections of infected blood, or slept in bedding used by infected persons. Twenty-three of the volunteers fell ill with yellow fever, infected by either the mosquito bites or the injected blood. Dr. Lazear received a mosquito bite and died of yellow fever, leaving a wife and two young children. His was the only fatality in the course of the experiment. General Wood reported Dr. Lazear's death to the adjutant general of the U.S. Army and requested that the war department assist Lazear's widow in her petition for a government pension.

Primary Source

HEADQUARTERS
DIVISION OF CUBA
HAVANA
November 4th, 1900
Mrs. M. H. Lazear.
Windsor. Wallbrook. Baltimore. Md.

Dear Madam:-

Enclosed is a letter to the Adjutant General of the U.S. Army which I trust will be of service to you. If you wish any other letter to the Commissioner of Pensions or any other public official, I shall be only too glad to give them to you.

Dr. Lazear's work here was of the highest character and he gave up his life to science.

Yours very truly,

Leonard Wood

November, 1900. The Adjutant-General United States Army,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

During the work of the Board convened at Quemados for the purpose of studying tropical diseases, Dr. Lazear voluntarily submitted to being bitten by a mosquito which had just partially filled itself on a yellow fever patient. He assumed the risk for the purpose of demonstrating on himself whether or not, yellow fever could be directly transmitted in this manner. Dr. Lazear developed yellow fever in four and a half days and died.

His death was a sacrifice to scientific research of the highest character and was one of the initial experiments of a definite character which may be of the greatest value in determining the transmission of the dread disease.

It is difficult to imagine a more worthy motive than that which actuated this officer. His widow, I understand, is left with little or no means and is an applicant for a pension. With the approval of the War Department it is probable that her application will be successful.

I have the honor to request and recommend that any action which the Department can take in the way of assisting her be taken. Very respectfully,

Leonard Woods.

Major General Commandant

Source: "Letter from Leonard Wood to Mabel H. Lazear, November 4, 1900," and "Letter from Leonard Wood to the Adjutant-General, United States Army, November, 1900," Philip S. Hench Walter Reed Yellow Fever Collection, <http://yellowfever.lib.virginia.edu/reed/>.

83. R. M. O'Reilly, Yellow Fever Commission Report, 1906 [Excerpt]

Introduction

When U.S. forces landed in Cuba in 1898, medical science had not yet penetrated the nature of tropical diseases. During and after the Santiago Campaign, numerous U.S. soldiers fell ill and died of yellow fever and other diseases. Major Walter Reed was appointed in 1900 to lead a commission to study the spread of yellow fever in Cuba. Reed came to believe that a certain species of mosquito was the means by which yellow fever was transmitted. He requested and received from Major General Leonard Wood, military governor of Cuba, permission and funding to conduct human experiments.

Reed's two colleagues, Dr. James Carroll and Dr. Jesse Lazear, along with a number of soldiers and civilians volunteered to be exposed to yellow fever. They either submitted to mosquito bites, received injections of infected blood, or slept in bedding used by infected persons. Twenty-three of the volunteers fell ill with yellow fever, infected by either the mosquito bites or the injected blood. Dr. Lazear received a mosquito bite and died of yellow fever, the only fatality in the course of the experiment. The commission's discovery of the means of transmission brought with it the ability to prevent the spread of the deadly disease. It was a historic contribution to public health.

Primary Source

Experiments Conducted For The Purpose Of Coping With YELLOW FEVER.

[Senate Document No. 10, Fifty-ninth Congress, second session.]

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

The inclosed papers are transmitted to the Congress in the earnest hope that it will take suitable action in the matter. Maj. Reed's part in the experiments which resulted in teaching us how to cope with yellow fever was such as to render mankind his debtor, and this nation should in some proper fashion bear witness to this fact.

Theodore Roosevelt.

The White House, *December, 5, 1906.*

[Inclosure 1.]

[Memorandum for the President, through The Military Secretary of the Army.]

War Department,

Office Of The Surgeon General,

Washington, August 30, 1906.

The persons taking an important part in the investigations in Cuba, which resulted in the demonstration of the fact that yellow fever is transmitted by a species of mosquito, were three members of the board appointed to investigate epidemic diseases in Cuba—Walter Reed, James Carroll, and Jesse W. Lazear—and the individuals who submitted themselves for experimentation by receiving the bites of infected mosquitoes, by receiving injections of blood from yellow-fever patients, and by sleeping in bedding which had been used by yellow-fever patients.

When the Yellow Fever Commission, composed of Walter Reed, James Carroll, Jesse W. Lazear, and A. Agramonte, assembled in Habana they had no thought of investigating the connection of the mosquito with the spread of yellow fever. This idea came to Dr. Reed after the board had demonstrated that the claim of Sanarelli, concurred in by Wasdin and Geddins, that the *Bacillus icteroides* was the cause of yellow fever was without foundation. Dr. Reed then determined to investigate the theory of Dr. Carlos Finlay, that the mosquito was instrumental in conveying yellow fever, which theory Finlay had failed to demonstrate, and which was not then accepted by scientific men. This determination was reached for the reasons

which are well stated in Dr. Kelly's biography, and was original with Reed, not being suggested to him by anyone. The final determination to investigate the mosquito theory was arrived at during an informal meeting of the board (Dr. Agramonte being absent) at Columbia Barracks on the evening before Dr. Reed's departure for the United States, early in August, 1901. It was agreed by these members of the board that in making the experiments on human beings, by which alone the demonstration could be made, that they should submit themselves as subjects for experimentation. To Dr. Lazear, who was familiar with mosquito work, was assigned the duty of breeding and infecting the mosquitoes; while Dr. Carroll was to continue the bacteriological work on which the board had been engaged.

On August 2, 1900, before the mosquitoes were ready for the experiment, Dr. Reed was called back to Washington to prepare for publication the abstract of the report of the board appointed in 1898 to investigate the spread of typhoid fever in the volunteer camps in the United States, of which board he was president. This vast work, of which the full report was published by special authority of Congress about a year after Dr. Reed's death, by the only surviving member of the board, Prof. Victor C. Vaughan, of the University of Michigan, was one of the most valuable contributions to science which has been made by the Surgeon General's Office. The work of preparation of the abstract report had been brought to a standstill by the sudden death of the third member of the board, Dr. Edward O. Shakespeare, of Philadelphia, and Dr. Reed's presence at this time was essential for its completion.

During Dr. Reed's absence the inoculations by means of the mosquito were begun. On August 11, Dr. Lazear made the first experiment, but nine distinct inoculations on persons, including himself and Acting Asst. Surg. A. S. Pinto, were unsuccessful. We know now that these failures were due to two facts—first, that patients after the third day of the disease can not convey the infection to the mosquito, and second, that after having bitten a yellow-fever case the mosquito can not transmit the disease until after an interval of at least 12 days. On August 27 one mosquito was applied to Dr. Carroll, one which happened to fulfill both of these conditions. The result was a very severe attack of yellow fever, in which for a time his life hung in the balance. This was thus the first experimental case. The fever developed on the 31st of August, on which day Dr. Lazear applied the same mosquito which bit Dr. Carroll with three others to another person. This man came down with a mild but well-marked case.

On September 13 Dr. Lazear, while on a visit to Las Animas Hospital (for the purpose of collecting blood from yellow-fever patients for study) was bitten by a mosquito of undetermined species, which he deliberately allowed to remain on the back of his hand until it had satisfied its hunger. Five days thereafter he came down, without other exposure, with yellow fever, which progressed steadily to a fatal termination. These three cases established in Reed's mind the proof of the mosquito theory and made it, in the opinion of his friends, an unnecessary and foolish risk for him, at his age, to sub-

mit himself to inoculation. These cases, with his deductions therefrom, were reported by the board in a paper called "The etiology of yellow fever—A preliminary note," read before the American Public Health Association at Buffalo, N. Y., October 22–26, 1900. He then immediately returned to Cuba to undertake a second and more elaborate series of experiments which were made possible by the promise made to him by Gen. Wood on October 12, when told by Reed of the experiments already made, to assist him with whatever money was necessary. This, the second series of experiments, began November 20 at an experimental camp near Quemados, called Camp Lazear, and embraced 14 cases, of which the last was taken sick February 10, 1901. Of these, 10 were mosquito infections and 4 were infected by injection of the blood of yellow-fever patients. All of these cases recovered.

A third series of 6 cases was produced by Dr. James Carroll the next fall to settle certain undetermined facts as regards the etiology of the disease. The first of these cases came down with the fever September 19, 1901, and the last on October 23, 1901. Of these cases 2 were caused by mosquitoes and 4 by blood injections. None of them resulted fatally. The highly dangerous character of these experiments and the good fortune of the board in its second and third series of cases is shown by the fact that Dr. Guiteras, of Habana, in a series of 7 cases inoculated in Habana lost 3, bringing his experiments abruptly to an end.

No enumeration of unsuccessful cases—namely, those which failed to cause the disease—has been made, although it is obvious that the persons undergoing such experiments exhibited as much courage as those in which the disease was transmitted. This is especially true of the cases occurring after the severe case of Dr. Carroll and the fatal case of Dr. Lazear. Certain ones of these unsuccessful cases deserve special mention, being those made with infected bedding at Camp Lazear. In a specially constructed house at that camp, which was intentionally ill ventilated and kept continually at a summer temperature, was placed a large quantity of bedding taken from the beds of patients sick with yellow fever in Habana and soiled with their discharges. In this house Acting Asst. Surg. R. P. Cook and two privates of the Hospital Corps slept continuously from November 30 to December 19. Each morning they packed the various soiled articles of bedding in boxes and unpacked them at night, when they were used to sleep on.

From December 21, 1900, to January 10, 1901, the building was again occupied by two nonimmune Americans under the same circumstances, except that an additional stock of very much fouled bedding and clothing had been added to the collection, and these men slept every night in the very garments worn by yellow-fever patients throughout their entire attacks, besides making use of their much soiled pillow slips, sheets, and blankets. A third couple of Hospital Corps men succeeded these for an equal length of time. None of these seven individuals contracted yellow fever, but the courage and fortitude shown by them certainly equal that of those who submitted to the bites of the mosquitoes, it being borne in mind that belief in the transmission of yellow fever by infected bed-

ding and clothing was at that time practically universal, whereas the mosquito theory had still very few converts.

After this brief history of this great discovery a statement of the part borne by each of the more important participators in it is necessary to a determination of the reward which would be appropriate to each.

Maj. Walter Reed, surgeon, United States Army, president of the commission to investigate and study the epidemic diseases in Cuba, died in Washington from appendicitis, November 23, 1902, at the age of 51. At the time of his death the Secretary of War had said in his report, which was then in press but not yet given out:

The brilliant character of this scientific achievement, its inestimable value to mankind, the saving of thousands of lives, and the deliverance of the Atlantic seacoast from constant apprehension, demand special recognition from the Government of the United States.

Dr. Reed is the ranking major in the Medical Department, and within a few months will, by operation of law, become lieutenant colonel. I ask that the President be authorized to appoint him Assistant Surgeon General with the rank of colonel.

Gen. Leonard Wood said of him in an address delivered at a memorial meeting of scientific men in Washington, D. C., shortly after his death:

I know of no other man on this side of the world who has done so much for humanity as Dr. Reed. His discovery results in the saving of more lives annually than were lost in the Cuban war, and saves the commercial interests of the world a greater financial loss each year than the cost of the Cuban war. He came to Cuba at a time when one-third of the officers of my staff died of yellow fever, and we were discouraged at the failure of our efforts to control the disease.

In the months when the disease was ordinarily worst the disease was checked and driven from Habana. That was the first time in nearly 200 years that the city had been rid of it. The value of his discovery can not be appreciated by persons who are not familiar with the conditions of tropical countries. Hereafter it will never be possible for yellow fever to gain such headway that quarantine will exist from the mouth of the Potomac to the mouth of the Rio Grande. Future generations will appreciate fully the value of Dr. Reed's services. His was the originating, directing, and controlling mind in this work, and the others were assistants only.

In a letter from Prof. Welch to the Secretary of War he said:

Dr. Reed's researches in yellow fever are by far the most important contributions to science which have ever come from any Army surgeon. In my judgment they are the most valu-

able contributions to medicine and public hygiene which have ever been made in this country with the exception of the discovery of anaesthesia. They have led and will lead to the saving of thousands of lives. I am in a position to know that the credit for the original ideas embodied in this work belongs wholly to Maj. Reed.

Prof. Welch was Dr. Reed's teacher in bacteriology and was his intimate and confidential friend, with whom he consulted about the details of the work in Cuba.

A bill prepared in this office for a pension for his widow, equal in amount to his monthly pay, was passed, but the amount was so cut down that while it keeps the wolf from the door it does not provide an adequate and comfortable income. It is not probable, however, that Congress would increase this pension, and an effort has been made to supplement it by the raising of a fund of \$25,000 by the Walter Reed Memorial Association, incorporated for this purpose in the District of Columbia. The interest on this fund will be given Mrs. Reed during her lifetime, and the principal, after her death, will be devoted to some form of memorial. This fund lacks at present about \$6,000 of completion. The existence of this association, should its hopes be attained, does not, however, absolve the nation from the obligation of a fitting recognition for this great work, and it is the opinion of the undersigned, which, it is believed, is shared by the vast majority of physicians in the United States, that Congress should erect a statue to Walter Reed in Washington. The assistance of the President in inducing Congress to do so is requested.

The second member of the commission was Dr. James Carroll, at that time acting assistant surgeon, United States Army.

Dr. Carroll is now 52 years old. He entered the military service June 9, 1874, and served as private, corporal, sergeant, and hospital steward from that date to May 21, 1898, when he was appointed acting assistant surgeon. He was appointed first lieutenant and assistant surgeon in the Medical Corps October 27, 1902, which rank he still holds.

Dr. Carroll was Dr. Reed's truest assistant and coadjutor from the inception of the work which resulted in the discovery of the method of propagation of yellow fever. As stated above, the third series of experiments were performed by Dr. Carroll alone, Dr. Reed having been refused permission to return to Cuba to complete his work.

Dr. Carroll was the first experimental case of yellow fever, and he suffered a very severe attack, to which he attributes a heart trouble from which he now suffers. At the time of undergoing this experiment he was 46 years old, an age at which the risk from this disease is very great, as its mortality rapidly increases with age of patient. He had at that time a wife and five children who had no other means of support except his pay as an acting assistant surgeon.

It is recommended that Congress be asked to pass a special act promoting Dr. Carroll, on account of his services in connection with this discovery and the courage shown by him in subjecting himself

to experiment, to the rank of lieutenant colonel, the number of medical officers in that grade being increased by one for that purpose; also his name and effigy should appear on the monument to Walter Reed.

Dr. Jesse W. Lazear was the third member of the commission.

Dr. Lazear was a native of Baltimore and a graduate of Johns Hopkins University, afterwards getting his professional degree at Columbia University and Bellevue. At the time he incurred his death in the course of these experiments, as above mentioned, he was 34 years old. He left a wife and two young children, the younger a little son born a few months before his death, whom he never saw. Mrs. Lazear received from Congress a pension of \$17 a month with \$2 additional for each of two minor children until they reach the age of 16. Also a battery in Baltimore Harbor was, by direction of the Secretary of War, named in his honor. It is believed that this recognition on the part of the nation for his services is utterly inadequate. His widow's pension should be increased to \$100 a month, and steps should be taken to perpetuate his name in connection with the Walter Reed monument above suggested.

Dr. A. Agramonte was the fourth member of the Yellow Fever Commission. He was a Cuban by birth, an immune to yellow fever, and having been assigned other work, took no part in the first series of experiments with regard to the conveyance of the disease by the mosquito, of which, in fact, he was not at the time cognizant. Being an immune, he ran no risk in connection with this work, and it is believed that his contributions to it have been sufficiently recognized in the association of his name with the other members of the commission who brought about this great discovery.

Twenty-three of the men who submitted themselves for experiment by the board contracted yellow fever, beginning with Dr. James Carroll, who was taken sick August 31, 1900, and ending with John R. Bullard, who was taken sick October 23, 1901.

Conspicuous among them was John J. Moran, a civilian clerk employed at the headquarters of Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, at Quemados, who was one of the earliest volunteers for the second set of experiments, and whose action was dictated by the purest motives of altruism and self-devotion. Mr. Moran disclaimed, before submitting to the experiments, any desire for reward, and has never accepted any since, although he was offered the \$200 which the liberality of the military governor enabled the commission to give to each experimental patient, the members of the board excepted. Such was his modesty that he has made no effort, so far as known to this office, to make known his connection with these experiments and reap the credit which is so justly due him. Mr. Moran was a native of Ohio. His present address is not known to this office. The first inoculations in the case of Mr. Moran were for some reason unsuccessful, on November 26 and 29. He did not suffer an attack until after the third inoculation, on December 21.

The same remarks apply to the first experimental case of the second set, Pvt. John R. Kissinger, hospital corps, who volunteered at the same time with Moran and equally disclaimed any desire for reward.

Pvt. Kissinger did not leave Cuba immediately after the experiments, as did Mr. Moran, and therefore the military authorities were able to reward him in some measure along with other enlisted men who volunteered for these experiments. He was promoted acting hospital steward, presented with a gold watch by the chief surgeon of the department in the presence of all the medical officers and hospital corps men on duty at Columbia Barracks, and also received a present of \$115 in cash. He took his discharge November 14, 1901, and has since (on December 17, 1903) made application for pension. This was refused for lack of evidence that his ill-health was incident to the service.

Of the other experimental cases, seven were Spanish immigrants who submitted to experiments purely for the money which they were promised. With regard to those who were American soldiers, however, 10 in number, in addition to those already mentioned, it can not be doubted that, although they received pecuniary rewards, a desire to assist in what they appreciated was a great and glorious work, together with a spirit of adventure, was the most powerful motive. The same is true of the last experimental case, Mr. John R. Bullard, a graduate of Harvard, where he was a distinguished athlete and captain of the university crew. The names of these men, with the dates of their attack, is appended with this report.

It remains to mention Dr. Robert P. Cook, acting assistant surgeon, and the six privates of the hospital corps, who were for 20 nights shut up in the infected bedding house at Camp Lazear. These experiments, which were absolutely necessary to demonstrate that yellow fever could not be carried otherwise than by the mosquito, had for these men, so far as they knew, an equal element of danger with the other experiments and had in addition such repulsive and disagreeable features as to test to the full their hardihood and patience. Much of the bedding upon which they slept and which they were required daily to handle, was so soiled with the discharges of the sick as to be very repulsive to the nose and eye, and the last experimenters actually slept in the pajamas and sheets which had been worn by severe cases of yellow fever. The names of these men are appended to the list given below of experimental cases of yellow fever.

It will be observed that three of these men—Folk, Jernegan, and Hanberry—afterwards submitted to the mosquito inoculation or blood injection in order to demonstrate their nonimmunity at the time of the first experiment.

It is believed that the names of all the Americans on this list should be placed on a tablet in connection with the monument to Walter Reed.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the total disbursements of this great nation in the way of rewards for those who made possible this discovery and their families, amounts to \$146 a month. As to its value to the American people attention is invited to the quotations from Gen. Wood and Prof. Welch given above, and others given in the inclosed circulars published by the Walter Reed Memorial Association.

How discreditable appears this niggardly provision when compared with the action of the English Government which more than

a century ago, when the purchasing power of money was far greater than at present, gave to Jenner, the discoverer of vaccination, grants amounting to ú30,000 sterling. He also received from a subscription in India ú7,383 sterling, while the Reed Memorial has so far succeeded in raising only a little over half that sum.

It is believed that if the President would exert his great personal influence in furtherance of the aims of that association its task would be soon completed.

R. M. O'REILLY,
Surgeon General, United States Army

Source: U.S. Congress, Senate, *Yellow Fever: A Compilation of Various Publications* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1911), 17–23.

84. Pleas for U.S. Military Deployment to Puerto Rico, July 1898

Introduction

The plight of the Cubans under Spanish rule had captured the hearts and imaginations of the American public. Urged on by the press, the people clamored for and received the Spanish-American War. Men volunteered in droves for military service, overwhelming the U.S. Army's ability to train, equip, and deploy them. Nearly two months elapsed between the declaration of war and the day that the invasion force sailed from Florida on June 20, 1898. In the days leading up to departure, regiments resorted to desperate means to win space on the crowded transport vessels. Despite the hardship and danger—not least from tropical disease—of the barely month-long Cuban campaign, America celebrated the glorious victory and turned its sights on Puerto Rico. Those regiments that had not seen action in Cuba felt slighted and deprived of their chance at glory. As the army prepared to drive Spain from Puerto Rico, letter after letter arrived on the desk of U.S. secretary of war Russell A. Alger. During the closing days of July 1898, influential congressmen and governors as well as regimental colonels appealed to Alger's sympathy to make the case for the deployment of their favorite regiment to Puerto Rico. Some 10,000 troops from the United States joined with 3,000 American troops fresh from the Cuban campaign to seize Puerto Rico.

Primary Source

PHILADELPHIA, *July 25, 1898.* (Received 10.14 a. m.)

Gen. R. A. ALGER, *Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:*

It would be most gratifying to the men of the First Troop and to their friends here if they could be sent with General Brooke on Wednesday to Porto Rico. This organization was the bodyguard of Washington in the Revolution and has participated in every struggle of the country since. It is composed, rank and file, of the best young men of this city—men of standing and fortune. It would be

a good thing for them and the country to have them among the first to land at Porto Rico. I earnestly urge this upon you.

COL. A. LOWDEN SNOWDEN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 25, 1898.*

Hon. R. A. Alger. *Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:*

I shall feel personally obliged if you will direct that the First Brigade, Third Division, First Army Corps, commanded by General Wyley, be assigned to the Porto Rico expedition.

BOIES PENROSE.

STATE HOUSE, *Springfield, Ill., July 5.9. 1898.* (Received 5.55 p. m.)

R. A. ALGER, *Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:*

Our people in Illinois are getting quite exercised over the apparent unfair treatment by the Department of the Fifth Illinois, now at Chickamauga. This is one of the best equipped regiments in the service—it is our home regiment. It includes the Governor's Guards. Most of the officers and a large per cent of the men have served from four to twenty years in the National Guards. It was the first regiment on the grounds at Chickamanga. It has been twice disappointed by breaking camp under orders to move, losing and giving away all their accumulation of camp equipment, tent floors, etc., and then ordered to return. While I sympathize with this feeling I am not willing to believe that it was intentional on the part of the Department. I sincerely hope that you will manage to send this regiment, and at once, on the Porto Rico expedition.

JOHN R. TANNER, *Governor.*

CHICAGO, *July 80, 1898.* (Received 11.23 a. m.)

General ALGER, *Washington, D. C.:*

I have the honor to request that Fifth Illinois be ordered to the front. A lot of brave men are much disheartened and discouraged. Your kind personal attention will be greatly appreciated.

W. E. MASON.

Source: United States, Adjutant General's Office, *Correspondence relating to the War with Spain* . . . (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1993), 315, 332–333.

85. Nelson Miles, Letters Reporting on the Puerto Rico Campaign, July–August, 1898

Introduction

During the American Civil War, Nelson A. Miles had risen rapidly from store clerk to Union general while still in his early twenties. After decades of Indian fighting, he became army commander in 1895. With the rank of major general, Miles commanded the U.S. Army and the Cuban expedition. The United States received the

Spanish capitulation at Santiago, Cuba, on July 16, 1898, and turned its sights on Puerto Rico. Miles embarked from Cuba with some 3,000 troops. Four days later, on July 25, they landed on the southeastern coast of Puerto Rico and captured the port of Ponce. By early August, some 10,000 soldiers arrived from the United States to join the operation. The occupation of Puerto Rico cost fewer than 50 casualties. Most Puerto Ricans appeared to welcome the arrival of the Americans. The fighting ended on August 13 when the U.S. forces received news of the signing of a truce with Spain. In these letters to the secretary of war, General Miles reports the ease with which his troops occupied a number of Puerto Rican towns and the enthusiasm with which the inhabitants greeted the Americans after the Spanish retreated. In the second letter, Miles provides a prime example of interservice rivalry by objecting strenuously to potential participation by the navy.

Primary Source

ST. THOMAS, *July 29, 1898.* (Received 2.11 p. m.)

SECRETARY OF WAR, *Washington, D. C.:*

Port Ponce, Porto Rico, July 28, 1898, 1.30 a. m.—On the 26th garrison had a spirited engagement on skirmish line. Our casualties, 4 wounded; all doing well. Spanish lost 3 killed, 13 wounded. Yauco occupied yesterday. Henry's division there to-day. Last evening Commander Davis, of the *Dixie*, moved into this port, followed by Captain Higginson with his fleet early this morning. General Wilson, with Ernst's brigade, now rapidly disembarking. Spanish troops are retreating from southern part Porto Rico. Ponce and port have population 50,000, now under American flag. The populace received troops and saluted the flag with wild enthusiasm. Navy has several prizes; also 70 lighters. Railway stock partly destroyed, now restored; telegraph communication also being restored; cable instruments destroyed; have sent to Jamaica for others. This is a prosperous and beautiful country. The army will soon be in mountain region; weather delightful; troops in best of health and spirits; anticipate no insurmountable obstacle in future. Results thus far have been accomplished without the loss of a single life.

NELSON A. MILES, *Major-General Commanding Army.*

PONCE, VIA BERMUDA, *August 10, 1898.* (Received 10.50 p. m.)

SECRETARY OF WAR, *Washington:*

I am fully convinced that Sampson has sent orders to the commander of this fleet, soon as army leaves south coast, to take his fleet, go round to San Juan, and demand the surrender of the capital or bombard the city and not to waste ammunition on any of the batteries. First. To bombard a city containing innocent women and children would be a violation of the first order of the President. Second. It is an interference with the work given the army by the President. I ask that any such action be suspended. After we have raised the flag over all the principal cities and arrived at San Juan, any aid by the navy against land batteries, entrenchments, or fortifications would be advisable, but not against a city of noncombatants. The

control of all military affairs on the land of this island can be safely left to the army.
MILES.

Source: United States, Adjutant General's Office, *Correspondence relating to the War with Spain* . . . (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1993), 330, 379.

86. George Dewey, Official Report of the Battle of Manila, May 4, 1898

[Excerpt]

Introduction

On April 25, 1898, the day the United States declared war on Spain, Commodore George Dewey, commander of the U.S. Navy's Asiatic Squadron, received President William McKinley's order to move against the Spanish fleet at Manila, capital of the Philippines. Dewey had already assembled and supplied his fleet at Hong Kong. On April 30, Dewey's six ships entered Manila Bay, and the next morning the Americans destroyed the entire Spanish Pacific fleet at Cavite without losing a single man. In the space of a few hours, the Spanish lost all their vessels and suffered nearly 400 casualties. However, with only 1,700 sailors, Dewey could not hope to capture the city of Manila. It would be two months before land forces arrived from the United States. In the meantime, Dewey blockaded Manila while the Filipino rebel leader Emilio Aguinaldo harassed the Spanish troops. Dewey's official report, excerpted here, briefly recounts the action and commends a number of individuals for their conduct. News of the complete and dramatic victory inspired the American public and elevated Dewey to the status of hero. He received promotion to rear admiral within days. In an interview several weeks later, he attributed the overwhelming American naval victory to well-trained men of quality, high-quality guns kept in good condition, and firing practice. He noted the poor condition and quality of Spanish ships and weapons.

Primary Source

Flagship *Olympia*, May 4, 1898.

. . . The squadron left Mirs Bay on April 27. . . . Arrived off Boli-nao on the morning of April 30, and finding no vessels there, proceeded down the coast and arrived off the entrance to Manila Bay on the same afternoon. The *Boston* and *Concord* were sent to reconnoitre Port Subic. . . . A thorough search of the port was made by the *Boston* and the *Concord*, but the Spanish fleet was not found. . . .

Entered the south channel at 11:30 P.M., steaming in column at eight knots. After half the squadron had passed, a battery on the south side of the channel opened fire, none of the shots taking effect. The *Boston* and *McCulloch* returned the fire.

The squadron proceeded across the bay at slow speed and arrived off Manila at daybreak and was fired upon at 5:15 A.M., by three batteries at Manila and two near Cavité, and by the Spanish fleet anchored in an approximately east and west line across the mouth of Baker Bay, with their left in shoal water in Canacao Bay.

The squadron then proceeded to the attack, the flagship *Olympia*, under my personal direction, leading, followed at distance by the *Baltimore*, *Raleigh*, *Petrel*, *Concord*, and *Boston*, in the order named, which formation was maintained throughout the action.

The squadron opened fire at 5:41 A. M. While advancing to the attack, two mines were exploded ahead of the flagship, too far to be effective. The squadron maintained a continuous and precise fire, at ranges varying from 5,000 to 2,000 yards, countermarching in a line approximately parallel to that of the Spanish fleet. The enemy's fire was vigorous but generally ineffective.

Early in the engagement two launches came out toward the *Olympia* with the apparent intention of sinking torpedoes. One was sunk and the other disabled by our fire and beached, before an opportunity occurred to fire torpedoes.

At 7 A. M. the Spanish flagship *Reina Christina* made a desperate attempt to leave the line and come out to engage at short range, but was received with such galling fire, the entire battery of the *Olympia* being concentrated upon her, that she was barely able to return to the shelter of the point.

The fires started in her by our shells at this time were not extinguished until she sank. . . . The three batteries at Manila had kept up a continuous report from the beginning of the engagement, which fire was not returned by this squadron. The first of these batteries was situated on the south mole head, at the entrance to the Pasig River. The second on the south bastion of the walled city of Manila and the third at Malate, about one-half mile further south.

At this point I sent a message to the Governor-General to the effect that if the batteries did not cease firing the city would be shelled. This had the effect of silencing them.

At 7:35 A.M. I ceased firing and withdrew the squadron for breakfast. At 11:16 A.M. returned to the attack. By this time the Spanish flagship and almost the entire Spanish fleet were in flames. At 12:30 P.M. the squadron ceased firing, the batteries being silenced and the ships sunk, burnt, and deserted. At 12:40 P. M. the squadron returned and anchored off Manila, the *Petrel* being left behind to complete the destruction of the smaller gunboats, which were behind the point of Cavité.

This duty was performed by Commander E. P. Wood, in the most expeditious and complete manner possible. The Spanish lost the following vessels: Sunk—*Reina Christina*, *Castilla*, *Don Antonio de Ulloa*; burned—*Don Juan de Austria*, *Isla de Luzon*, *Isla de Cuba*, *General Lezo*, *Marques del Duero*, *El Correo*, *Velasco*, and *Isla de Mindanao* (transport); captured—*Rapido* and *Hercules* (tugs) and several small launches.

I am unable to obtain complete accounts of the enemy's killed and wounded, but believe their losses to be very heavy. The *Reina*

Christina alone had one hundred and fifty killed, including the captain, and ninety wounded. I am happy to report that the damage done to the squadron under my command was inconsiderable. There were none killed and only seven men in the squadron slightly wounded. . . .

Several of the vessels were struck and even penetrated, but the damage was of the lightest, and the squadron is in as good condition now as before the battle.

I beg to state to the department that I doubt if any commander-in-chief was ever served by more loyal, efficient, and gallant captains than those of the squadron now under my command.

Captain Frank Wildes, commanding the *Boston*, volunteered to remain in command of his vessel, although his relief arrived before leaving Hong-Kong. Assistant-Surgeon Kindleberger, of the *Olympia*, and Gunner J. C. Evans, of the *Boston*, also volunteered to remain after orders detaching them had arrived.

The conduct of my personal staff was excellent. Commander B. P. Lamberton, chief-of-staff, was a volunteer for that position and gave me most efficient aid. Lieutenant Brumby, flag lieutenant, and Ensign W. P. Scott, aid, performed their duties as signal officers in a highly creditable manner.

The *Olympia* being short of officers for the battery, Ensign H. H. Caldwell, flag secretary, volunteered for and was assigned to a subdivision of the 5-inch battery. Mr. J. L. Stickney, formerly an officer in the United States Navy, and now correspondent for the New York Herald, volunteered for duty as my aid, and rendered valuable services.

I desire specially to mention the coolness of Lieutenant C. G. Calkins, the navigator of the *Olympia*, who came under my personal observation, being on the bridge with me throughout the entire action, and giving the ranges to the guns with an accuracy that was proven by the excellency of the firing.

On May 2, the day following the engagement, the squadron again went to Cavité, where it remains. . . . On the third, the military forces evacuated the Cavité arsenal which was taken possession of by a landing party.

On the same day the *Raleigh* and *Baltimore* secured the surrender of the batteries on Corregidor Island, paroling the garrison and destroying the guns. On the morning of May 4, the transport *Manila*, which had been around in Baker Bay, was towed off and made a prize.

[Signed] George Dewey

[. . .]

To a correspondent, who asked for his ideas of the lessons to be learned from the victory of May 1, Admiral Dewey replied:

"The first lesson of the battle teaches the importance of American gunnery and good guns.

"It confirms my early experiences under Admiral Farragut, that combats are decided more by skill in gunnery and the quality of the guns than by all else.

"Torpedoes and other appliances are good in their way, but are entirely of secondary importance.

"The Spaniards, with their combined fleet and forts, were equal to us in gun power. But they were unable to harm us because of bad gunnery.

"Constant practice made our gunnery destructive and won the victory.

"The second lesson of this battle is the complete demonstration of the value of high-grade men. Cheap men are not wanted, are not needed, are a loss to the United States Navy.

"We should have none but the very best men behind the guns. It will not do to have able officers and poor men. The men in their class must be the equal of the officers in theirs. We must have the best men filling all the posts on shipboard.

"To make the attainments of the officers valuable we must have, as we have in this fleet, the best men to carry out their commands.

"The third lesson, not less important than the others, is the necessity for inspection. Everything to be used in a battle should have been thoroughly inspected by naval officials.

"If this is done there will be no failure at a crisis in time of danger. Look at the difference between our ships and the Spanish ships.

"Everything the Spaniards had was supplied by contract. Their shells, their powder, all their materials, were practically worthless, while ours were perfect."

Source: Adelbert M. Dewey, *The Life and Letters of Admiral Dewey* (New York: Woolfall, 1899), 247–255, 265–266.

87. Patricio Montojo, Description of the Battle of Manila, 1898

Introduction

On April 25, 1898, the day the United States declared war on Spain, Commodore George Dewey, commander of the U.S. Navy's Asiatic Squadron, received President William McKinley's order to move against the Spanish fleet at Manila, capital of the Philippines. Dewey had already assembled and supplied his nine ships at Hong Kong. Admiral Patricio Montojo, commander of Spain's Pacific squadron, prepared for Dewey's arrival knowing that his obsolete, underpowered, and outgunned vessels faced certain destruction. Montojo moved his ships away from Manila to safeguard the city's inhabitants. On April 30, Dewey's six ships entered Manila Bay, and the next morning the Americans destroyed the entire Spanish fleet at Cavite without losing a single man. In the space of a few hours, the Spanish lost all their vessels and suffered nearly 400 casualties. News of the complete and dramatic victory inspired the American public, elevated Dewey to the status of hero, and won him immediate promotion to rear admiral. Seeking a scapegoat for their de-

feat, Spanish authorities court-martialed Montojo and discharged him from the navy. Montojo's account describes the inferior condition of his fleet, the inevitable progression of grievous damage and destruction, and the courage of his men as they fought a hopelessly uneven contest with a far superior enemy.

Primary Source

"At five the batteries on Point Sanglely opened fire. The first two shots fell short and to the left of the leading vessel. These shots were not answered by the enemy, whose principal object was the squadron.

"This battery had only two Ordonez guns of fifteen centimetres mounted, and but one of these could fire in the direction of the opposing fleet.

"In a few minutes one of the batteries of Manila opened fire, and at 5:15 I made signal that our squadron open fire. The enemy answered immediately. The battle became general. We slipped the springs and cables and started ahead with the engines, so as not to be involved by the enemy.

"The Americans fired most rapidly. There came upon us numberless projectiles, as the three cruisers at the head of the line devoted themselves almost entirely to fight the *Christina*, my flagship. A short time after the action commenced one shell exploded in the forecabin and put out of action all those who served the four rapid-fire cannon, making splinters of the forward mast, which wounded the helmsman on the bridge, when Lieutenant Jose Nunez took the wheel with a coolness worthy of the greatest commendation, steering until the end of the fight. In the meanwhile another shell exploded in the orlop, setting fire to the crew's bags, which they were fortunately able to control.

"The enemy shortened the distance between us, and, rectifying his aim, covered us with a rain of rapid-fire projectiles. At 7:30 one shell destroyed completely the steering gear. I ordered to steer by hand while the rudder was out of action. In the meanwhile another shell exploded on the poop, and put out of action nine men. Another destroyed the mizzen masthead, bringing down the flag and my ensign, which were replaced immediately. A fresh shell exploded in the officers' cabin, covering the hospital with blood, and destroying the wounded who were being treated there. Another exploded in the ammunition room astern, filling the quarters with smoke and preventing the working of the hand steering gear. As it was impossible to control the fire, I had to flood the magazine when the cartridges were beginning to explode.

"Amidships several shells of smaller calibre went through the smokestack, and one of the large ones penetrated the fireroom, putting out of action one master gunner and twelve men serving the guns. Another rendered useless the starboard bow gun. While the

fire astern increased, fire was started forward by another shell which went through the hull and exploded on the deck.

"The broadside guns being undamaged continued firing until there were only one gunner and one seaman remaining unhurt for firing them, as the guns crews had been frequently called upon to substitute those charged with steering, all of whom were out of action.

"The ship being out of control, the hull, smoke-pipe, and mast riddled with shot; the confusion occasioned by the cries of the wounded; half of her crew out of action, among whom were seven officers, I gave the order to sink and abandon the ship before the magazines should explode, making signal at the same time to the *Isla de Cuba* and *Isla de Luzon* to assist in saving the rest of the crew, which they did, aided by others from the *Marques del Duero* and the arsenal.

"I abandoned the *Reina Christina*, directing beforehand to secure her flag, and accompanied by my staff, and with great sorrow, I hoisted my flag on the cruiser *Isla de Cuba*." After many men had been saved from the unfortunate vessel, one shell destroyed her heroic commander, Don Luis Cadarso, who was directing the rescue.

"The *Don Antonio de Ulloa*, which also defended herself firmly, using the only two guns which were available, was sunk by a shell which entered the water line, putting out of action her commander and half of her remaining crew.

"The *Castilla*, which fought heroically, remained with her artillery useless, except one stern gun, with which they fought spiritedly, was riddled with shot and set on fire by the enemy's shells, then sunk, and was abandoned by her crew in good order, which was directed by her commander, Don Alonzo Algado. The casualties on this ship were twenty-three killed and eighty wounded.

"The *Don Juan de Austria*, very much damaged and on fire, went to the aid of the *Castilla*. The *Isla de Luzon* had three guns dismounted, and was slightly damaged in the hull. The *Marques del Duero* remained with one of her engines useless, the bow gun of twelve centimetres and one of the redoubts.

"At eight o'clock in the morning, the enemy's squadron having suspended its fire, I ordered the ships that remained to us to take positions in the bottom of the Roads at Bacoor, and there to resist to the last moment, and that they should be sunk before they surrendered. At 10:30 the enemy returned, forming a circle to destroy the arsenal and the ships which remained to me, opening upon them a horrible fire, which we answered as far as we could with the few cannon which we still had mounted.

"There remained the last recourse to sink our vessels, and we accomplished this operation, taking care to save the flag, the dis-

tinguishing pennant, the money in the safe, the portable arms, the breech plugs of the guns, and the signal codes.

"After which I went with my staff to the Convent of Santo Domingo de Cavite, to be cured of a wound received in the left leg, and to telegraph a brief report of the action, with preliminaries and results.

"It remains only to say that all the chiefs, officers, engineers, quartermasters, gunners, sailors, and soldiers rivaled one another in sustaining with honor the good name of the navy on this sad day.

"The inefficiency of the vessels which composed my little squadron, the lack of all classes of the personnel, especially master gunners and seaman gunners; the inaptitude of some of the provisional machinists, the scarcity of rapid-fire cannon, the strong crews of the enemy, and the unprotected character of the greater part of our vessels, all contributed to make more decided the sacrifice which we made for our country and to prevent the possibility of the horrors of the bombardment of the city of Manila, with the conviction that with the scarcity of our force against the superior enemy we were going to certain death and could expect a loss of all our ships.

"Our casualties, including those of the arsenal, amounted to three hundred and eighty-one men killed and wounded."

Source: Adelbert M. Dewey, *The Life and Letters of Admiral Dewey* (New York: Woolfall, 1899), 247–255, 265–266.

88. Corwin P. Rees, "The Battle of Manila Bay," 1898

Introduction

On April 25, 1898, the day the United States declared war on Spain, Commodore George Dewey, commander of the U.S. Navy's Asiatic Squadron, received orders to move against the Spanish fleet at Manila, capital of the Philippines. Dewey had already assembled and supplied his fleet at Hong Kong. On April 30, his six ships entered Manila Bay, and the next morning the Americans destroyed the entire Spanish Pacific fleet at Cavite without losing a single man. In the space of a few hours, the Spanish lost all their vessels and suffered nearly 400 casualties. News of Dewey's complete and dramatic victory elevated him to the status of hero and won him immediate promotion to rear admiral. It also inspired the creation of adoring song and verse. This example was penned by Lieutenant Commander Corwin P. Rees on board Dewey's flagship, the *Olympia*. In the meantime, with only 1,700 sailors, Dewey could not

complete the conquest of the Philippines. Pending the arrival of reinforcements, he blockaded Manila while the Filipino rebel leader Emilio Aguinaldo harassed the Spanish troops. The admiral also dealt with the arrival of British, French, and German ships that were positioning themselves to lay claim to the islands. Some 15,000 U.S. troops arrived by late July. On August 13, the Spanish surrendered the city after a brief show of resistance.

Primary Source

BREAK of dawn Manila Bay
A sheet of limpid water lay,
Extending twenty miles away.

Twenty miles from shore to shore,
As creeping on a squadron bore,
As squadron never moved before.

Majestic in its hidden might,
It passed Corregidor at night,
Inspired to battle for the right.

And grandly on the Flagship led,
Six ships—*Olympia* e'er ahead
With battle flags at each masthead.

The *Baltimore* and *Raleigh* true,
The *Petrel*, *Boston*, *Concord* too,
Their flags of glory proudly flew.

As early daylight broke upon
The bay—before the rise of sun—
Was seen the flash of opening gun!

Then every second heard the roar
Of shell and shrapnel bursting o'er
Our brave, undaunted Commodore!

"Hold our fire!" he calmly said,
As from the bridge he bravely led
To death or glory on ahead!

And from his lips or from his hand
But one direction, one command,
"Follow the Flagship by the Land."

Full twenty minutes slowly crept
'Ere lightning from our turrets leapt,
And pent-up hell no longer slept!

The Spanish fleet, a dozen strong,
Was now in range, and haughty wrong
Was swept by awful fire along.

Explosions wild destruction brought
Mid flames that mighty havoc wrought,
As either side in fury fought.

So back and forth, in angry might,
The stars and stripes waved on the fight,
Mid bursting shells in deadly flight!

The Spanish decks with dead were strewn,
Their guns on shore were silenced soon,
Their flags were down ere flush of noon.

Their ships, their batteries on the shore
Were gone, to fight again no more—
Their loss, a thousand men or more!

Dawned on the fleet that Dewey led
A miracle, while Spaniards bled;
For on our side was not one dead!

The Battle of Manila Bay
From mind shall never pass away—
Nor deeds of glory wrought that day;

For mid that battle's awful roar
The Spanish pride, to rise no more,
Was humbled by our Commodore.

Source: Adelbert M. Dewey, *The Life and Letters of Admiral Dewey* (New York: Woolfall, 1899), 474–476.

89. Account of the U.S. Takeover of Guam, 1898

Introduction

The relatively low casualty counts involved in the taking of Puerto Rico and the Philippines were bettered by the completely bloodless capture of Guam. A Spanish possession since the sixteenth century, the Mariana Islands, of which Guam is the principal island, lie between Hawaii and the Philippines. Following Commodore George Dewey's May 1, 1898, naval victory at Manila, he requested land forces to complete the conquest of the Philippines. The U.S. Army's VIII Corps, commanded by General Wesley Merritt, sailed from San Francisco, with the first troop transports departing May 25. The flagship *Charleston*, under the command of Captain Henry Glass, and several transports interrupted their month-long voyage to stop at Guam on June 20. The Spanish authorities stationed at this remote outpost had not yet heard of the war. The governor agreed to surrender just as an American land-

ing party approached the shore. This account by an eyewitness sailing with the U.S. fleet describes the surrender. The governor and his small garrison of 54 Spanish soldiers were made prisoners of war, and their native soldiers were disbanded. The native soldiers happily threw away their military accoutrements. The raising of the American flag over an old fort completed the proceedings, and the navy departed Guam barely two days after it had arrived.

Primary Source

"Early in the morning, the fleet rounded the northern extremity of Guam island and headed southward toward the harbor, the *Charleston* well in the lead. The chief town, Agana, containing the residence of the Governor and the garrison, lies on the north side of a coral peninsula, jutting far out into the ocean. The *Charleston* worked slowly in toward the town, as far as she dared to go because of coral shoals, and when satisfied that the two Spanish gunboats, which were supposed to be somewhere among these outlying islands, and which were one of the chief objects of her quest, were not there, she turned her prow seaward again and rounded the end of the coral spit; passing through a narrow channel between the reef and a high bluff of volcanic basalt, slowly pushed her way into the harbor of San Luis, which is the chief harbor of the island, whose landing place, Unapa, is about four miles across the peninsula from Agana. The three transports lay to off the entrance, beyond the reach of cannon-shot, their upper decks and rigging black with the crowds of soldiers eager to see the expected battle.

"Well within the harbor was seen a vessel, which, under the glass, proved to be a small whaling brig flying the Japanese flag. It was painted white, and when first seen created considerable excitement, being mistaken for one of the Spanish gunboats. Near the shore, on the opposite side of the bay, which is here about two miles wide, was seen a low fort, apparently built of stone and faced with earth, with trees growing from the embankment around it.

"When she was within two miles of the fort, the *Charleston* opened fire upon it, with her three-pounders, firing thirteen shots in rapid succession, four of which were seen to strike the fort.

"The bloodless conquest was hailed with derisive cheers, for the fort was an ancient structure, built ninety years ago of coral, and never had a cannon mounted. It had not been occupied for half a century, having been originally constructed as a defence against the natives, and not for the protection of the harbor against warships. Don Quixote's famous charge on the windmills had been eclipsed by the Yankee navy. Some time before the *Charleston* entered the harbor, the fleet had been observed from the landing at Unapa, and the port officer had ordered out his gig for the purpose of going aboard in his capacity as quarantine official. In addition to this, an old brass cannon had been loaded for the purpose of returning the expected salute. The port officer was about half-way out to the ship when the firing began, and did not notice that solid shot were being fired. This intelligence however was speedily conveyed to the men in charge of the shore cannon, by a horseman, who had been riding

somewhat in the rear of the fort, and was consequently made painfully aware that cannon balls were sailing in his direction. He rode posthaste to the landing and asked them what they were going to do with the cannon, and was told that they were about to answer the salute. This put a new phase on the matter to the Spanish officials, and immediately the Governor's adjutant embarked in a boat, and hastened after the health officer for the purpose of going aboard the Charleston to inquire the meaning of such unfriendly conduct. The health officer was the first to arrive on board. When he climbed over the side he was escorted to Captain Glass's stateroom, and learned for the first time the vessel he had thought of quarantining, was a warship of the United States navy, intent upon capturing the island. A few minutes later the indignant adjutant climbed over the side and received the same information. He was further told to return immediately to the shore and bring the Governor on board. Meanwhile, the transports were signaled to follow the Charleston into the harbor, which they quickly did, the vessels being anchored within a few hundred yards of each other.

"At three o'clock the adjutant returned on board with a message from the Governor, saying 'That the laws of Spain forbid him to go on board a foreign warship, and that negotiations must be conducted on shore. Captain Glass then sent Lieutenant Brauner-sreuter, with a very courteous note stating in effect that war existed between the United States and Spain, that a war vessel of the republic, with three transports loaded with troops, was in the harbor, with orders to take possession of the island of Guam; that it was folly for his small force to make resistance, demanding that he surrender himself, his garrison, and all arms and munitions of war, and giving him until morning to reply. When morning came and no reply having been received, Captain Glass sent the Governor word that he would wait only half an hour longer, and at once embarked a landing party in boats for the purpose of taking forcible possession. This party consisted of about fifty marines from the Charleston, and Companies A and D of the Second Oregon, from the Australia. A strong wind was blowing, and there was a heavy swell in the harbor, making the embarkation a slow and difficult task. The pitching and tossing of the boats along side the vessel was so great that a number of the men, notwithstanding that they had been a month on board ship, became seasick. As the long string of thirteen boats started for shore, two miles distant, lowed by the Charleston's launch, a tremendous downpour of rain, such as is only seen in the tropics, accompanied by a driving wind, obscured the entire landscape and wet the men to the skin, giving them a baptism of water in advance of one of fire, they expected soon to receive. However, before the boats reached the shore, the Governor's gig was seen to put out from the landing, waving a white flag in token of surrender, and the landing party was immediately taken back to the vessels, greatly disappointed.

"The Governor's Adjutant went on board the Charleston and delivered to Captain Glass a letter from his chief, saying, in view of the fact that he had been utterly unaware that hostilities had broken out between the two nations, and had therefore made no

preparations for defence, and was utterly helpless before the overwhelming force that had been sent against him, and for reasons of humanity, and a desire to avoid needless bloodshed, he would surrender upon condition that the usual treatment of prisoners of war be accorded him and his officers, and that his men be given as good quarters and fare on board ship as the republic's soldiers received. These terms were accepted, and a company of marines was sent on shore, accompanied by Lieutenant Brauner-sreuter, to receive the surrender. The garrison consisted of fifty-four Spanish veterans and a hundred and fifty native soldiers with six officers, including the Governor. The garrison was drawn up in line awaiting the arrival of the marines, who were promptly disembarked and drawn up in line opposite the Spaniards. The Governor and his subordinates presented their swords to the American officer, and took their places in the boats; the soldiers slacked arms, and, as the marines filed in front of them with boxes, each man took off his cartridge belt and threw it into the box. The Spanish soldiers were then placed in the boats and the native soldiers were disbanded. As soon as thus formally absolved from their allegiance to Spain, the native soldiers cut off their buttons and all insignia of rank they had and threw them away, to show their contempt for the government which they had been unwillingly serving. The captured soldiers were then conveyed to the steamer City of Sydney, and placed under guard, while the Charleston's launch steamed out to the ancient coral fort and raised above it the Stars and Stripes, the guns of the Charleston pealing forth a salute to the flag, thus ending the ceremony of taking formal possession in the name of the United States.

Source: Henry F. Keenan, *The Conflict with Spain: A History of the War Based upon Official Reports and Descriptions of Eye-Witnesses* (Philadelphia: P. W. Ziegler, 1898), 460–464.

90. Duc d'Almodovar del Rio, Letter Suing for Peace, July 22, 1898

Introduction

Just three months after the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Spain sued for peace. In those three months, Commodore George Dewey had destroyed Spain's Pacific fleet in Manila Bay and blockaded the Philippines, the U.S. Navy had destroyed Admiral Pascual Cervera's fleet off the coast of Cuba, and the Spanish had surrendered Santiago to the U.S. Army on July 16. These crushing losses, widely viewed in Spain as humiliating disasters, left Spain no other choice. This letter from Spain's top diplomatic official, addressed to President William McKinley, began a long process. In an effort to salve Spanish pride, the writer claims that Spain fought only for honor and to save Cuba from the dangers of premature independence. Between the date on the letter and its delivery to the United States, the U.S. Army landed in Puerto Rico. Spain and the United

States signed a truce on August 12, but news of the truce did not reach the Philippines until after the U.S. Army had captured Manila. The signing of the truce was followed in late September by meetings of Spanish and American peace commissioners to hammer out the terms of the treaty, which was finally signed on December 10, 1898.

Primary Source

Madrid, July 22, 1898.

Mr. President:

Since three months the American people and the Spanish nation are at war, because Spain did not consent to grant independence to Cuba and to withdraw her troops therefrom.

Spain faced with resignation such uneven strife and only endeavored to defend her possessions with no other hope than to oppose, in the measure of her strength, the undertaking of the United States, and to protect her honor.

Neither the trials which adversity has made us endure nor the realization that but faint hope is left us could deter us from struggling till the exhaustion of our very last resources. This stout purpose, however, does not blind us, and we are fully aware of the responsibilities which would weigh upon both nations in the eyes of the civilized world were this war to be continued.

This war not only inflicts upon the two peoples who wage it the hardships inseparable from all armed conflict, but also dooms to useless suffering and unjust sacrifices the inhabitants of a territory to which Spain is bound by secular ties that can be forgotten by no nation either of the old or of the new world.

To end calamities already so great and to avert evils still greater, our countries might naturally endeavor to find upon which conditions the present struggle could be determined otherwise than by force of arms.

Spain believes this understanding possible, and hopes that this view is also harbored by the Government of the United States. All true friends of both nations share no doubt the same hopes.

Spain wishes to show again that in this war, as well as in the one she carried on against the Cuban insurgents, she had but one object—the vindication of her prestige, her honor, her name. During the war of insurrection it was her desire to spare the great island from the dangers of premature independence; in the present war she has been actuated by sentiments inspired rather by ties of blood than by her interests and by the rights belonging to her as mother country.

Spain is prepared to spare Cuba from the continuation of the horrors of war if the United States are, on their part, likewise disposed.

The President of the United States and the American people may now learn from this message the true thought, desire, and intention of the Spanish nation.

And so do we wish to learn from the President of the United States upon which basis might be established a political status in Cuba and might be terminated a strife which would continue without reason should both Governments agree upon the means of pacifying the island.

In the name of the Government of Her Majesty the Queen Regent I have the honor to address this message to your excellency, with the expression of my highest consideration.

Duc d’Almodovar del Rio,

Ministre d’Etat.

Source: U.S. Congress, *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States with the Annual Message of the President Transmitted to Congress December 5, 1898* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901), 819–820.

91. John Hay, “Splendid Little War” Letter, July 27, 1898

Introduction

John Hay was the U.S. ambassador to Great Britain when he wrote this congratulatory letter to Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt had been assistant secretary of the navy when war broke out and had mustered a volunteer cavalry regiment that played a prominent role in the Santiago Campaign. The fame he won as a cavalry colonel propelled him to the governorship of New York, followed by the vice presidency of the United States. Roosevelt became president after William McKinley’s assassination in 1901 and was elected president in 1904. Hay served as secretary of state under both McKinley and Roosevelt. Hay’s political career dated back to service on the staff of President Abraham Lincoln. The words “splendid little war” gained lasting currency because they so perfectly summed up the American side of the experience. The war had been widely desired and supported by the public, with more men volunteering for the fight than the armed forces could effectively absorb. Casualties had been light, and the hostilities lasted barely three months. Fighting to liberate its neighbor Cuba, the United States suddenly found itself in possession of a far-flung empire. The next U.S. war, fought to suppress the so-called Philippine Insurrection, far from being splendid, was long, bloody, and inglorious. A significant antiwar, anti-imperialist movement grew up as prominent citizens questioned the morality of retaining the Philippines.

Primary Source

Hay to Roosevelt
London, July 27, 1898/

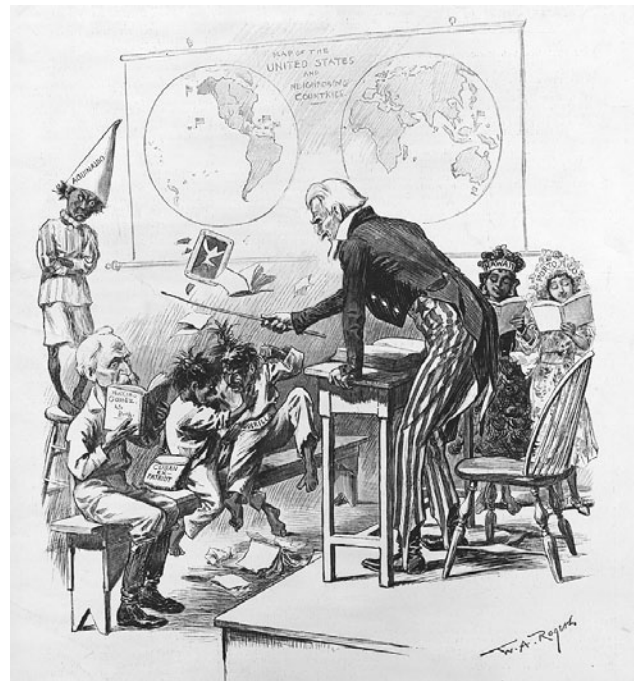
I am afraid I am the last of your friends to congratulate you on the brilliant campaign which now seems drawing to a close, and in which you have gained so much experience and glory. When the war began I was like the rest; I deplored your place in the Navy where you were so useful and so acceptable. But I knew it was idle to preach to a young man. You obeyed your own daemon, and I imagine we older fellows will all have to confess that you were in the right. As Sir Walter wrote:

“One crowded hour of glorious life
Is worth an age without a name.”

You have written your name on several pages of your country’s history, and they are all honorable to you and comfortable to your friends.

It has been a splendid little war; begun with the highest motives, carried on with magnificent intelligence and spirit, favored by that Fortune which loves the brave. It is now to be concluded, I hope, with that fine good nature, which is, after all, the distinguishing trait of the American character.

Source: William Roscoe Thayer, *The Life and Letters of John Hay*, Vol. 2 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1915), 337.



Source: Library of Congress

annex Cuba. Cuba did not become fully independent of the United States until 1934.

92. W. A. Rogers, Cartoon about Cuban Self-Government, August 27, 1898

Introduction

The United States had gone to war with Spain primarily to end Spanish control of Cuba. During the years of the Cuban War of Independence, American sympathy for the insurgents and their quest for independence had run high. This cartoon, published in the popular newspaper *Harper's Weekly* only a few weeks after the fighting had ended, indicates growing doubts about the Cubans' capacity for self-government. U.S. forces did not simply leave Cuba after Spain's departure, fearing that another power might take over. Instead, the U.S. Army maintained a military government over Cuba, commanded by General Leonard Wood, and insisted that Cuba include certain provisions in its constitution before the United States would withdraw. Among them was the Platt Amendment, which gave the United States sweeping rights to retain bases in Cuba and to intervene "for the preservation of Cuban independence." The terms of the amendment became part of the 1903 U.S.-Cuba treaty. Although the army withdrew, it intervened in 1906 to put down a rebellion. The United States remained involved in Cuban affairs, and many believed that the United States would

93. William McKinley, Address to the Dodge Commission, September 1898

Introduction

U.S. president William McKinley's administration and the War Department faced a barrage of criticism for their conduct of the Spanish-American War. Common soldiers, their relatives, politicians, war correspondents, newspaper editors, and disgruntled army officers all voiced complaints. Complaints encompassed equipment shortages, the discomfort that soldiers experienced at their camps in the United States, General William Shafter's leadership, and the rapid spread of disease among the troops. Some of the criticism was politically motivated, with the Democratic opposition attacking the policies of the Republican administration. However, the War Department had made enough real blunders to draw justified criticism from concerned citizens of both political parties. The press published sensational accounts depicting callous incompetence, many of which were wildly distorted. Regardless, McKinley decided that he had to act to protect both his administration's reputation and Republican candidates in the upcoming autumn election of 1898. Accordingly, he appointed a special commission, the War Investigating Commission, to investigate the army's conduct of the war. The

commission became known as the Dodge Commission, after its chairman, General Grenville Dodge. The following excerpt provided McKinley's public rationale for convening the commission. In fact, the president was most interested in having the commission whitewash his administration's conduct or at least delay any criticism until after the elections.

Primary Source

To the Commission Appointed by the President to Investigate, the Conduct of the War Department in the War with Spain.

GENTLEMEN: Before suggesting the matters which shall come before you for investigation, I desire to express my appreciation to each of you for your willingness to accept the patriotic service to which you have been invited. You are to perform one of the highest public duties that can fall to a citizen, and your unselfishness in undertaking it makes me profoundly grateful.

There has been in many quarters severe criticism of the conduct of the war with Spain. Charges of criminal neglect of the soldiers in camp and field and hospital, and in transports, have been so persistent that, whether true or false, they have made a deep impression upon the country. It is my earnest desire that you shall thoroughly investigate these charges and make the fullest examination of the administration of the War Department in all of its branches, with the view to establishing the truth or falsity of these accusations. I put upon you no limit to the scope of your investigation. Of all departments connected with the Army I invite the closest scrutiny and examination, and shall afford every facility for the most searching inquiry. The records of the War Department and the assistance of its officers shall be subject to your call.

I can not impress upon you too strongly my wish that your investigation shall be so thorough and complete that your report, when made, will fix the responsibility for any failure or fault by reason of neglect, incompetency or maladministration upon the officers and bureaus responsible therefor, if it be found that the evils complained of have existed.

The people of the country are entitled to know whether or not the citizens who so promptly responded to the call of duty have been neglected or misused or maltreated by the Government to which they so willingly gave their services. If there have been wrongs committed, the wrongdoers must not escape conviction and punishment.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

Source: *Report of the Commission Appointed by the President to Investigate the Conduct of the War Department in the War with Spain*, Vol. 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1900).

94. Nelson Miles, Testimony before the Dodge Commission, September 1898 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Widespread criticism of the William McKinley administration's conduct of the war led to the September 1898 formation of the War Investigating Commission, also known as the Dodge Commission. Political opponents and disgruntled army officers used the commission as a forum to attack their enemies. The commander of the victorious U.S. Army, General Nelson Miles, became displeased with the way the War Department in general and Secretary of War Russell Alger in particular had treated him. Miles tried to use his Dodge Commission testimony to further his political ambitions, burnish his own reputation, and take down his detractors. He took issue with the quality of the army's refrigerated and canned beef rations to make his case. The meat tasted bland and quickly spoiled. Consequently, it was not popular with the troops. Miles directed every regimental commander who had served in Cuba or Puerto Rico to provide an evaluation of the beef rations. Armed with this information, he appeared before the Dodge Commission, and his testimony, excerpted here, touched off a highly publicized controversy. Although Miles did not openly charge the secretary of war and his associates with corruption, he strongly implied it. The Dodge Commission made a careful study of Miles's claims, complete with chemical analysis of beef samples, and concluded that they were unfounded.

Primary Source

Q. Was not the beef sent in refrigerator cars from the United States in better condition than it would have been by sending it on the hoof?

A. No, sir. Cattle are sent across the Atlantic in cattle ships by the thousands and tens of thousands, and the Spanish army was supplied largely with beef sent from New Orleans; and the cattle country of Texas would furnish all the beef that was required for any army in Cuba, and once across the water at Cuba or Porto Rico they could be turned out on as fine a grazing country as there is anywhere. But as far as Porto Rico is concerned there was no necessity for sending beef there, as there were plenty of cattle there. A telegram was sent from Ponce on the 2nd of August requesting that no more fresh beef be sent, as it could not be used more than a day from the coast. The troops were moved in some instances 10, in one instance 80 or 90 miles away from their base, and the beef sent to the harbor of Ponce when they were two or three days out from the base would be utterly worthless; and besides that, in my judgment, there is some serious defect in that refrigerator beef, and also the canned beef that was furnished. There was sent to Porto Rico 337 tons of what is known as, or called, refrigerated beef, which you might call embalmed beef, and there was also sent 198,508 pounds of what is known as

canned fresh beef, which was condemned, as far as I know, by nearly every officer whose command used it. Here is a brief of reports forwarded by officers whose commands used it:

- The beef seemed to be of inferior quality and was anything but palatable. Quite a number of men could not and did not eat it.
- The meat was utterly unfit as an article of diet for either sick or well. It had no nutriment in it, and turned the stomachs of men who tried to eat it.
- The meat produced disordered stomachs, was not nutritious, soon became putrid, and in many of the cans was found in course of putrefaction when opened.
- The meat issued presented such a repulsive appearance that the men turned from it in disgust. "Nasty" is the only term that will fitly describe its appearance. Its use produced diarrhea and dysentery. . . .
- The meat was a miserable apology for food in a hot climate, a slimy-looking mass of beef scraps, unpalatable to the taste, and repulsive to the sight. Competition for the contracts placed the prices so low that only tailings and scraps were used for canning. . . .

Now, in regard to what is known as refrigerated beef, which I saw it stated "no man with sense would fail to use"—

By Colonel Denby:

Q. If a man refused to take that beef, was something else given him?

A. No; they could get no other beef from the stores sent by the Commissary Department.

Q. If they preferred bacon could they get bacon?

A. They could get some bacon, but that is not considered suitable food for the Tropics.

Q. But was it not competent for any officer to whom that meat was issued to have refused to receive it?

A. Yes, sir.

By Captain Howell:

Q. I want to ask you, General, is that canned beef part of the army ration?

A. It was made a part of the army ration during this war, to the extent of sending to Porto Rico, as I say, nearly 200,000 pounds of it.

Q. I mean by that, was it fixed by Congress as part of the army ration?

A. No, sir.

Q. Who fixed it, then, as a part of the army ration?

A. You will have to ask someone here in Washington.

Q. I want to know how it became part of the army ration. If he does not know, who should [referring to General Miles]?

A. You had better ask the Secretary of War or the Commissary-General; I think they can tell you. I know it was sent to the Army as food, and the pretense is that it was sent as an experiment; but any-

one could have tried it on his own stomach to see what the effect was without sending 200,000 pounds of it. If there had been paymasters down there the men could have bought food, but there were none there, although I requested on July 18 that they be sent there—that was before I ever started from Guantanamo. Ultimately I gave directions to expend a part of the funds obtained at the custom-house in the purchase of fresh beef.

By Colonel Sexton:

Q. Was your army adequately supplied with drugs and medical supplies during that campaign; during the time you were at Porto Rico?

A. Fairly well.

By Governor Woodbury:

Q. Will you kindly state, General Miles, before leaving that question of meat, your reasons—

A. As I say, the island was dotted over with an abundance of cattle, and if you want to ascertain the facts, the beef there cost $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents per pound in our money, $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents in Porto Rican money. Now, if you want to ascertain the cost to the Government of this so-called refrigerator beef—embalmed beef—take the original cost and the cost of transportation from where it was bought, either in Chicago or New York, and to where it was delivered to the troops, and you will probably learn what the transactions cost the Government.

By General Beaver:

Q. We have testimony as to that.

A. But as I stated, there were sent 337 tons of the so-called refrigerator beef. Here is a report regarding this beef [reading]:

Washington, D.C., September 21, 1898

The Assistant Adjutant-General,

Headquarters of the Army, Washington, D.C.

Sir: I have the honor to report, in the interest of the service, that in the several inspections I made in the various camps and troopships at Tampa, Jacksonville, Chickamauga, and Porto Rico that I found the fresh beef to be apparently preserved with secret chemicals, which destroys its natural flavor, and which also believe to be detrimental to the health of the troops.

While on duty at Headquarters of the Army at Tampa, at the time of the embarkation of the "Shafter expedition," Colonel Weston, the efficient chief Commissary, showed me a quarter of beef that had already, as a test, been sixty hours in the sun without being perceptibly tainted, so far as the sense of smell could detect.

It is impossible to keep fresh beef so long untainted in the sun in that climate without the use of deleterious preservatives, such as boric acid, salicylic acid, or nitrate potash, injected into it in quantities liable to be hurtful to the health of the consumer. . . .

Believing that the Commissary Department has been imposed upon by the misdirected commercial spirit of persons furnishing beef, I respectfully recommend that the matter be investigated by experts making a quantitative and qualitative chemical analysis of

the several preservatives suspected to be used by getting samples of beef furnished for export to Cuba and Porto Rico.

If the question arises that a report should have been made by me earlier, I beg to say that I have endeavored with all my opportunities to first inform myself, by observation, of the conditions above noted sufficiently to warrant my drawing the attention of the Adjutant-General at Headquarters of the Army to the matter.

Very respectfully,

W.H. Daly

Major and Chief Surgeon, U.S. Volunteers

Q. Do you know whether or not these reports were furnished to the Commissary-General?

A. There have been a great many reports furnished at different times, but he seemed to be insisting very zealously that this beef should be used, and in his testimony, as I saw it printed in the papers, he made a statement that no one of sense would decline to receive this refrigerated beef instead of beef on the hoof at Porto Rico, which rather reflected upon the commanding general of that expedition.

I did not so understand it at the time, though I can not understand what his intentions were.

By General Dodge:

Q. Do you think that beef that was sent to Porto Rico and Cuba is different from what is used generally in this country?

A. I do not know about that; I think so.

Q. It is pretty generally used all over the United States.

A. The refrigerated beef, if put into proper cold-storage cars, and then taken out at New York and other places, over the country, would be comparatively fresh; but when you take it out of the cold-storage cars and put it on a transport without adequate cold storage it would not keep good if shipped to the Tropics.

Q. Your idea, then, is that while it is good in this country, the transportation of it there deteriorates it?

A. I do not think that beef such as was sent to Cuba and Porto Rico would be good in any country, in the stomach of any man.

Q. You prefer, in this country, to use beef on the hoof rather than refrigerated beef?

A. He objects to using embalmed beef anywhere.

[. . .]

By Governor Woodbury:

Q. General, I have been quite interested, among other things, in regard to the camps, and I would be very glad to get your valuable opinion as to a few of them. In regard to Chickamauga I would like to ask your opinion—perhaps not looking backward, but from the other end.

A. I recommended that the regular troops be mobilized at Chickamauga, and I also recommended that a portion of the volunteer troops, after the regular troops were ordered away, be sent to Chickamauga; as that was reported to be a healthy country, free

from yellow fever. But I never anticipated that they would send 75,000 men there; and in three or four communications I recommended the Shenandoah Valley, Loudoun Valley, the vicinity of Antietam, and other places. I had nothing to do with the selecting of Camp Alger. There were twelve regiments there before I knew that that had been selected.

Q. Did Major Seyburn, of your staff, go over there and see Camp Alger and recommend it as suitable?

A. Major Seyburn was detailed on duty here at Washington, and temporarily assigned to my headquarters, but he reported direct to the Secretary of War, and his report was made addressed to the Adjunct-General. I do not understand that he ever recommended Camp Alger. He recommended a place near Falls Church.

[. . .]

By Governor Woodbury:

Q. What do you think of the camp at Jacksonville?

A. That was a very fair ground. Fernandina was a very suitable ground. The advantage of those two places was that the men had a chance to bathe in salt water—the same with Miami. Miami has been a place of refuge for over thirty years, and when the yellow fever threatened the garrison at Key West they would move the troops up to Miami. It is on the coast where they have the advantage of sea bathing, and it is considered a healthy place. There was a large amount of sickness there from typhoid fever, but in some cases it was probably brought there, and in others was caused through using surface water rather than artesian wells, which should have been sunk below the surface water.

Q. What was your judgment, General, in regard to Tampa for the purpose it was used for—the congregation and shipping of troops?

A. If we were going to send a large force—as it was, there were 70,000 men ordered to Havana—it was the best place that could be found, for this reason: Nine steamers could be loaded at the same time, and it was much nearer Havana than Mobile, New Orleans, Savannah, or other places along the coast.

Q. In your judgment, were the troops left there any too long after the first expedition sailed?

A. It was expected that they would be sent with the second expedition. I intended to have cleared it out entirely of troops. In one of my communications I stated if certain disposition were made it would leave the troops at Miami, Jacksonville, Fernandina, and Chickamauga, and nothing south of that. At the time yellow fever was threatened in the Gulf States—there were several cases of it in Mississippi—and the purpose was to get the troops away from Tampa, and it was expected that they would follow the first expedition immediately.

Q. Is it not a fact, General, that it is much easier to criticise the location of the camps now than it was in the first place?

A. I will say in continuation of that remark that, before starting for Porto Rico, while in Cuba, I requested that the troops at Miami, which were composed of men from Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi,

Alabama, Georgia, and Florida, be sent to Porto Rico. The object was to get troops from the South, who were accustomed to a warm climate, and also to take them away from that part of the United States.

Q. What criticism have you to make, General, of any of the camp sites that have been selected during the war with Spain?

A. In my judgment this one over here (Camp Alger) was the most objectionable of any.

Q. On account of what, General, please?

A. On account of its low ground, the known character of the country—it is known to be a country infested with typhoid—and its distance from facilities for bathing. There are three things required to preserve the health of men, and the most important one is cleanliness, and the next, to keep the men dry and properly sheltered, with change of clothing etc., and the third, wholesome food; and if you violate any one of these requirements your men are bound to be sick and debilitated.

Q. Were the grounds at Camp Alger of sufficient extent, in your judgment, for the use of the number of troops that were put there?

A. I think it was a bad location anyway.

Q. But as to the extent; can you say anything about that?

A. I was surprised when I saw it that troops would be located in a place like that.

Source: *Report of the Commission Appointed by the President to Investigate the Conduct of the War Department in the War with Spain*, Vol. 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1900).

95. William McKinley, Instructions to the Peace Commission, September 16, 1898

Introduction

The Republican president William McKinley chose five people to serve on the Peace Commission, whose task was to negotiate with Spain. The commissioners included three senators, Cushman Davis, William Frye, and George Gray. Davis was the Republican chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and strongly supported an expansionist policy. Frye was also a Republican who supported expansionism. McKinley knew that it would be politically unwise to pack the commission with his own supporters. So, he convinced Senator Gray, who belonged to the opposition Democratic Party and was against expansionism, to serve on the commission. The fourth member, William Day, was an old friend of the president and had served him as secretary of state. Day served as president of the Peace Commission. The fifth member was another vocal supporter of expansionist policy, Whitelaw Reid. McKinley chose Reid because, like McKinley, Reid was from Ohio. Moreover, Reid was a prominent newspaper editor, and McKinley expected that Reid would be able to

help control the way the world's press reported on the Peace Commission. In these instructions the president specified his expectations and requirements for a peace treaty with Spain.

Primary Source

By a protocol signed at Washington August 12, 1898, a copy of which is herewith inclosed, it was agreed that the United States and Spain would each appoint not more than five Commissioners to treat of peace, and that the commissioners so appointed should meet at Paris not later than October 1, 1898, and proceed to the negotiation and conclusion of a treaty of peace, which treaty should be subject to ratification according to the respective constitutional forms of the two countries.

For the purpose of carrying into effect this stipulation, I have appointed you as commissioners on the part of the United States to meet and confer with commissioners on the part of Spain.

As an essential preliminary to the agreement to appoint commissioners to treat of peace, this government required of that of Spain the unqualified concession of the following precise demands:

- (1) The relinquishment of all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba.
- (2) The cession to the United States of Porto Rico and other islands under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies.
- (3) The cession of an island in the Ladrões, to be selected by the United States.
- (4) The immediate evacuation by Spain of Cuba, Porto Rico, and other Spanish islands in the West Indies.
- (5) The occupation by the United States of the city, bay, and harbor of Manila pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which should determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines.

These demands were conceded by Spain, and their concession was, as you will perceive, solemnly recorded in the protocol of the 12th of August.

By article 1 of that instrument Spain agreed to “relinquish all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba.”

By article 2 she agreed to “cede to the United States the island of Porto Rico and other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies, and also an island in the Ladrões, to be selected by the United States.”

By article 3 it was declared that the United States would “occupy and hold the city, bay, and harbor of Manila pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which shall determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines.”

By article 4 provision was made for the immediate evacuation of Cuba, Porto Rico, and other Spanish islands in the West Indies, as follows:

Spain will immediately evacuate Cuba, Porto Rico, and other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies; and to this end each Government will, within ten days after

the signing of this protocol, appoint Commissioners, and the Commissioners so appointed shall, within thirty days after the signing of this protocol, meet at Habana for the purpose of arranging and carrying out the details of the aforesaid evacuation of Cuba and the adjacent Spanish islands; and each Government will, within ten days after the signing of this protocol, also appoint other Commissioners, who shall, within thirty days after the signing of this protocol, meet at San Juan, in Porto Rico, for the purpose of arranging and carrying out the details of the aforesaid evacuation of Porto Rico and other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies.

The commissioners referred to in the foregoing article have been appointed, and they are now in session at Habana and San Juan, respectively. A copy of their instructions is herewith inclosed.

By these instructions you will observe that the evacuation of Cuba, Porto Rico, and other Spanish Islands in the West Indies is treated as a military operation, and will, when carried into effect, leave the evacuated places in the military occupation of the United States. The purposes of the United States during such occupation are set forth in General Order No. 101 of the War Department of July 18, 1898, which was issued by direction of the President on the capitulation of the Spanish forces at Santiago de Cuba and in the eastern part of the Province of Santiago and the occupation of the territory by the forces of the United States. A copy of this order is hereto annexed for your information.

As the evacuation of Cuba and the other Spanish islands in the West Indies by the Spanish military forces devolves upon the United States the duty of taking possession of and holding and preserving all the immovable property therein previously belonging to the Government of Spain, the evacuation commissioners of the United States are instructed to arrange for the taking into possession and to take into possession for the United States, all public buildings and grounds, forts, fortifications, arsenals, depots, docks, wharves, piers, and other fixed property previously belonging to Spain, and to arrange for the care and safe-keeping of such property under the authority and control of the United States. Small arms and accouterments, batteries of field artillery, supply and baggage wagons, ambulances, and other impedimenta of the Spanish army in Cuba and other Spanish islands in the West Indies are to be removed, if desired, by the representatives of Spain, provided such removal shall be effected within a reasonable time; but the armament of forts, fortifications, and fixed batteries, being in the nature of immovable fixtures, are not to be allowed to be taken, but are, in connection with such forts, fortifications, and batteries, to be taken over into the possession of the United States. The instructions of the evacuation commissioners also contain appropriate clauses in regard to the custody and preservation by the United States of state papers, public records, and other papers and documents necessary or convenient for the government of the islands, as well as all ju-

dicial and legal documents and other public records necessary or convenient for securing to individuals the titles to property.

It will be proper to confirm these transactions by appropriate clauses in the treaty of peace.

Similar clauses will be inserted in respect to the island ceded to the United States in the Ladrões. This Government has selected the Island of Guam, and you are instructed to embody in the treaty of peace a proper stipulation of cession.

A rumor has reached us from various quarters to the effect that the Spanish Peace Commissioners will be instructed to claim compensation for the public property of the Spanish Government in Cuba, as well as in territories agreed to be ceded to the United States. This rumor is not credited, but it is proper to make a few observations upon it. No such claim on the part of the Spanish Government is to be entertained in respect to any territory which Spain either cedes to the United States or as to which she relinquishes her sovereignty and title. The cession of territory or the relinquishment of sovereignty over and title to it is universally understood to carry with it the public property of the Government by which the cession or relinquishment is made. Any claim, therefore, on the part of Spain, such as that above suggested, would be inconsistent with the express agreements embodied in the protocol.

In the correspondence leading up to the signature of that instrument you will observe that this Government waived, for the time being, the requirement of a pecuniary indemnity from Spain. This concession was made in the hope that Spain would thereby be enabled promptly to accept our terms. But if the Spanish Commissioners should, contrary to our just expectations, put forward and insist upon a claim for compensation for public property, you are instructed to put forward as a counterclaim a demand for an indemnity for the cost of the war.

By article 6 of the protocol it was agreed that hostilities between the two countries should be suspended, and that notice to that effect should be given as soon as possible by each Government to the commanders of its military and naval forces. Such notice was given by the Government of the United States immediately after the signature of the protocol, the forms of the necessary orders having previously been prepared. But before notice could reach the commanders of the military and naval forces of the United States in the Philippines they captured and took possession by conquest of the city of Manila and its suburbs, which are therefore held by the United States by conquest as well as by virtue of the protocol.

In view of what has taken place it is necessary now to determine what shall be our future relations to the Philippines. Before giving you specific instructions on this subject it is my desire to present certain general considerations.

It is my wish that throughout the negotiations intrusted to the Commission the purpose and spirit with which the United States accepted the unwelcome necessity of war should be kept constantly in view. We took up arms only in obedience to the dictates of humanity and in the fulfillment of high public and moral obligations.

We had no design of aggrandizement and no ambition of conquest. Through the long course of repeated representations which preceded and aimed to avert the struggle, and in the final arbitrament of force, this country was impelled solely by the purpose of relieving grievous wrongs and removing long-existing conditions which disturbed its tranquillity, which shocked the moral sense of mankind, and which could no longer be endured.

It is my earnest wish that the United States in making peace should follow the same high rule of conduct which guided it in facing war. It should be as scrupulous and magnanimous in the concluding settlement as it was just and humane in its original action. The luster and the moral strength attaching to a cause which can be confidently rested upon the considerate judgment of the world should not under any illusion of the hour be dimmed by ulterior designs which might tempt us into excessive demands or into an adventurous departure on untried paths. It is believed that the true glory and the enduring interests of the country will most surely be served if an unselfish duty conscientiously accepted and a signal triumph honorably achieved shall be crowned by such an example of moderation, restraint, and reason in victory as best comports with the traditions and character of our enlightened Republic.

Our aim in the adjustment of peace should be directed to lasting results and to the achievement of the common good under the demands of civilization, rather than to ambitious designs. The terms of the protocol were framed upon this consideration. The abandonment of the Western Hemisphere by Spain was an imperative necessity. In presenting that requirement, we only fulfilled a duty universally acknowledged. It involves no ungenerous reference to our recent foe, but simply a recognition of the plain teachings of history, to say that it was not compatible with the assurance of permanent peace on and near our own territory that the Spanish flag should remain on this side of the sea. This lesson of events and of reason left no alternative as to Cuba, Porto Rico, and the other islands belonging to Spain in this hemisphere.

The Philippines stand upon a different basis. It is nonetheless true, however, that without any original thought of complete or even partial acquisition, the presence and success of our arms at Manila imposes upon us obligations which we cannot disregard. The march of events rules and overrules human action. Avowing unreservedly the purpose which has animated all our effort, and still solicitous to adhere to it, we cannot be unmindful that, without any desire or design on our part, the war has brought us new duties and responsibilities which we must meet and discharge as becomes a great nation on whose growth and career from the beginning the ruler of nations has plainly written the high command and pledge of civilization.

Incidental to our tenure in the Philippines is the commercial opportunity to which American statesmanship cannot be indifferent. It is just to use every legitimate means for the enlargement of American trade; but we seek no advantages in the Orient which are not common to all. Asking only the open door for ourselves,

we are ready to accord the open door to others. The commercial opportunity which is naturally and inevitably associated with this new opening depends less on large territorial possession than upon an adequate commercial basis and upon broad and equal privileges.

It is believed that in the practical application of these guiding principles the present interests of our country and the proper measure of its duty, its welfare in the future, and the consideration of its exemption from unknown perils will be found in full accord with the just, moral, and humane purpose which was invoked as our justification in accepting the war.

In view of what has been stated, the United States cannot accept less than the cession in full right and sovereignty of the island of Luzon. It is desirable, however, that the United States shall acquire the right of entry for vessels and merchandise belonging to citizens of the United States into such ports of the Philippines as are not ceded to the United States upon terms of equal favor with Spanish ships and merchandise, both in relation to port and customs charges and rates of trade and commerce, together with other rights of protection and trade accorded to citizens of one country within the territory of another. You are therefore instructed to demand such concession, agreeing on your part that Spain shall have similar rights as to her subjects and vessels in the ports of any territory in the Philippines ceded to the United States.

We are informed that numerous persons are now held as prisoners by the Spanish Government for political acts performed in Cuba, Porto Rico, or other Spanish islands on the West Indies, as well as in the Philippines. You are instructed to demand the release of these prisoners, so far as their acts have connection with matters involved in the settlement between the United States and Spain.

It will be desirable to insert in any treaty of peace which you may conclude a stipulation for the revival of the provisions of our former treaties with Spain, so far as they may be applicable to present conditions.

I have directed Gen. Wesley Merritt, the late commander at Manila, to report to the Commission at Paris, where he will arrive October: 2, with such information as he may possess; and it is understood he will carry with him, for the use of the Commission, the views of Admiral Dewey. To the views of these distinguished officers I invite the most careful consideration of the Commission.

It is desired that your negotiations shall be conducted with all possible expedition, in order that the treaty of peace, if you should succeed in making one, may be submitted to the Senate early in the ensuing session. Should you at any time in the course of your negotiations desire further instructions, you will ask for them without delay.

William McKinley

Source: U.S. Congress, *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States with the Annual Message of the President Transmitted to Congress December 5, 1898* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901), 904–908.

96. Whitelaw Reid, Account of the Meeting of the Peace Commissioners, September 16, 1898

Introduction

Whitelaw Reid was an important adviser to President William McKinley. In Reid's capacity as managing editor of the influential New York newspaper the *Tribune*, he had long promoted American imperial expansion. Reid and his fellow expansionists firmly believed that the United States should keep any territory it had won during the war against Spain. Reid also believed that retention of the Philippines would confer international political and economic advantages and that the United States had a moral obligation to retain the Philippines for the sake of the Filipino people. McKinley chose Reid as one of the five members of the Peace Commission, whose task was to negotiate with Spain. The other members included two Republican senators, one Democratic senator, and former secretary of state William Day. Reid maintained a diary that covers the period of the organization and performance of the Peace Commission. The following extract describes the commissioners' meeting with McKinley before they depart to begin negotiations. The one opponent of American imperialism, the Democratic senator, was not present at this meeting. Consequently, the extract provides a view of the dominant political attitude that supported an expansionist policy.

Primary Source

Finally the President indicated his desire to begin business and motioned us to seats about the table. Senator Davis had established himself at the President's left, and Senator Frye was near him; Judge Day was at the foot of the table, and the President beckoned me to take the place next to him at the right. He began by a reference to the protocol, and to the wide divergence of opinions that seemed to exist in the country as to the unsettled questions concerning the Philippines. He said he had prepared some instructions covering the main points of our duty, but had left the final decision as to the Philippines to be filled out after the present consultation. He then asked Senator Davis to express his view.

Senator Davis said his general impression was that we certainly should retain coaling stations in the Ladrões and also in the Carolines, if that were practicable. As to the Philippines he believed it to be a great opportunity for the United States with reference to trade in the East, as well as with reference to its naval power. He thought Manila of the utmost importance, but believed that the proper defense of Manila would require the territory back of it. He also thought that the islands adjoining would be found rich and desirable, and thought it would be a mistake to abandon them. As to the islands in the extreme southwestern portion of the archipelago occupied by Mohammedans, namely, Mindanao and the Sulu group, he was not clear. He thought he should be willing to let Hol-

land take them, as she had possessions in that neighborhood, was a friendly power, and not likely to be an unfriendly neighbor.

Senator Frye, who was next called on, referred particularly to the moral features of the case. [He] said that he thought that while there was some difference in New England as to the policy [of overseas expansion], and while some important newspapers like *The Boston Herald* and *Springfield Republican*, representing a considerable public sentiment, were opposed to any increase of territory, he thought the larger and better part of New England believed it impossible for the United States, with any show of consistency or morality, to return to the dominion of Spain the territories which had once been wrested from her. He had an impression that the conscience of the religious community was going to make itself felt effectively in this direction, although he admitted that he wished to get a little further light. On the whole, however, this talk was decidedly in favor of holding on to the whole of the Philippines as well as to all the Spanish West Indies. He also considered the Carolines and the Ladrões important.

Continuing on around the table, the President next called on Judge Day, who spoke in a strongly conservative sense against the desirability of any further territorial acquisition by the United States. He believed that with Cuba, [and] Puerto Rico in the Spanish West Indies, which he thought it clear that we would be compelled to retain, or be responsible for, we had already undertaken a very large task. He would like to get out of the Philippines with the least possible responsibility in that quarter. They were remote, had no direct relation to us, [and] would not have been thought of as a desirable acquisition but for the war; he did not see why the war had made them any more desirable. They comprised a great multitude of islands, anywhere from six hundred to several thousand, embraced a great variety of races, pure and mixed, including many still in a state of savagery, and also a great variety of religions. A large section at the south was under the control of Mohammedans, who had never been conquered by Spain, and who were believed to be depraved, intractable, and piratical. He thought the United States had enough on its hands now, that it had really not taken possession of this portion of the Philippines, at least, or indeed any portion excepting the harbor and bay of Manila, and that it was under no obligation to assume responsibility for any more. To the humanitarian argument that having freed them from the yoke of Spain we ought not to return them to it, he replied first that we had not freed them excepting in Manila, and second that there must be a limit to our humanitarian enterprises. Because we had done good in one place, we were not there fore compelled to rush over the whole civilized world, six thousand miles away from home, to undertake tasks of that sort among people about whom we knew nothing, and with whom we had no relation. Judge Day's statement was given with a good deal of precision of manner, following notes which he had evidently jotted down in advance, and was undoubtedly effective.

The President next called on me. I began by reference to his talk the previous evening about the temper of the volunteer army, first asking his leave to refer to it. I spoke of this as undoubtedly serious, but insisted that it would be a great mistake to base a permanent policy affecting the largest questions of national interest on territorial expansion upon a purely temporary condition arising from malaria among the new troops, and the prevalence of nostalgia. Leaving out of sight, therefore, what had seemed to me the argument having the greatest weight in the minds of those opposed to taking any more [territory] than we could help, I rapidly repeated first some of the argument in my Century article as to the clear obligation upon us not to leave Cuba without, at least, a better government than the one we had destroyed. [We could not] return to Spanish rule, which we had declared too bad to be endured in the West Indies, any country which the fortunes of war had enabled us to free from the same rule in the West Indies. I dwelt upon the obvious necessity for coaling stations, spoke of the desirability of getting a point in the Carolines as well as in the Ladrões, and referred to a communication from Edmund L. Baylies, Vice-President of the Scrymser Pacific Cable company, as to the necessity of one island in the Carolines as a landing point for a cable stretching from San Francisco to Manila, with landing points only on United States territory.

I then spoke of the various schemes which had been presented with reference to the Philippine mentioning the proposals: (1) that we should take only Manila; (2) that we should take only Luzon; (3) that we should divide Luzon at the peninsula in the southern part; (4) that we should turn Manila into a free city, like the cities of the Hanseatic League, guaranteeing its independence; (5) that we should take all of the Philippines excepting the Mohammedan part; and (6) that we should take the whole of [the islands]. I spoke of the great importance of the Philippines with reference to trade in China, of the difficulty morally of taking one part and abandoning the rest to Spain, and of the political difficulties flowing from the same policy, which, it seemed to me, would be merely organizing in a worse shape exactly the trouble we had been suffering from in the West Indies for the past three quarters of a century. The islands it was proposed to abandon to Spain were much nearer to Luzon than Cuba or Puerto Rico were to Key West, the necessities of constant intercourse were much greater, and it was obvious that the friction would be constant and the provocations to war far greater. I believed it too difficult to hold Manila alone without the island to which it belonged, or to hold any other harbor on Luzon. The hinterland seemed to be a necessity.

I believed also that the commerce of the Philippines themselves with the United States would be very considerable. Our possession of them would give us an enormous advantage in the vastly greater commerce that might be cultivated with China. I believed their possession valuable to the whole country, but especially important to the Pacific coast. We were at present at a disadvantage in commerce on the Atlantic Ocean, and could hardly expect in our time, or in that of the next generation, to catch up with Great Britain. We already had, how-

ever, an enormous advantage on the Pacific Ocean. The acquisition of the Sandwich Islands [Hawaii] greatly strengthened us in this field. If to this we now added the Philippines, it would be possible for American energy to build up such a commercial marine on the Pacific coast as should ultimately convert the Pacific Ocean into an American lake, making it far more our own than the Atlantic Ocean is now Great Britain's. Such a possession therefore would tend to stimulate our shipbuilding industry and commerce, and could not but add immensely to the national prosperity.

I strongly deprecated the idea of making two bites of the cherry. I was not so much concerned about whether it would be immediately popular or not, though on this point I had little doubt of the popular tendency. What concerned me more was whether it should be left to the people of a succeeding generation to dwell on the magnificent opportunities that Providence had thrown in our way, and to record that the men in charge of public affairs at that time were unable to comprehend or grasp their opportunities, and had thus thrown away the magnificent future that should have belonged to the nation.

I stated the proposition that the commerce which existed of necessity, and should naturally therefore give the greatest profit, was that between the inhabitants of different zones, exchanging articles which, in each case, the other needed and could not produce. Commerce between inhabitants of the same zone was less natural and less necessary. The articles which one people could produce, another people might under similar circumstances produce, and the trade might thus be imperiled or destroyed. Our true national interest, therefore, was to seek a development for our commerce particularly with countries who needed what we had to sell and could not produce, and who could offer us in exchange what we needed and could not produce. The Philippines seemed to me to meet these conditions; so did China. The control of the Pacific Ocean pointed almost exclusively to a commerce under these conditions and seemed to me therefore to offer the largest and best commercial future for the country.

Source: Wayne H. Morgan, ed. *Making Peace with Spain: The Diary of Whitelaw Reid, September—December, 1898* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), 26–30.

97. Andrew Carnegie, "Distant Possessions—The Parting of the Ways," August 1898

Introduction

Shortly after the Spanish surrendered in Cuba, the prominent Scottish immigrant and self-made industrialist Andrew Carnegie pub-

lished this article. Carnegie had favored American intervention in the Western Hemisphere and urged the United States to fight for Cuban independence. However, when the same war gave the United States possession of the distant Philippines, he wrote this objection to American imperialism. Carnegie and his fellow anti-imperialists believed that the United States was making a fatal mistake in acquiring distant possessions. Carnegie argued that such a venture would overextend American resources, making the United States vulnerable to attack. The resources squandered on securing the Philippines would be diverted from improving life in the United States. Carnegie's article galvanized the supporters of imperialism including Senator Albert Beveridge of Indiana, who responded with his most famous speech, "The March of the Flag." Secretary of State John Hay wrote dismissively of Carnegie, essentially calling him insane. Carnegie later offered to pay Spain the required \$20 million purchase price for the Philippine Islands so that he could free them. In 1900, the anti-imperialist Democratic presidential candidate, William Jennings Bryan, lost to the incumbent Republican William McKinley.

Primary Source

Twice only have the American people been called upon to decide a question of such vital import as that now before them.

Is the Republic, the apostle of Triumphant Democracy, of the rule of the people, to abandon her political creed and endeavor to establish in other lands the rule of the foreigner over the people, Triumphant Despotism?

Is the Republic to remain one homogeneous whole, one united people, or to become a scattered and disjointed aggregate of widely separated and alien races?

Is she to continue the task of developing her vast continent until it holds a population as great as that of Europe, all Americans, or to abandon that destiny to annex, and to attempt to govern, other far distant parts of the world as outlying possessions, which can never be integral parts of the Republic?

Is she to exchange internal growth and advancement for the development of external possessions which can never be really hers in any fuller sense than India is British or Cochin China French? Such is the portentous question of the day. Two equally important questions the American people have decided wisely, and their flag now waves over the greater portion of the English-speaking race; their country is the richest of all countries, first in manufactures, in mining, and in commerce (home and foreign), first this year also in exports. But, better than this, the average condition of its people in education and in living is the best. The luxuries of the masses in other lands are the necessities of life in ours. The school-house and the church are nowhere so widely distributed. Progress in the arts and sciences is surprising. In international affairs her influence grows so fast, and foreshadows so much, that one of the foremost statesmen has recently warned Europe that it must combine against her if it is to hold its own in the industrial world. The Republic remains one solid whole, its estate inclosed in a ring fence, united, impregnable, triumphant, clearly destined to become the foremost

power of the world, if she continue to follow the true path. Such are the fruits of wise judgment in deciding the two great issues of the past, Independence and Union.

In considering the issue now before us, the agitator, the demagogue, has no part. Not feeling, not passion, but deliberate judgment alone, should have place. The question should be calmly weighed; it is not a matter of party, nor of class; for the fundamental interest of every citizen is a common interest, that which is best for the poorest being best for the richest. Let us, therefore, reason together, and be well assured, before we change our position, that we are making no plunge into an abyss. Happily, we have the experience of others to guide us, the most instructive being that of our own race in Great Britain.

There are two kinds of national possessions, one colonies, the other dependencies. In the former we establish and reproduce our own race. Thus Britain has peopled Canada and Australia with English-speaking people, who have naturally adopted our ideas of self-government. That the world has benefited thereby goes without saying that Britain has done a great work as the mother of nations is becoming more and more appreciated the more the student learns of world-wide affairs. No nation that ever existed has done so much for the progress of the world as the little islands in the North Sea known as Britain.

With dependencies it is otherwise. The most grievous burden which Britain has upon her shoulders is that of India, for there it is impossible for our race to grow. The child of English-speaking parents must be removed and reared in Britain. The British Indian official must have long respites in his native land. India means death to our race. The characteristic feature of a dependency is that the acquiring power cannot reproduce its own race there.

Inasmuch as the territories outside our own continent which our country may be tempted to annex cannot be colonies, but only dependencies, we need not dwell particularly upon the advantages or disadvantages of the former, although the writer is in thorough accord with Disraeli, who said even of colonies: "Our colonies are millstones round the neck of Britain; they lean upon us while they are weak, and leave us when they become strong." This is just what our Republic did with Britain.

There was something to be said for colonies from the point of view of pecuniary gain in the olden days, when they were treated as the legitimate spoil of the conqueror. It is Spain's fatal mistake that she has never realized that it is impossible to follow this policy in our day. Britain is the only country which has realized this truth. British colonies have complete self-government; they even tax the products of their own motherland. That Britain possesses her colonies is a mere figure of speech; that her colonies possess her is nearer the truth. "Our Colonial Empire" seems a big phrase, but, as far as material benefits are concerned, the balance is the other way. Thus, even loyal Canada trades more with us than with Britain. She buys her Union Jacks in New York. Trade does not follow the flag in our day; it scents the lowest price current. There is no patriotism in exchanges.

Some of the organs of manufacturing interests, we observe, favor foreign possessions as necessary or helpful markets for our products. But the exports of the United States this year are greater than those of any other nation in the world. Even Britain's exports are less, yet Britain possesses, it is said, a hundred colonies and dependencies scattered all over the world. The fact that the United States has none does not prevent her products and manufactures from invading Japan, China, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and all parts of the world in competition with those of Britain. Possession of colonies or dependencies is not necessary for trade reasons. What her colonies are valued for, and justly so, by Britain, is the happiness and pride which the mother feels in her children. The instinct of motherhood is gratified, and no one living places a higher estimate upon the sentiment than I do. Britain is the kindest of mothers, and well deserves the devotion of her children.

If we could establish colonies of Americans, and grow Americans in any part of the world now unpopulated and unclaimed by any of the great powers, and thus follow the example of Britain, heart and mind might tell us that we should have to think twice, yea, thrice, before deciding adversely. Even then our decision should be adverse; but there is at present no such question before us. What we have to face is the question whether we should embark upon the difficult and dangerous policy of undertaking the government of alien races in lands where it is impossible for our own race to be produced.

As long as we remain free from distant possessions we are impregnable against serious attack; yet, it is true, we have to consider what obligations may fall upon us of an international character requiring us to send our forces to points beyond our own territory. Up to this time we have disclaimed all intention to interfere with affairs beyond our own continent, and only claimed the right to watch over American interests according to the Monroe Doctrine, which is now firmly established. This carries with it serious responsibilities, no doubt, which we cannot escape. European nations must consult us upon territorial questions pertaining to our continent, but this makes no tremendous demand upon our military or naval forces. We are at home, as it were, near our base, and sure of the support of the power in whose behalf and on whose request we may act. If it be found essential to possess a coaling-station at Porto Rico for future possible, though not probable, contingencies, there is no insuperable objection. Neither would the control of the West Indies be alarming if pressed upon us by Britain, since the islands are small and the populations must remain insignificant and without national aspirations. Besides, they are upon our own shores, American in every sense. Their defense by us would be easy. No protest need be entered against such legitimate and peaceful expansion in our own hemisphere, should events work in that direction. I am no "Little" American, afraid of growth, either in population or territory, provided always that the new territory be American, and that it will produce Americans, and not foreign races bound in time to be false to the Republic in order to be true to themselves.

As I write, the cable announces the annexation of Hawaii, which is more serious; but the argument for this has been the necessity for holding the only coaling-station in the Pacific so situated as to be essential to any power desirous of successfully attacking our Pacific coast. Until the Nicaragua Canal is made, it is impossible to deny the cogency of this contention. We need not consider it a measure of offense or aggression, but as strictly defensive. The population of the islands is so small that national aspirations are not to be encountered, which is a great matter. Nor is it obtained by conquest. It is ours by a vote of its people, which robs its acquisition of many dangers. Let us hope that our far-outlying possessions may end with Hawaii.

To reduce it to the concrete, the question is: Shall we attempt to establish ourselves as a power in the far East and possess the Philippines for glory? The glory we already have, in Dewey's victory overcoming the power of Spain in a manner which adds one more to the many laurels of the American navy, which, from its infancy till now, has divided the laurels with Britain upon the sea. The Philippines have about seven and a half millions of people, composed of races bitterly hostile to one another, alien races, ignorant of our language and institutions. Americans cannot be grown there. The islands have been exploited for the benefit of Spain, against whom they have twice rebelled, like the Cubans. But even Spain has received little pecuniary benefit from them. The estimated revenue of the Philippines in 1894–95 was £2,715,980, the expenditure being £2,656,026, leaving a net result of about \$300,000. The United States could obtain even this trifling sum from the inhabitants only by oppressing them as Spain has done. But, if we take the Philippines, we shall be forced to govern them as generously as Britain governs her dependencies, which means that they will yield us nothing, and probably be a source of annual expense. Certainly they will be a grievous drain upon revenue if we consider the enormous army and navy which we shall be forced to maintain upon their account.

There are many objections to our undertaking the government of dependencies; one I venture to submit as being peculiar to ourselves. We should be placed in a wrong position. Consider Great Britain in India today. She has established schools and taught the people our language. In the Philippines, we may assume that we should do the same, and with similar results. To travel through India as an American is a point of great advantage if one wishes to know the people of India and their aspirations. They unfold to Americans their inmost thoughts, which they very naturally withhold from their masters, the British. When in India, I talked with many who had received an English education in the British schools, and found that they had read and pondered most upon Cromwell and Hampden, Wallace and Bruce and Tell, upon Washington and Franklin. The Briton is sowing the seed of rebellion with one hand in his schools—for education makes rebels—while with the other he is oppressing patriots who desire the independence of their country. The national patriotism upon which a Briton plumes himself he must repress in India. It is only a matter of time when India, the so-called gem of the British

crown, is to glitter red again. British control of India is rendered possible today only by the division of races, or rather of religions, there. The Hindus and Mohammedans still mistrust each other more than they do the British, but caste is rapidly passing away, and religious prejudices are softening. Whenever this distrust disappears, Britain is liable to be expelled, at a loss of life and treasure which cannot be computed. The aspirations of a people for independent existence are seldom repressed, nor, according to American ideas hitherto, should they be. If it be a noble aspiration for the Indian or the Cuban, as it was for the citizen of the United States himself, and for the various South American republics once under Spain, to have a country to live and, if necessary, to die for, why is not the revolt noble which the man of the Philippines has been making against Spain? Is it possible that the Republic is to be placed in the position of the suppressor of the Philippine struggle for independence? Surely, that is impossible. With what face shall we hang in the school-houses of the Philippines our own Declaration of Independence, and yet deny independence to them! What response will the heart of the Philippine Islander make as he reads of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation? Are we to practise independence and preach subordination, to teach rebellion in our books, yet to stamp it out with our swords, to sow the seed of revolt and expect the harvest of loyalty? President McKinley's call for volunteers to fight for Cuban independence against the cruel dominion of Spain meets with prompt response, but who would answer the call of the President of an "imperial" republic for free citizens to fight the Washington and slaughter the patriots of some distant dependency which struggles for independence?

It has hitherto been the glorious mission of the Republic to establish upon secure foundations Triumphant Democracy, and the world now understands government of the people, for the people, and by the people. Tires the Republic so soon of its mission, that it must, perforce, discard it to undertake the impossible task of establishing Triumphant Despotism, the rule of the foreigner over the people? And must the millions of the Philippines who have been asserting their God-given right to govern themselves be the first victims of Americans, whose proudest boast is that they conquered independence for themselves?

Let another phase of the question be carefully weighed. Europe is today an armed camp, not chiefly because the home territories of its various nations are threatened, but because of fear of aggressive action upon the part of other nations touching outlying "possessions." France resents British control of Egypt, and is fearful of its West African possessions; Russia seeks Chinese territory, with a view to expansion to the Pacific; Germany also seeks distant possessions; Britain, who has acquired so many dependencies, is so fearful of an attack upon them that this year she is spending nearly eighty millions of dollars upon additional war-ships, and Russia, Germany, and France follow suit. Japan is a new element of anxiety; and by the end of the year it is computed she will have sixty-seven formidable ships of war. The naval powers of Europe, and Japan also, are apparently determined to be prepared for a terrific struggle

for possessions in the far East, close to the Philippines—and why not for these islands themselves? Into this vortex the Republic is cordially invited to enter by those powers who expect her policy to be of benefit to them, but her action is jealously watched by those who fear that her power might be used against them.

It has never been considered the part of wisdom to thrust one's hand into the hornet's nest, and it does seem as if the United States must lose all claim to ordinary prudence and good sense if she enter this arena and become involved in the intrigues and threats of war which make Europe an armed camp.

It is the parting of the ways. We have a continent to populate and develop; there are only twenty-three persons to the square mile in the United States. England has three hundred and seventy, Belgium five hundred and seventy-one, Germany two hundred and fifty. A tithe of the cost of maintaining our sway over the Philippines would improve our internal waterways; build the Nicaragua Canal; construct a waterway to the ocean from the Great Lakes, an inland canal along the Atlantic seaboard, and a canal across Florida, saving eight hundred miles' distance between New York and New Orleans; connect Lake Michigan with the Mississippi; deepen all the harbors upon the lakes; build a canal from Lake Erie to the Allegheny River; slack-water through movable dams the entire length of the Ohio River to Cairo; thoroughly improve the Lower and Upper Mississippi, and all our seaboard harbors. All these enterprises would be as nothing in cost in comparison with the sums required for the experiment of possessing the Philippine Islands, seven thousand miles from our shores. If the object be to render our Republic powerful among nations, can there be any doubt as to which policy is the better? To be more powerful at home is the surest way to be more powerful abroad. Today the Republic stands the friend of all nations, the ally of none; she has no ambitious designs upon the territory of any power upon another continent; she crosses none of their ambitious designs, evokes no jealousy of the bitter sort, inspires no fears; she is not one of them, scrambling for possessions; she stands apart, pursuing her own great mission, and teaching all nations by example. Let her become a power annexing foreign territory, and all is changed in a moment.

If we are to compete with other nations for foreign possessions, we must have a navy like theirs. It should be superior to any other navy, or we play a second part. It is not enough to have a navy equal to that of Russia or of France, for Russia and France may combine against us just as they may against Britain. We at once enter the field as a rival of Britain, the chief possessor of foreign possessions, and who can guarantee that we shall not even have to measure our power against her?

What it means to enter the list of military and naval powers having foreign possessions may be gathered from the following considerations. First, look at our future navy. If it is only to equal that of France it means fifty-one battle-ships; if of Russia, forty battleships. If we cannot play the game without being at least the equal of any of our rivals, then eighty battle-ships is the number

Britain possesses. We now have only four, with five building. Cruisers, armed and unarmed, swell the number threefold, Britain having two hundred and seventy-three ships of the line built or ordered, with three hundred and eight torpedo-boats in addition; France having one hundred and thirty-four ships of the line and two hundred and sixty-nine torpedo-boats. All these nations are adding ships rapidly. Every armor- and gun-making plant in the world is busy night and day. Ships are indispensable, but recent experience shows that soldiers are equally so. While the immense armies of Europe need not be duplicated, yet we shall certainly be too weak unless our army is at least twenty times what it has been—say five hundred thousand men. Even then we shall be powerless as against any one of three of our rivals—Germany, France, and Russia.

This drain upon the resources of these countries has become a necessity from their respective positions, largely as graspers for foreign possessions. The United States today, happily, has no such necessity, her neighbors being powerless against her, since her possessions are concentrated and her power is one solid mass.

Today two great powers in the world are compact, developing themselves in peace throughout vast conterminous territories. When war threatens they have no outlying possessions which can never be really "possessed," but which they are called upon to defend. They fight upon the exposed edge only of their own soil in case of attack, and are not only invulnerable, but they could not be more than inconvenienced by the world in arms against them. These powers are Russia and the United States. The attempt of Britain to check Russia, if the wild counsels of Mr. Chamberlain were followed, could end in nothing but failure. With the irresistible force of the glacier, Russia moves upon the plains below. Well for Russia, and well for the world, is her advance over pagan China, better even for Britain from the standpoint of business, for every Russian today trades as much with Britain as do nine Chinamen. Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Spain, are all vulnerable, having departed from the sagacious policy of keeping possessions and power concentrated. Should the United States depart from this policy, she also must be so weakened in consequence as never to be able to play the commanding part in the world, disjointed, that she can play whenever she desires if she remain compact.

Whether the United States maintain its present unique position of safety, or forfeit it through acquiring foreign possessions, is to be decided by its action in regard to the Philippines; for, fortunately, the independence of Cuba is assured; for this the Republic has proclaimed to the world that she has drawn the sword. But why should the less than two millions of Cuba receive national existence and the seven and a half millions of the Philippines be denied it? The United States, thus far in their history, have no page reciting self-sacrifice made for others; all their gains have been for themselves. This void is now to be grandly filled. The page which recites the resolve of the Republic to rid her neighbor, Cuba, from the foreign possessor will grow brighter with the passing centuries, which may

dim many pages now deemed illustrious. Should the coming American be able to point to Cuba and the Philippines rescued from foreign domination and enjoying independence won for them by his country and given to them without money and without price, he will find no citizen of any other land able to claim for his country services so disinterested and so noble.

We repeat, there is no power in the world that could do more than inconvenience the United States by attacking its fringe, which is all that the world combined could do, so long as our country is not compelled to send its forces beyond its own compact shores to defend worthless possessions. If our country were blockaded by the united powers of the world for years, she would emerge from the embargo richer and stronger, and with her own resources more completely developed. We have little to fear from external attack. No thorough blockade of our enormous seaboard is possible; but even if it were, the few indispensable articles not produced by ourselves (if there were any such) would reach us by way of Mexico or Canada at slightly increased cost.

From every point of view we are forced to the conclusion that the past policy of the Republic is her true policy for the future; for safety, for peace, for happiness, for progress, for wealth, for power—for all that makes a nation blessed.

Not till the war-drum is silent, and the day of calm peace returns, can the issue be soberly considered.

Twice have the American people met crucial issues wisely, and in the third they are not to fail.

Source: Andrew Carnegie, *The Gospel of Wealth and Other Timely Essays* (New York: Century, 1901).

98. Albert J. Beveridge, "The March of the Flag," 1898

Introduction

The United States entered into the Spanish-American War to free Cuba from Spanish domination. In the course of achieving that objective, the United States also acquired control of Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. Among these conquests, only the Philippines, halfway around the world, presented a dilemma. The Filipino people had long desired and fought for independence. The American people were far from unanimous on the question of retaining the Philippines, and the ensuing Philippine-American War proved highly divisive in the United States. Keeping the Philippines, over the objections of its people, represented an enormous departure from previous American foreign policy and propelled the nation into the ranks of imperial powers. Albert J. Beveridge, a Republican senator from Indiana, was a strong supporter of U.S. imperialism. He made a campaign speech in Indianapolis on September 16, 1898, during which he tried to rally public enthusiasm for the expansion of U.S. territory and the acquisition of overseas possessions. He ar-

gued that not only did expansion impart commercial and political advantages to the United States but that Americans had a moral obligation to bring the benefits of democracy to other nations. The speech was later adapted for publication as an article.

Primary Source

It is a noble land that God has given us; a land that can feed and clothe the world; a land whose coastlines would enclose half the countries of Europe; a land set like a sentinel between the two imperial oceans of the globe, a greater England with a nobler destiny.

It is a mighty people that He has planted on this soil; a people sprung from the most masterful blood of history; a people perpetually revitalized by the virile, man-producing working folk of all the earth; a people imperial by virtue of their power, by right of their institutions, by authority of their Heaven-directed purposes—the propagandists and not the misers of liberty.

It is a glorious history our God has bestowed upon His chosen people; a history heroic with faith in our mission and our future; a history of statesmen who flung the boundaries of the Republic out into unexplored lands and savage wilderness; a history of soldiers who carried the flag across blazing deserts and through the ranks of hostile mountains, even to the gates of sunset; a history of a multiplying people who overran a continent in half a century; a history of prophets who saw the consequences of evils inherited from the past and of martyrs who died to save us from them; a history divinely logical, in the process of whose tremendous seasoning we find ourselves to-day.

Therefore, in this campaign, the question is larger than a party question. It is an American question. It is a world question. Shall the American people continue their march toward the commercial supremacy of the world? Shall free institutions broaden their blessed reign as the children of liberty wax in strength, until the empire of our principles is established over the hearts of all mankind?

Have we no mission to perform, no duty to discharge to our fellowman? Has God endowed us with gifts beyond our deserts and marked us as the people of His peculiar favor, merely to rot in our own selfishness, as men and nations must, who take cowardice for their companion and self for their deity—as China has, as India has, as Egypt has?

Shall we be as the man who had one talent and hid it, or as he who had ten talents and use them until they grew to riches? And shall we reap the reward that waits on our discharge of our high duty; shall we occupy new markets for what our farmers raise, our factories make, our merchants sell—aye, and, please God, new markets for what our ships shall carry?

Hawaii is ours, Puerto Rico is to be ours; at the prayer of her people Cuba finally will be ours; in the islands of the East, even to the

gates of Asia, coaling stations are to be ours at the very least; the flag of a liberal government is to float over the Philippines, and may it be the banner that Taylor unfurled in Texas and Frémont carried to the coast.

The Opposition tells us that we ought not to govern a people without their consent. I answer, The rule of liberty that all just government derives its authority from the consent of the governed, applies only to those who are capable of self-government. We govern the Indians without their consent, we govern our territories without their consent, we govern our children without their consent. How do they know that our government would be without their consent? Would not the people of the Philippines prefer the just, human, civilizing government of this Republic to the savage, bloody rule of pillage and extortion from which we have rescued them?

And, regardless of this formula of words made only for enlightened, self-governing people, do we owe no duty to the world? Shall we turn these peoples back to the reeking hands from which we have taken them? Shall we abandon them, with Germany, England, Japan, hungering for them? Shall we save them from those nations, to give them a self-rule of tragedy? . . . Then, like men and not like children, let us on to our tasks, our mission, and our destiny.

Wonderfully has God guided us. Yonder at Bunker Hill and Yorktown His providence was above us. At New Orleans and on ensanguined seas His hand sustained us. Abraham Lincoln was His minister and His was the altar of freedom the Nation's soldiers set up on a hundred battle-fields. His power directed Dewey in the East and delivered the Spanish fleet into our hands, as He delivered the elder Armada into the hands of our English sires two centuries ago. The American people can not use a dishonest medium of exchange; it is ours to set the world its example of right and honor. We can not fly from our world duties; it is ours to execute the purpose of a fate that has driven us to be greater than our small intentions. We can not retreat from any soil where Providence has unfurled our banner; it is ours to save that soil for liberty and civilization.

Source: Albert J. Beveridge, "The March of the Flag," *Chicago Tribune*, September 19, 1898.

99. Queen Liliuokalani, Official Protest against Hawaiian Annexation, June 17, 1897

Introduction

American missionaries first came to Hawaii in 1820, introducing schools, written language, Christianity, and a constitution. The United States and European powers formally recognized Hawaiian

autonomy while maneuvering behind the scenes for dominance. In 1875, the United States and Hawaii signed a reciprocity treaty that placed Hawaii firmly under U.S. domination. In 1893, American fruit and sugar growers engineered a coup that overthrew Hawaii's monarchy and immediately sought annexation by the United States. Queen Liliuokalani, who had recently ascended to the throne of Hawaii, stepped down in order to avoid bloodshed. However, the election as U.S. president of Grover Cleveland, who opposed expansion, forced the usurpers to establish the Republic of Hawaii. As relations with Spain deteriorated, U.S. authorities began to see the strategic advantages of annexing Hawaii. In 1897, the American-dominated republic signed a treaty of annexation with the United States. The deposed queen traveled to Washington and presented this formal and ultimately futile protest on June 17, 1897. The outbreak of war with Spain encouraged Congress to act, and on July 7, 1898, the United States formally annexed the Hawaiian Islands. Hawaii became the 50th state in 1959.

Primary Source

I, Liliuokalani of Hawaii, by the will of God named heir apparent on the 10th day of April, A.D. 1877, and by the grace of God Queen of the Hawaiian Islands on the 17th day of January, A.D. 1893, do hereby protest against the ratification of a certain treaty, which, so I am informed, has been signed at Washington by Messrs. Hatch, Thurston, and Kinney, purporting to cede the said islands to the territory and dominion of the United States. I declare such treaty to be an act of wrong toward the native and part-native people of Hawaii, an invasion of the rights of the ruling chiefs, in violation of international rights both toward my people and toward friendly nations with whom they have made treaties, the perpetuation of the fraud whereby the Constitutional Government was overthrown, and, finally, an act of gross injustice to me.

Because the official protests made by me on the seventeenth day of January, 1893, to the so-called Provisional Government was signed by me and received by said government with the assurance that the case was referred to the United States of America for arbitration.

Because that protest and my communications to the United States Government immediately thereafter expressly declares that I yielded my authority to the forces of the United States in order to avoid bloodshed and because I recognized the futility of a conflict with so formidable a power.

Because the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and an envoy commissioned by them reported in official documents that my government was unlawfully coerced by the forces, diplomatic and naval, of the United States, that I was at the date of their investigations the constitutional ruler of my people.

Because such decision of the recognized magistrates of the United States was officially communicated to me and to Sanford B. Dole, and said Dole's resignation requested by Albert S. Willis, the recognized agent and Minister of the Government of the United States.

Because neither the above-named commission nor the Government which sends it has ever received any such authority from the

registered voters of Hawaii, but derived its assumed powers from the so-called Committee of Public Safety, organized on or about the 7th day of January, 1893, said committee being composed largely of persons claiming American citizenship, and not one single Hawaiian was a member thereof or in any way participated in the demonstration leading to its existence.

Because my people, about 40,000 in number, have in no way been consulted by those, 3,000 in number, who claim the right to destroy the independence of Hawaii. My people constitute four-fifths of the legally qualified voters of Hawaii, and excluding those imported for the demands of labor, about the same proportion of the inhabitants.

Because said treaty ignores, not only the civic rights of my people, but, further, the hereditary property of their chiefs. Of the 4,000,000 acres composing the territory said treaty offers to annex, 1,000,000 or 915,000 acres, has in no way been heretofore recognized as other than the private property of the constitutional monarch, subject to a control in no way differing from other items of a private estate.

Because it is proposed by said treaty to confiscate said property, technically called the Crown lands, those legally entitled thereto, either now or in succession, receiving no consideration whatever for estates, their title to which has been always undisputed, and which is legitimately in my name at this date.

Because said treaty ignores not only all professions of perpetual amity and good faith made by the United States in former treaties with the sovereigns representing the Hawaiian people, but all treaties made by those sovereigns with other and friendly powers, and it is thereby in violation of international law.

Because by treating with the parties claiming at this time the right to cede said territory of Hawaii the Government of the United States receives such territory from the hands of those whom its own Magistrates (legally elected by the people of the United States and in office in 1893) pronounced fraudulently in power and unconstitutionally ruling Hawaii; therefore I, Liliuokalani of Hawaii, do hereby call upon the President of that Nation to whom alone I yielded my property and my authority, to withdraw said treaty (ceding said lands) from further consideration, I ask the honorable Senate of the United States to decline to ratify said treaty, and I implore the people of this great and good Nation, from whom my ancestors learned the Christian religion, to sustain their representatives in such acts of justice and equity as may be in accord with the principles of their fathers, and to the Almighty Ruler of the universe, to him who judgeth righteously, I commit my cause.

Done at Washington, D.C., United States of America, this 17th day of June, in the year eighteen hundred and ninety-seven.

Liliuokalani

Joseph Heleluhe, Wekeki Heleluhe, Julius A. Palmer, witnesses to signature.

Source: "Protest of Liliuokalani," *New York Times*, June 18, 1897.

100. Hawaii Annexation Act, 1898

Introduction

American missionaries first came to Hawaii in 1820, introducing schools, written language, Christianity, and a constitution. The United States and European powers formally recognized Hawaiian autonomy while maneuvering behind the scenes for dominance. In 1875, the United States and Hawaii signed a reciprocity treaty that placed Hawaii firmly under U.S. domination. American fruit and sugar growers had acquired substantial landholdings in Hawaii. In 1893, they engineered a coup that overthrew Hawaii's monarchy and immediately sought annexation by the United States. Queen Liliuokalani, who had recently ascended to the throne of Hawaii, stepped down in order to avoid bloodshed. However, the election as U.S. president of Grover Cleveland, who opposed expansion, forced the usurpers to establish the Republic of Hawaii. As relations with Spain deteriorated, U.S. authorities began to see the strategic advantages of annexing Hawaii. In 1897, the American-dominated republic signed a treaty of annexation with the United States. The deposed queen issued a formal protest, to no avail. The outbreak of war with Spain encouraged Congress to act, and on July 7, 1898, the United States formally annexed the Hawaiian Islands. Hawaii became a U.S. territory in 1900 and the 50th state in 1959.

Primary Source

Whereas the Government of the Republic of Hawaii having, in due form, signified its consent, in the manner provided by its constitution, to cede absolutely and without reserve to the United States of America all rights of sovereignty of whatsoever kind in and over the Hawaiian Islands and their dependencies, and also to cede and transfer to the United States the absolute fee and ownership of all public, Government, or Crown lands, public buildings or edifices, ports, harbors, military equipment, and all other public property of every kind and description belonging to the Government of the Hawaiian Islands, together with every right and appurtenance thereunto appertaining; Therefore

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, That said cession is accepted, ratified, and confirmed, and that the said Hawaiian Islands and their dependencies be, and they are hereby, annexed as part of the territory of the United States and are subject to the sovereign dominion thereof, and that all and singular the property and rights hereinbefore mentioned are vested in the United States of America.

The existing laws of the United States relative to public lands shall not apply to such lands in the Hawaiian Islands; but the Congress of the United States shall enact special laws for their management and disposition: *Provided,* That all revenue from or proceeds of the same, except as regards such part thereof as may be used or occupied for the civil, military, or naval purposes of the United States,

or may be assigned for the use of the local government, shall be used solely for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands for educational and other public purposes.

Until Congress shall provide for the government of such islands all the civil, judicial, and military powers exercised by the officers of the existing government in said islands shall be vested in such person or persons and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct; and the President shall have the power to remove said officers and fill the vacancies so occasioned.

The existing treaties of the Hawaiian Islands with foreign nations shall forthwith cease and determine, being replaced by such treaties as may exist, or as may be hereafter concluded, between the United States and such foreign nations. The municipal legislation of the Hawaiian Islands, not enacted for the fulfillment of the treaties so extinguished, and not inconsistent with this joint resolution nor contrary to the Constitution of the United States nor to any existing treaty of the United States, shall remain in force until the Congress of the United States shall otherwise determine.

Until legislation shall be enacted extending the United States customs laws and regulations to the Hawaiian Islands the existing customs relations of the Hawaiian Islands with the United States and other countries shall remain unchanged.

The public debt of the Republic of Hawaii, unlawfully existing at the date of the passage of this joint resolution, including the amounts due to the depositors in the Hawaiian Postal Savings Bank, is hereby assumed by the Government of the United States; but the liability of the United States in this regard shall in no case exceed four million dollars. So long, however, as the existing Government and the present commercial relations of the Hawaiian Islands are continued as hereinbefore provided said Government shall continue to pay the interest on said debt.

There shall be no further immigration of Chinese into the Hawaiian Islands, except upon such conditions as are now or may hereafter be allowed by the laws of the United States; no Chinese, by reason of anything herein contained, shall be allowed to enter the United States from the Hawaiian Islands.

Source: Hawaii Annexation Act (1898), U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record*, 55th Cong., 2nd sess., 1898.

101. Treaty of Paris, 1898

Introduction

Just three months after the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Spain sued for peace. A July 22, 1898, letter from Spain's top

diplomatic official was the first step in the long process that led to the Treaty of Paris. Spain and the United States signed a truce on August 12. The signing of the truce was followed in late September by Spanish and American peace commissioners meeting in Paris to hammer out the terms of the treaty. The conflict had been disastrous for Spain. In addition to loss of lives and the destruction of many naval vessels, Spain lost many of its colonial holdings to the United States, including Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines, although the United States agreed to pay \$20 million for the Philippines. The treaty was signed on December 10, 1898. In both nations, debate raged over ratification of the treaty, with the transfer of the Philippines generating the most conflict. The vote in Spain was so close that the queen regent was forced to ratify the treaty by decree. In the U.S. Congress, imperialists and anti-imperialists battled over what they saw as the future direction of U.S. foreign policy. The anti-imperialist William Jennings Bryan surprisingly supported the treaty, suggesting that Philippine independence could be granted at a later date. The Senate narrowly ratified the treaty on February 6, 1899.

Primary Source

The United States of America and Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain, in the name of her august son Don Alfonso XIII, desiring to end the state of war now existing between the two countries, have for that purpose appointed as plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States, William R. Day, Cushman K. Davis, William P. Frye, George Gray, and Whitelaw Reid, citizens of the United States;

And Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain,

Don Eugenio Montero Rios, president of the senate, Don Buenaventura de Abarzuza, senator of the Kingdom and ex-minister of the Crown; Don Jose de Garnica, deputy of the Cortes and associate justice of the supreme court; Don Wenceslao Ramirez de Villa-Urrutia, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Brussels, and Don Rafael Cerero, general of division;

Who, having assembled in Paris, and having exchanged their full powers, which were found to be in due and proper form, have, after discussion of the matters before them, agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I

Spain relinquishes all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba. And as the island is, upon its evacuation by Spain, to be occupied by the United States, the United States will, so long as such occupation shall last, assume and discharge the obligations that may under international law result from the fact of its occupation, for the protection of life and property.

ARTICLE II

Spain cedes to the United States the island of Porto Rico and other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies, and the island of Guam in the Marianas or Ladrone.

ARTICLE III

Spain cedes to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands, and comprehending the islands lying within the following line:

A line running from west to east along or near the twentieth parallel of north latitude, and through the middle of the navigable channel of Bachi, from the one hundred and eighteenth (118th) to the one hundred and twenty-seventh (127th) degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich, thence along the one hundred and twenty seventh (127th) degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich to the parallel of four degrees and forty five minutes (4°45') north latitude, thence along the parallel of four degrees and forty five minutes (4°45') north latitude to its intersection with the meridian of longitude one hundred and nineteen degrees and thirty five minutes (119°35') east of Greenwich, thence along the meridian of longitude one hundred and nineteen degrees and thirty five minutes (119°35') east of Greenwich to the parallel of latitude seven degrees and forty minutes (7°40') north, thence along the parallel of latitude of seven degrees and forty minutes (7°40') north to its intersection with the one hundred and sixteenth (116th) degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich, thence by a direct line to the intersection of the tenth (10th) degree parallel of north latitude with the one hundred and eighteenth (118th) degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich, and thence along the one hundred and eighteenth (118th) degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich to the point of beginning. The United States will pay to Spain the sum of twenty million dollars (\$20,000,000) within three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

ARTICLE IV

The United States will, for the term of ten years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, admit Spanish ships and merchandise to the ports of the Philippine Islands on the same terms as ships and merchandise of the United States.

ARTICLE V

The United States will, upon the signature of the present treaty, send back to Spain, at its own cost, the Spanish soldiers taken as prisoners of war on the capture of Manila by the American forces. The arms of the soldiers in question shall be restored to them.

Spain will, upon the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, proceed to evacuate the Philippines, as well as the island of Guam,

on terms similar to those agreed upon by the Commissioners appointed to arrange for the evacuation of Porto Rico and other islands in the West Indies, under the Protocol of August 12, 1898, which is to continue in force till its provisions are completely executed.

The time within which the evacuation of the Philippine Islands and Guam shall be completed shall be fixed by the two Governments. Stands of colors, uncaptured war vessels, small arms, guns of all calibres, with their carriages and accessories, powder, ammunition, live-stock, and materials and supplies of all kinds, belonging to the land and naval forces of Spain in the Philippines and Guam, remain the property of Spain. Pieces of heavy ordnance, exclusive of field artillery, in the fortifications and coast defences, shall remain in their emplacements for the term of six months, to be reckoned from the exchange of ratifications of the treaty; and the United States may, in the meantime, purchase such material from Spain, if a satisfactory agreement between the two Governments on the subject shall be reached.

ARTICLE VI

Spain will, upon the signature of the present treaty, release all prisoners of war, and all persons detained or imprisoned for political offences, in connection with the insurrections in Cuba and the Philippines and the war with the United States.

Reciprocally, the United States will release all persons made prisoners of war by the American forces, and will undertake to obtain the release of all Spanish prisoners in the hands of the insurgents in Cuba and the Philippines.

The Government of the United States will at its own cost return to Spain and the Government of Spain will at its own cost return to the United States, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, according to the situation of their respective homes, prisoners released or caused to be released by them, respectively, under this article.

ARTICLE VII

The United States and Spain mutually relinquish all claims for indemnity, national and individual, of every kind, of either Government, or of its citizens or subjects, against the other Government, that may have arisen since the beginning of the late insurrection in Cuba and prior to the exchange of ratifications of the present treaty, including all claims for indemnity for the cost of the war.

The United States will adjudicate and settle the claims of its citizens against Spain relinquished in this article.

ARTICLE VIII

In conformity with the provisions of Articles I, II, and III of this treaty, Spain relinquishes in Cuba, and cedes in Porto Rico and

other islands in the West Indies, in the island of Guam, and in the Philippine Archipelago, all the buildings, wharves, barracks, forts, structures, public highways and other immovable property which, in conformity with law, belong to the public domain, and as such belong to the Crown of Spain.

And it is hereby declared that the relinquishment or cession, as the case may be, to which the preceding paragraph refers, can not in any respect impair the property or rights which by law belong to the peaceful possession of property of all kinds, of provinces, municipalities, public or private establishments, ecclesiastical or civic bodies, or any other associations having legal capacity to acquire and possess property in the aforesaid territories renounced or ceded, or of private individuals, of whatsoever nationality such individuals may be.

The aforesaid relinquishment or cession, as the case may be, includes all documents exclusively referring to the sovereignty relinquished or ceded that may exist in the archives of the Peninsula. Where any document in such archives only in part relates to said sovereignty, a copy of such part will be furnished whenever it shall be requested. Like rules shall be reciprocally observed in favor of Spain in respect of documents in the archives of the islands above referred to.

In the aforesaid relinquishment or cession, as the case may be, are also included such rights as the Crown of Spain and its authorities possess in respect of the official archives and records, executive as well as judicial, in the islands above referred to, which relate to said islands or the rights and property of their inhabitants. Such archives and records shall be carefully preserved, and private persons shall without distinction have the right to require, in accordance with law, authenticated copies of the contracts, wills and other instruments forming part of notarial protocols or files, or which may be contained in the executive or judicial archives, be the latter in Spain or in the islands aforesaid.

ARTICLE IX

Spanish subjects, natives of the Peninsula, residing in the territory over which Spain by the present treaty relinquishes or cedes her sovereignty, may remain in such territory or may remove therefrom, retaining in either event all their rights of property, including the right to sell or dispose of such property or of its proceeds; and they shall also have the right to carry on their industry, commerce and professions, being subject in respect thereof to such laws as are applicable to other foreigners. In case they remain in the territory they may preserve their allegiance to the Crown of Spain by making, before a court of record, within a year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, a declaration of their decision to preserve such allegiance; in default of which declaration they shall be held to have renounced it and to have adopted the nationality of the territory in which they may reside.

The civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by the Congress.

ARTICLE X

The inhabitants of the territories over which Spain relinquishes or cedes her sovereignty shall be secured in the free exercise of their religion.

ARTICLE XI

The Spaniards residing in the territories over which Spain by this treaty cedes or relinquishes her sovereignty shall be subject in matters civil as well as criminal to the jurisdiction of the courts of the country wherein they reside, pursuant to the ordinary laws governing the same; and they shall have the right to appear before such courts, and to pursue the same course as citizens of the country to which the courts belong.

ARTICLE XII

Judicial proceedings pending at the time of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty in the territories over which Spain relinquishes or cedes her sovereignty shall be determined according to the following rules:

1. Judgments rendered either in civil suits between private individuals, or in criminal matters, before the date mentioned, and with respect to which there is no recourse or right of review under the Spanish law, shall be deemed to be final, and shall be executed in due form by competent authority in the territory within which such judgments should be carried out.
2. Civil suits between private individuals which may on the date mentioned be undetermined shall be prosecuted to judgment before the court in which they may then be pending or in the court that may be substituted therefor.
3. Criminal actions pending on the date mentioned before the Supreme Court of Spain against citizens of the territory which by this treaty ceases to be Spanish shall continue under its jurisdiction until final judgment; but, such judgment having been rendered, the execution thereof shall be committed to the competent authority of the place in which the case arose.

ARTICLE XIII

The rights of property secured by copyrights and patents acquired by Spaniards in the Island of Cuba and in Porto Rico, the Philippines and other ceded territories, at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, shall continue to be respected. Spanish scientific, literary and artistic works, not subversive of public

order in the territories in question, shall continue to be admitted free of duty into such territories, for the period of ten years, to be reckoned from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

ARTICLE XIV

Spain will have the power to establish consular officers in the ports and places of the territories, the sovereignty over which has been either relinquished or ceded by the present treaty.

ARTICLE XV

The Government of each country will, for the term of ten years, accord to the merchant vessels of the other country the same treatment in respect of all port charges, including entrance and clearance dues, light dues, and tonnage duties, as it accords to its own merchant vessels, not engaged in the coastwise trade.

ARTICLE XVI

It is understood that any obligations assumed in this treaty by the United States with respect to Cuba are limited to the time of its occupancy thereof; but it will upon termination of such occupancy, advise any Government established in the island to assume the same obligations.

ARTICLE XVII

The present treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain; and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington within six months from the date hereof, or earlier if possible. In faith whereof, we, the respective Plenipotentiaries, have signed this treaty and have hereunto affixed our seals. Done in duplicate at Paris, the tenth day of December, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight.

[Seal] William R. Day

[Seal] Cushman K. Davis

[Seal] William P. Frye

[Seal] Geo. Gray

[Seal] Whitelaw Reid

[Seal] Eugenio Montero Rios

[Seal] B. de Abarzuza

[Seal] J. de Garnica

[Seal] W. R. de Villa Urrutia

[Seal] Rafael Cerero

Source: *A Treaty of Peace between the United States and Spain*, U.S. Congress, 55th Cong., 3d sess., Senate Doc. No. 62, Part 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1899).

102. Felipe Agoncillo, Protest against the Treaty of Paris, December 1898

Introduction

U.S. forces captured Manila unaware that a U.S.-Spanish truce had been declared the previous day. They did so in a way that denied Filipino freedom fighters, led by Emilio Aguinaldo, a role in the conquest. Aguinaldo maintained that an American diplomat and Admiral George Dewey had virtually promised independence for the Philippines, an assertion denied by both men. Nevertheless, President William McKinley instructed his peace commissioners to insist that Spain cede the Philippines to the United States. The negotiators eventually agreed that the United States would pay \$20 million for the Philippines, and the treaty was signed on December 10, 1898. Felipe Agoncillo, the Washington representative of Aguinaldo's provisional government, filed this futile protest of the terms of the treaty. In both nations, debate raged over ratification of the treaty, with the transfer of the Philippines generating the most conflict. The vote in Spain was so close that the queen regent was forced to ratify the treaty by decree. In the U.S. Congress, imperialists and anti-imperialists battled over what they saw as the future direction of U.S. foreign policy. The Senate narrowly ratified the treaty on February 6, 1899, two days after the outbreak of hostilities between American and Filipino forces.

Primary Source

If the Spaniards have not been able to transfer to the Americans the rights which they did not possess; if the latter have not militarily conquered positions in the Philippines; if the occupation of Manila was a resultant fact, prepared by the Filipinos; if the international officials and representatives of the Republic of the United States of America offered to recognize the independence and sovereignty of the Philippines, solicited and accepted their alliance, how can they now constitute themselves as arbiters of the control, administration and future government of the Philippine Islands?

If the Treaty of Paris there had simply been declared the withdrawal and abandonment by the Spaniards of their domination—if they had such—over Filipino territory, if America, on accepting peace, had signed the Treaty, without prejudice to the rights of the Philip-

pines, and with a view to coming to a subsequent settlement with the existing Filipino National Government, thus recognizing the sovereignty of the latter, their alliance and the carrying out of their promises of honor to the said Filipinos, no protest against their action would have been made. But in view of the terms of the Article III of the Protocol, the attitude of the American Commissioners, and the imperative necessity of safeguarding the national rights of my country, I take this protest, for the before-mentioned reasons but with the proper legal reservations, against the action taken and the resolutions passed by the Peace Commissioners at Paris and in the Treaty signed by them.

And on making this protest, I claim, in the name of the Filipino nation, in that of their President and Government, the fulfillment of the solemn declaration made by the illustrious William McKinley, President of the Republic of the United States of North America, that, on going to war, he was not guided by any intention of aggrandizement and extension of National territory, but only in respect to the principles of humanity, the duty of liberating tyrannized people, and the desire to proclaim the unalienable rights, with their sovereignty, of the countries released from the yoke of Spain.

God keep your Excellencies many years.

Felipe Agoncillo

Source: "Plea of the Filipinos," *New York Times*, December 25, 1898, p. 4.

103. Alfred T. Mahan, *Lessons of the War with Spain*, 1898 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Alfred Thayer Mahan was America's foremost naval strategist and scholar during the nineteenth century. A brilliant student, Mahan entered the United States Naval Academy at age 16 and graduated second in his class. Mahan served in the Civil War and spent many years at sea, but he actually hated the sea and nearly caused several shipwrecks. When he was placed in an academic post at the Naval War College, his true talent once again found expression. His 1890 book *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* had a major impact on key U.S. officials. In it he argued against isolationism. His ideas influenced the U.S. Navy to ready itself for world involvement. As a result, the navy was better prepared for the war with Spain than was the undermanned U.S. Army, which was scattered among far-flung western outposts in the aftermath of the Indian Wars. Mahan retired in 1896 but was recalled as a national naval adviser in 1898. His later writings were equally influential and promoted an expansionist U.S. foreign policy. In a series of articles published shortly after the war with Spain, Mahan warned against lapsing into complacency, urged the military to maintain its readiness to intervene

in world affairs, and asserted the importance of staying the course in the Philippines.

Primary Source

[...]

We also are committed, inevitably and irrevocably, to an over-sea policy, to the successful maintenance of which will be needed, not only lofty political conceptions of right and of honor, but also the power to support, and if need be to enforce, the course of action which such conceptions shall from time to time demand. Such maintenance will depend primarily upon the navy, but not upon it alone; there will be needed besides an adequate and extremely mobile army, and an efficient correlation of the one with the other, based upon an accurate conception of their respective functions. The true corrective to the natural tendency of each to exaggerate its own importance to the common end is to be found only in some general understanding of the subject diffused throughout the body of the people, who are the ultimate arbiters of national policy.

In short, the people of the United States will need to understand, not only what righteousness dictates, but what power, military and naval, requires, in order duly to assert itself. The disappointment and impatience, now being manifested in too many quarters, over the inevitable protraction of the military situation in the Philippines, indicates a lack of such understanding; for, did it exist, men would not need to be told that even out of the best material, of which we have an abundance, a soldier is not made in a day, nor an army in a season; that when these, the necessary tools, are wanting, or are insufficient in number, the work cannot but lag until they are supplied; in short, that in war, as in every calling, he who wills the end must also understand and will the means. It was the same with the wide-spread panic that swept along our seaboard at the beginning of the late war. So far as it was excusable, it was due to the want of previous preparation; so far as it was unreasonable, it was due to ignorance; but both the want of preparation and the ignorance were the result of the preceding general indifference of the nation to military and naval affairs, an indifference which necessarily had found its reflection in the halting and inadequate provisions made by Congress.

Although changes and additions have been introduced where it has seemed expedient, the author has decided to allow these articles to stand, in the main, substantially as written immediately after the close of hostilities. The opening paragraphs, while less applicable, in their immediate purport, to the present moment, are nevertheless not inappropriate as an explanation of the general tenor of the work itself; and they suggest, moreover, another line of reflection upon the influence, imperceptibly exerted, and passively accepted in men's minds, by the quiet passing of even a single calendar year.

The very lapse of time and subsidence of excitement which tend to insure dispassionate and impartial treatment by the historian,

and a juster proportion of impression in spectators, tend also to produce indifference and lethargy in the people at large; whereas in fact the need for sustained interest of a practical character still exists. Intelligent provision for the present and future ought now to succeed to the emotional experiences of the actual war. The reading public has been gorged and surfeited with war literature, a fact which has been only too painfully realized by publishers and editors, who purvey for its appetite and have overstocked the larder. Coincident with this has come an immense wave of national prosperity and consequent business activity, which increasingly engross the attention of men's minds. So far as the mere movement of the imagination, or the stirring of the heart is concerned, this reaction to indifference after excessive agitation was inevitable, and is not in itself unduly to be deplored; but it will be a matter, not merely of lasting regret, but of permanent harm, if the nation again sinks into the general apathy concerning its military and naval necessities which previously existed, and which, as the experience of Great Britain has shown, is unfortunately characteristic of popular representative governments, where present votes are more considered than future emergencies. Not the least striking among the analogies of warfare are the sufferings undergone, and the risks of failure incurred, through imperfect organization, in the Crimea, and in our own recent hostilities with Spain. And let not the public deceive itself, nor lay the fault exclusively, or even chiefly, upon its servants, whether in the military services or in the halls of Congress. The one and the other will respond adequately to any demand made upon them, if the means are placed betimes in their hands; and the officers of the army and navy certainly have not to reproach themselves, as a body, with official failure to represent the dangers, the exposure, and the needs of the commonwealth. It should be needless to add that circumstances now are greatly changed, through the occurrences of the last year; and that henceforth the risks from neglect, if continued, will vastly exceed those of former days. The issue lies with voters.

[...]

Source: Alfred T. Mahan, *Lessons of the War with Spain* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1899), 16–21.

104. Elbert Hubbard, "A Message to Garcia," 1899

Introduction

In April 1898, just before the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, the American lieutenant Andrew Summers Rowan was ordered on a mission to enter Cuba, make his way to the headquarters of leading Cuban freedom fighter General Calixto García, and bring back information on García's forces. Disguised as a British hunter, Rowan took a boat from Jamaica and set foot on the

Cuban shore on April 23, 1898. Seven days later he reached García's headquarters. Rowan's daring exploit earned him the Distinguished Service Cross. In this 1899 essay, which appeared as an editorial in *The Philistine*, Elbert Hubbard romanticized Rowan's mission and set it up as a shining example of virtue, enterprise, and willingness to carry out difficult work without question or complaint. In fact, Rowan did not carry a message or any other papers, as it would have been too dangerous. Stephen Crane, the acclaimed American writer and a war correspondent during the U.S. war with Spain, wrote a letter to Hubbard that criticized him for making Rowan out to be a hero. Describing Rowan as a "chump," Crane wrote that dozens of newspaper correspondents had already performed the same feat.

Primary Source

In all this Cuban business there is one man stands out on the horizon of my memory like Mars at perihelion.

[Sidenote: The President needed a man]

When war broke out between Spain and the United States, it was very necessary to communicate quickly with the leader of the Insurgents. Garcia was somewhere in the mountain fastnesses of Cuba—no one knew where. No mail or telegraph message could reach him. The President must secure his co-operation, and quickly. What to do!

[Sidenote: And found one]

Some one said to the President, "There is a fellow by the name of Rowan will find Garcia for you, if anybody can."

[Sidenote: He delivered the message]

Rowan was sent for and was given a letter to be delivered to Garcia. How "the fellow by the name of Rowan" took the letter, sealed it up in an oilskin pouch, strapped it over his heart, in four days landed by night off the coast of Cuba from an open boat, disappeared into the jungle, and in three weeks came out on the other side of the Island, having traversed a hostile country on foot, and delivered his letter to Garcia—are things I have no special desire now to tell in detail. The point that I wish to make is this: McKinley gave Rowan a letter to be delivered to Garcia; Rowan took the letter and did not ask, "Where is he at?" By the Eternal! there is a man whose form should be cast in deathless bronze and the statue placed in every college of the land. It is not book-learning young men need, nor instruction about this and that, but a stiffening of the vertebrae which will cause them to be loyal to a trust, to act promptly, concentrate their energies: do the thing—"Carry a message to Garcia."

[Sidenote: The Moral]

General Garcia is dead now, but there are other Garcias.

No man who has endeavored to carry out an enterprise where many hands were needed, but has been well-nigh appalled at times by the imbecility of the average man—the inability or unwillingness to concentrate on a thing and do it.

[Sidenote: There are other Garcias]

Slipshod assistance, foolish inattention, dowdy indifference, and half-hearted work seem the rule; and no man succeeds, unless by hook or crook or threat he forces or bribes other men to assist him; or mayhap, God in His goodness performs a miracle, and sends him an Angel of Light for an assistant. You, reader, put this matter to a test: You are sitting now in your office—six clerks are within call. Summon any one and make this request: "Please look in the encyclopedia and make a brief memorandum for me concerning the life of Correggio."

Will the clerk quietly say, "Yes, sir," and go do the task?

On your life he will not. He will look at you out of a fishy eye and ask one or more of the following questions:

[Sidenote: Which Encyclopedia?]

Who was he?
Which encyclopedia?
Where is the encyclopedia?
Was I hired for that?
Don't you mean Bismarck?

[Sidenote: What's the matter with Charlie doing it?]

What's the matter with Charlie doing it?
Is he dead?
Is there any hurry?
Shall I bring you the book and let you look it up yourself?
What do you want to know for?

"I wasn't hired for that anyway!"

And I will lay you ten to one that after you have answered the questions, and explained how to find the information, and why you want it, the clerk will go off and get one of the other clerks to help him try to find Garcia—and then come back and tell you there is no such man. Of course I may lose my bet, but according to the Law of Average I will not.

Now, if you are wise, you will not bother to explain to your "assistant" that Correggio is indexed under the C's, not in the K's, but you will smile very sweetly and say, "Never mind," and go look it up yourself.

[Sidenote: _Dread of getting "the bounce"_]

And this incapacity for independent action, this moral stupidity, this infirmity of the will, this unwillingness to cheerfully catch hold and lift—these are the things that put pure Socialism so far into the future. If men will not act for themselves, what will they do when the benefit of their effort is for all? A first mate with knotted club seems necessary; and the dread of getting "the bounce" Saturday night holds many a worker to his place.

Advertise for a stenographer, and nine out of ten who apply can neither spell nor punctuate—and do not think it necessary to.

Can such a one write a letter to Garcia?

"You see that bookkeeper," said a foreman to me in a large factory.

"Yes; what about him?"

[Sidenote: _Who wants a man like this?_]

"Well, he's a fine accountant, but if I'd send him up-town on an errand, he might accomplish the errand all right, and on the other hand, might stop at four saloons on the way, and when he got to Main Street would forget what he had been sent for."

Can such a man be entrusted to carry a message to Garcia?

We have recently been hearing much maudlin sympathy expressed for the "downtrodden denizens of the sweat-shop" and the "homeless wanderer searching for honest employment," and with it all often go many hard words for the men in power.

[Sidenote: _The weeding-out process_]

Nothing is said about the employer who grows old before his time in a vain attempt to get frowzy ne'er-do-wells to do intelligent work; and his long, patient striving with "help" that does nothing but loaf when his back is turned. In every store and factory there is a constant weeding-out process going on. The employer is continually sending away "help" that have shown their incapacity to further the interests of the business, and others are being taken on.

[Sidenote: _This man says times are scarce_]

No matter how good times are, this sorting continues: only if times are hard and work is scarce, the sorting is done finer—but out and forever out the incompetent and unworthy go. It is the survival of the fittest. Self-interest prompts every employer to keep the best—those who can carry a message to Garcia.

I know one man of really brilliant parts who has not the ability to manage a business of his own, and yet who is absolutely worthless

to any one else, because he carries with him constantly the insane suspicion that his employer is oppressing, or intending to oppress, him. He can not give orders; and he will not receive them. Should a message be given him to take to Garcia, his answer would probably be, "Take it yourself!"

[Sidenote: _A spiritual cripple_]

Tonight this man walks the streets looking for work, the wind whistling through his threadbare coat. No one who knows him dare employ him, for he is a regular firebrand of discontent. He is impervious to reason, and the only thing that can impress him is the toe of a thick-soled Number Nine boot.

Of course I know that one so morally deformed is no less to be pitied than a physical cripple; but in our pitying let us drop a tear, too, for the men who are striving to carry on a great enterprise, whose working hours are not limited by the whistle, and whose hair is fast turning white through the struggle to hold in line dowdy indifference, slipshod imbecility, and the heartless ingratitude which, but for their enterprise, would be both hungry and homeless.

[Sidenote: _A word of sympathy for the man who succeeds_]

[Sidenote: _Rags not necessarily a recommendation_]

Have I put the matter too strongly? Possibly I have; but when all the world has gone a-slumming I wish to speak a word of sympathy for the man who succeeds—the man who, against great odds, has directed the efforts of others, and having succeeded, finds there's nothing in it: nothing but bare board and clothes. I have carried a dinner-pail and worked for day's wages, and I have also been an employer of labor, and I know there is something to be said on both sides. There is no excellence, per se, in poverty; rags are no recommendation; and all employers are not rapacious and high-handed, any more than all poor men are virtuous.

[Sidenote: _Good men are always needed_]

[Sidenote: _Needed today and needed badly—A MAN_]

My heart goes out to the man who does his work when the "boss" is away, as well as when he is at home. And the man who, when given a letter for Garcia, quietly takes the missive, without asking any idiotic questions, and with no lurking intention of chucking it into the nearest sewer, or of doing aught else but deliver it, never gets "laid off," nor has to go on a strike for higher wages. Civilization is one long, anxious search for just such individuals. Anything such a man asks shall be granted. His kind is so rare that no employer can afford to let him go. He is wanted in every city, town and village—in every office, shop, store and factory.

The world cries out for such: he is needed, and needed badly—the man who can carry

A MESSAGE TO GARCIA.

Source: Elbert Hubbard, *A Message to Garcia*, 1899, Project Gutenberg, <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/17195>.

105. Booker T. Washington, *The Future of the American Negro*, 1899 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Booker Taliaferro Washington was born in slavery and after emancipation worked at menial jobs. He struggled to get an education and eventually became a prominent educator. Washington believed that blacks should concentrate on vocational training and economic advancement before pursuing civil rights or political power. Scorned by critics for this view, he nevertheless wielded great influence and was viewed by both races as a spokesman for American blacks during the 1890s and the early twentieth century. In March 1898 as war with Spain grew imminent, Washington wrote this letter to the secretary of the U.S. Navy. In it Washington pledged to recruit 10,000 blacks to serve in the armed forces, asserting that they would be better able than whites to tolerate Cuba’s tropical climate. Indeed, 10,000 blacks did volunteer for service. In his 1899 book *The Future of the American Negro*, also excerpted here, Washington cited the gallant conduct of black troops in the war and contrasted it with their persistent failure to achieve racial equality on the home front. During Washington’s years of greatest influence, with his emphasis on hard work and service to the nation over political activism, black Americans endured segregation, racial violence, and the denial of their right to vote.

Primary Source

... When during our war with Spain, the safety and honour of the Republic were threatened by a foreign foe, when the wail and anguish of the oppressed from a distant isle reached our ears, we find the Negro forgetting his own wrongs, forgetting the laws and customs that discriminate against him in his own country, and again choosing the better part. And, if any one would know how he acquitted himself in the field at Santiago, let him apply for answer to Shafter and Roosevelt and Wheeler. Let them tell how the Negro faced death and laid down his life in defence of honour and humanity. When the full story of the heroic conduct of the Negro in the Spanish-American War has been heard from the lips of the Northern soldier and the Southern soldier, from ex-abolitionist and ex-master, then shall the country decide whether a race that is thus willing to die for its country should not be given the highest opportunity to live for its country.

In the midst of all the complaints of suffering in the camp and field during the Spanish-American War, suffering from fever and hunger, where is the official or citizen that has heard a word or complaint from the lips of a black soldier? The only request that came from the Negro soldier was that he might be permitted to replace the white soldier when heat and malaria began to decimate the ranks of the white regiments, and to occupy at the same time the post of greater danger.

But, when all this is said, it remains true that the efforts on the part of his friends and the part of himself to share actively in the control of State and local government in America have not been a success in all sections. What are the causes of this partial failure, and what lessons has it taught that we may use in regard to the future treatment of the Negro in America?

[...]

Source: Booker T. Washington, “The Booker T. Washington Papers, Volume 4, 1895–1898,” University of Illinois Press, <http://www.historicalcooperative.org/btw/Vol.4/html/389.html>.

106. Grant Squires, “Experiences of a War Censor,” March 1899

Introduction

Controlling the flow of information during wartime is an important component of combat effectiveness. Governments need to communicate with military officers and at the same time prevent information on plans and troop movements from reaching the enemy. In this unusual account published after the war in the prominent magazine *Atlantic Monthly*, a military censor describes how he spent 110 days controlling all telegraph traffic through the cables that terminated in New York City. The day that the United States declared war on Spain, President William McKinley ordered the U.S. Army’s chief signal officer to take possession of the national telegraph network. On the home front, the first task was to prevent the press from obtaining information about troop movements and plans. In the theaters of war, the priority was to cut cables to prevent Spanish officers from communicating with Spain and to connect cables for the use of U.S. field commanders. All telegraph traffic from Europe to the Caribbean had to pass through New York. Messages from Spain had to be evaluated for the presence of coded information. The censor intercepted messages from Spain that appeared to be of military importance but promptly forwarded all messages of reassurance between the survivors of Pascual Cervera’s fleet and their families.

Primary Source

ON April 25, 1898, by direction of the President, the cable telegraph systems, seven in number, having their termini in New York city,

were constructively taken into possession of the chief signal officer of the army, who is charged by law with the control of all telegraph and cable lines in the United States, in time of war. The first weeks of the censorship were chiefly employed in keeping from the press information regarding the projected movements of bodies of troops, naval vessels, and transports, and to that end I was directed to assume control of the cables at New York city in the name of the government.

With the cutting of the cables both east and west of Santiago, and the establishment of censorship at Santiago, Key West, and New York, the efforts of the enemy to procure and to transmit information and orders between their home government and their officers in Cuba became most energetic. After July 10 no line was open by which messages from Spain could reach Cuba except by passing through American territory. Then the Spanish government resorted to various subterfuges. I frequently stopped messages coming from Madrid addressed to private individuals in Havana, so worded as to be apparently harmless. But we soon learned that certain words were not always intended to convey their ordinary meaning. Such messages as excited the slightest suspicion were stopped in New York. On some days their number would exceed fifty, and in the storeroom of one telegraph company the stack of "stopped" or delayed dispatches during the war made a pile more than three feet high.

My most important duty was to edit or to hold back from publication the press dispatches from the seat of war; and there are many keener pleasures than to edit the sensational, if not always truthful narratives of the alert newspaper correspondents, written from their perilous positions. The day after a battle on land or on sea always brought between ten thousand and fifteen thousand words over the Haiti cable, or the land lines which connected at Halifax with the cable that ran to Kingston, Jamaica, via Bermuda. The volume of messages offered for transmission over the Haiti cable, from the day when hostilities began and the dispatch of fleets to Haitian waters was decided upon, became so large that the cable was in use continuously throughout the twenty-four hours of the day, and at no time did it seem safe to the government that the censor should be absent from his office.

A brief account of my daily routine may be interesting. The important task of forwarding the hundreds of messages sent by our own government made it necessary that its official representative should be at the Haitian cable office. Thither, at all hours of the day and night, in an almost endless procession, came the messenger boys of the various companies, each bearing a bundle of telegrams, specially stamped and sealed, and addressed to the "United States Military Censor."

Official messages of neutral governments, when signed by cabinet ministers or diplomatic or consular representatives, were passed unscrutinized, whether they were written in a code or not; but it required a good memory to keep pace with the changes that were occurring among cabinet officers and others entitled to this privilege. Dispatches in Dutch from the Hague to the governor at

Curaçoa, and occasionally a message from a Japanese merchant to a fellow countryman in one of the smaller West Indian islands, indicate the range of languages used, among which were Spanish, Portuguese, French, and German of course. Indeed, we never knew what language we should be called upon to read the next minute. There was no hour of the day or of the night when dispatches, political or commercial, newspaper or private, were not passing to and from every corner of the earth; and despite the large commercial interests of London, not even that city's cable business exceeds New York's. There were often on my desk between twenty and thirty government messages from the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of State, or some one of the bureau chiefs of the two military departments, all waiting to be forwarded and all of the greatest importance. Especially great was the rush between the hours of two and five every afternoon, when the day's orders had been made ready.

Government business took precedence of all press dispatches and every other kind of message awaiting transmission in either direction. As between the various government messages, those of the Navy Department were given the preference until our forces had landed in Cuba; and thereafter those of the War Department, followed by the business of the Navy, the State, and the Post Office Departments, in the order named. But at all times right of way was given to any government message that plainly called for prompt transmission, regardless of the department whence it came. Occasionally the President issued an order or sent a dispatch in his capacity as commander in chief of all the military and naval forces of the United States; but these were rare occurrences, and their importance always gave them priority. When, toward the end of July, the capture of the province of Santiago was complete, the President issued a proclamation to the people of this newly acquired territory. That message was nearly a thousand words long; and so essential was its accurate transmission that every period, every comma, and every other mark of punctuation was telegraphed to Santiago, and the people of that city, the next morning, had as accurate a copy as was furnished by our own newspapers.

The readers of the daily papers must have become familiar with many names of hitherto unknown telegraph stations, from which many a startling piece of news was dated. Mole St. Nicholas, Caimanera, and Playa del Este are places of which neither the school geographies nor the commercial world, in times of peace, could give us much information; but they became suddenly important, for they were connected with us more or less directly by cable, and many messages were dated from them.

In this short war, not only did the submarine cable, the telegraph, and the telephone play a more prominent part than ever before in any war, but the daring work of the men of the Signal Corps, in their perilous labors of grappling, cutting, and afterward repairing these necessary means of the enemy's communications, deserves a separate recital. The great value of their work was everywhere recognized, but I was often obliged to suppress the accounts of their successes, so that confidential dispatches to and

from the enemy might continue to follow the old route, and thus fall into our hands. It was not by telegraph only that the most important messages came from our armies in Cuba and Porto Rico. Telephone lines supplemented the cable, and land lines extended to the very outposts of our forces and ran to the headquarters of the generals, who were of course in direct communication with the War Department at Washington; and the admiral from his flagship, by the use of his signal flags or "wig-wagging," as the practice is termed, communicated with his representative on shore, who in turn telegraphed what he had signaled.

On the 3d of July, when the situation of our forces before the city of Santiago looked so discouraging, the first intelligence of the destruction of Cervera's fleet was received at the cable office six hours before it was given either to the press or to the public. At half past seven on the evening of that day, a message from Colonel Allen, the signal officer in charge of the cable communications in the vicinity of Santiago, was read from the recording tape of the Haiti cable. It gave the first news of the flight of the Spanish fleet out of the harbor, and told how the vessels, one by one, were either burned or beached. The message was brief,—scarcely twenty-five words in length,—but it was read with joy in the cable office, and hurried by telephone to General Greely, to whom it was addressed, and who chanced to be in New York city that night on government business. At the same time, the message was repeated to the White House and to the Secretary of the Navy over the private wire which ran from the same desk which held the cable instrument.

It was Sunday evening; the following day was to be a holiday, and the newspapers were making up their usual uninteresting Monday edition. What an opportunity for the issue of an extra! But the news was not mine to give out. The President and his Cabinet received it within five minutes after its receipt in New York, and it was for them to determine the use to be made of it. Swiftly the wires ticked back the wish of the President that the news be guarded until it could be verified, and then at eight o'clock began the effort to confirm, in the shortest possible time, this most startling and gratifying news. General Greely had hurried to the cable office, and messages of inquiry for confirmation of the news and for details were hastily dispatched. The news itself seemed too good to be true, but the signature to the message almost precluded any possibility of a mistake; for Colonel Allen was one of the most careful of officers, and he had probably himself obtained confirmation of the report before he transmitted it. But the President's order was peremptory,—“Hold the news until confirmed.” Then followed the anxious hours of waiting by the administration for the details which we were striving to get for them. The time passed slowly, as when one watches by the bedside of a sick person; we bent over the tiny tape of paper, slowly unwinding its coil as it passed beneath the needlelike point of the recorder, making no sign for minutes or for hours of the news so eagerly desired. Ten o'clock, eleven o'clock, midnight, and still no answer; but in the meantime the line between New York and Washington had not been silent, for the officials at the capital were as impatient as we were. We were obliged to ex-

plain to them at frequent intervals the difficulties of cable communication over these lines and through the country from which we were seeking information. When we were about to give up hope of more news, slowly, at nine minutes past midnight, the glass needle of the recorder began to trace in the wavy, threadlike line of deep blue characters which told us that the good news was true. This message also was from Colonel Allen, and it confirmed his earlier dispatch, and gave the additional information that the whole Spanish fleet had been overtaken and destroyed, and that Admiral Cervera and the survivors of his crew were our prisoners. In one minute this message was in the President's hands at Washington. Then the doors of the cable office, which had been locked during the evening, were opened, and a sigh of grateful relief and congratulation went up from all present.

A supplement to this news, which was one of the most impressive and interesting incidents of my censorship, was the receipt of Admiral Cervera's historic message to General Blanco. I inquired at Washington whether a message from Admiral Cervera, then a prisoner on one of our warships, addressed to Captain-General Blanco, should be allowed to pass New York on its way from Santiago to Havana. The consent of the military authorities was given, and at a later hour I read the surprising message which began with the words: “On the morning of the 3d of July, in accordance with your express orders, I sailed my fleet through the channel of Santiago harbor, meeting the enemy outside, by whom my vessels were engaged, and in succession each burned and destroyed, with the loss of the lives of many of my brave officers and crews. I myself am a prisoner with the survivors.” I at once transmitted it to Washington.

During the following days, it was a touching and pathetic part of my duty to read the brief but expressive messages which were sent and received by the officers and men of Cervera's fleet. Some contented themselves, in the first tidings to their families, with the one word that they knew would carry most joy, “Buenos.” Others sent longer messages, expressing both comfort and grief: “Well. Am carefully cared for. Pepe dead.” But the one idea which seemed to possess them all, indicative of their surprise as well as their happiness, was in the words “Well cared for,” which they knew, by their own preconceived estimates of the Americans, would give the greatest surprise and happiness to those at home. Equally pathetic were the answers which came from many a little hamlet and town in Spain, bringing the first news to the prisoners that their safety was known to their friends, and asking if money or any delicacy or article of clothing were needed which the parent or the wife or the friend could send to lessen the terrors of imprisonment. These messages also it was my fixed policy to hasten to their destinations without loss of time; and great was the delight both of the officers and of their families at the ease of communication between them, in contrast with the difficulties and restrictions of a few days previous.

But the censor's office had other kinds of service to perform than the receiving of news from the front. One day there came a dispatch from a cable ship engaged in cutting or repairing cables off Santiago, saying that the vessel was out of coal. A telegram had been sent

by the captain of the vessel to the representative of his company on the island of Martinique, a distance of one thousand miles eastward of Santiago. The need of coal was pressing. The immensely important work of cable cutting and repairing, which was hardly appreciated by the public at that time, was then most active. The fate of the Santiago campaign, if we could but cut Blanco off from Madrid, might depend on the promptness with which a fresh supply of coal could be hurried to this cable vessel. The company's manager at Martinique cabled to the manager in New York a brief cipher message repeating the cable-ship captain's wants. In spite of the hour,—it was midnight,—the New York manager repeated the message by telephone to me at my house up town. I immediately understood the importance of the request; but how could the needs of the vessel be attended to at that hour of the night? No hours, however, were sacred to the sleep of either cabinet minister or bureau chief in Washington, and a dispatch was sent, to be delivered without delay to the Secretary of the Navy. About two o'clock came a reply from the Secretary, addressed to Admiral Sampson, directing that a collier be sent at once to the relief of the cable vessel. Thus, in three hours this call from a helpless vessel had traveled four thousand miles, had passed through the hands of no fewer than half a dozen officials, and had given another striking proof of the promptness with which the various departments of the government met the demands upon them.

While our government was thus active, Spain was not idle. Many evidences of Spanish activity came under my notice. Many communications were allowed to pass, the messages and answers being carefully copied, so that a decisive move might be made by our government at the right moment, if the Spanish plans were carried out. One Sunday evening, toward the end of July, a harmless-looking dispatch in plain Spanish, between twenty and thirty words long, without signature, addressed to a firm of bankers in New York from a place in the West Indies, attracted my attention. There was nothing in the fact that the message was unsigned to excite my suspicion. Indeed, in ordinary communications between persons well known to one another the signature is usually omitted, as unnecessary and expensive. Nor did the fact that the message was in Spanish make it improper to forward it. But this dispatch was peculiarly frank. It requested that the correspondent in New York hire a steamer of about four hundred tons burden for thirty days; that she be fitted out with a cargo of flour, potatoes, butter, lard, hams and bacon, and other food; that she then be cleared for a port in the neutral island of Jamaica; but that her captain be notified that his vessel would be met long before she came in sight of British territory, and that he must seek a landing for his cargo at the first convenient point in Cuba where he could evade the blockading fleet. This was delicious, but the sender must not have his fear aroused that his dispatch had been read. The message, therefore, was promptly delivered. Within two or three hours, a dispatch clearly in answer to this message was filed in the office of a different cable company. It acknowledged the receipt of the order to charter the vessel, and named two or three vessels that could be hired. A copy

of the message was retained, and further developments were awaited. The following day came the reply in Spanish, naming the vessel to be engaged, and urging the utmost haste in the purchase of her cargo and in her departure for West Indian waters. In this way was accumulated the necessary evidence to connect this firm of bankers with Spain's agent in Jamaica. The custom-house authorities in New York were notified of the vessel's proposed departure, and Secret Service men were sent from Washington by the Secretary of the Treasury to aid in ferreting out the blockade runner. In less than a week fifteen telegrams had passed between the conspirators without a suspicion that their plans were known to the government. The day before the vessel sailed, and while she was yet loading her valuable cargo intended to relieve the Spaniards in Cuba, I strolled, in citizen's dress, to the dock where she lay, and went aboard her unsuspected. I had been ordered to report information about her appearance and cargo, that it might be cabled to Admiral Sampson, who in turn would pass the information to the commanders of the various vessels of his blockading fleet. The camera also was brought into play; early in the morning of the day when the steamer was to sail a photographer passed unnoticed to a little tug anchored off the same pier, and, on the plea that he wanted to get a view of some adjacent buildings, he took a picture of the trim, rakish little craft with steam up ready to sail. By noon the cable carried to Admiral Sampson the information regarding the vessel and her departure, and a government transport sailing the same day took in its mail bag a little bundle of photographic prints of what proved to be the blockading fleet's next capture.

Hardly had my interest in the fate of this vessel subsided when a new plot was brought to my attention, as ingenious and as daring as any chronicled in fiction. It was nothing more nor less than the capture of an American vessel laden with gold, on her return from the Klondike! That was the bold proposition of some adventurers in British Columbia. At this time the papers were full of reports that several gold-laden vessels were on their way from the Yukon to San Francisco. I read the suggestion when it came, addressed to certain Spanish sympathizers in New York city. They cabled to Spain, but I could not believe that any attempt to capture one of these rich prizes on the far Pacific would be seriously contemplated by the enemy. It was a surprise, therefore, a day or two later, to receive two dispatches from a Spanish cabinet minister in Madrid, one addressed to the Spanish consul at Vancouver, the other to a firm of shipowners in the same place. Only the day before, the newspapers had been spreading the report of the arrival in San Francisco of a vessel with millions of dollars' worth of ore, and announcing that others were coming. I quietly pigeonholed the two messages to Vancouver, and neither the Spanish consul nor the firm of shipowners had a chance to try their skill in capturing a defenseless American vessel in that part of the Pacific. The importance of the telegrams may be guessed when it is recalled that for a week the Spanish consul in Vancouver and his government in Madrid made numerous and frantic efforts to communicate with each other, but their messages seemed, for some reason, to stop in New York.

Much has been said and written about the "luck" of the navy during the war, and perhaps the following incident will illustrate the good fortune that followed us. Late one night two messages came in cipher from the Minister of Marine in Madrid, one addressed to the captain of a Spanish warship then cruising off the island of Haiti, the other to the military commander of Spanish forces at San Juan de Porto Rico. The messages were intercepted on their arrival in New York en route to their destinations. They might be harmless, or they might be of the greatest importance to us. The words of the cipher conveyed no meaning, but I knew that the sender and his correspondents were at least not friendly to the United States. By a strange happening, at almost the same moment that they were handed to me I received a message from Santiago, saying that one of our naval officers, while inspecting the hulk of one of the Spanish vessels, had found in her captain's cabin a copy of the cipher code book used by the Spanish naval officers. Could there have been a more startling coincidence? Could any information have come more pat? Here were two messages stopped in the nick of time, and here was the news that the means to decipher them had curiously come into our possession. I telegraphed to the President and the War Department of the interception of the two code messages, told who had sent them and their destinations, and repeated the news of the finding, only a few hours before, of the Spanish naval code book. I suggested that the two messages be cabled to Admiral Sampson. Swiftly the wires brought back the congratulations of the President and the Cabinet, who chanced to be in conference. Orders were given that the messages be transmitted to Admiral Sampson, to be deciphered. It is almost needless to say that after these messages were translated they were still detained; but the story they told shortened not a little the period of our Porto Rican campaign.

Two examples will suffice to show the diversity of the inquiries which came to the censor's office. An officer in charge of cable repair work off Santiago, who held the end of a cut cable which he wished to carry ashore to connect with an existing land line of wire, telegraphed to ask how many yards from the harbor entrance was the spot where the land line approached the shore. He did not wish needlessly to expose his party to attack by trying to force a landing at any other than the proper place. The enterprise that he had in hand was an important one. The cable would connect Washington with General Shafter's headquarters in the field, if he could find the line on shore. I learned that there was only one man who could give this information. He was the builder of the land line of wire, and lived in the island of Martinique. No one else knew exactly where the line came to the shore. The coast was in possession of the enemy, and armed Spanish forces could be seen from the cable boat as they patrolled the beach. When our men took the cable ashore, it must be to the exact spot where it could be connected with the land line, or many lives would be sacrificed. An inquiry was cabled to the constructor at his home in Martinique. He was visiting in the interior, but he soon replied, "Seven hundred and fifty yards to the east of the harbor entrance." This information was telegraphed to our waiting party bobbing up and down in the cable boat. They made a suc-

cessful landing and, a few hours later, established communication between the headquarters before Santiago and New York.

One day a message came through the cable office at Santiago, from an officer of Admiral Sampson's flagship, asking, "What time is it?" That did not seem a difficult question to answer until it was made clear that the admiral was adjusting the chronometers of his fleet preparatory to sailing, and that he wished accurate, not to say official time to aid in such adjustment. It was then fifteen minutes before midday, and there was a good opportunity to give to the careful navigator the benefit of the precise noon time of his home meridian at Washington. Accordingly the Naval Observatory was notified by telegraph. The land lines as well as the cable lines and all their connections were cleared, and for the space of one minute preceding noon the line between Santiago and Washington, for the first time in one hundred days, was silent. The signal of one click of the key was agreed upon, and it was awaited eagerly at the various relay stations as well as by the officers of our fleet in Santiago. Precisely at noon the click at Washington was transmitted to New York, thence over the 1450 miles of cable terminating at Cape Haytien, where another cable operator sent it on the last stage of its journey into Santiago, within three seconds of its first transmission nearly 2500 miles away. This is the first instance of chronometer regulation by cable and telegraph lines over so long a distance.

Toward the end of the censorship the government removed the interruption of all forms of commercial business. I was ordered to notify firms in New York which might wish to employ a code or a cipher in the composition of their messages that they might do so, provided they gave me assurance in writing that no matter hurtful to the interests of our country or dealing with its political relations with Spain should lie hidden in any message. No sooner was this announcement made than persons of all ages and nationalities came in crowds. Representatives of houses that imported sugar, tobacco, and fruit, and shippers of cargoes of all kinds, came flocking in, until one doubted whether there could be so many interests in the United States having close relations with Cuba and Porto Rico, and requiring so great a use of the cables. One representative of a steamship line declared that the new order would save him nearly \$5000 a month, in the lessened cost of his cable tolls. Another declared that this was the first day that he had been able to do business in more than three months, for the danger that knowledge might leak out to his rivals from messages in plain language had compelled him to suspend all his enterprises. One firm filed fifteen code messages within five minutes after their agent had taken his precipitate departure.

Our government, however, had reckoned without due regard to the conditions existing at the other end of the line. The next day a message came from the Spanish censor at Havana, couched in dignified but haughty Castilian: "By what authority does the military censor in New York dictate to me what messages I shall receive and deliver to their destinations, and how long is it since the same authority has declared to whom I may pass messages with its approval?" This message was provoked by the large volume of code

and cipher messages which had come to this Spanish functionary, after I had telegraphed to the censor in Key West the long list of firms which had received the government privilege of sending code dispatches. The censor at Havana never received an answer to his inquiry; for a few days later I was instructed to announce to all the cable companies at once that similar instructions had been telegraphed or cabled to our censors at Key West, Santiago, and Ponce, and that all restrictions in the use of code or cipher in commercial business to Cuba or Porto Rico were raised. Thus ended, after a duration of about one hundred and ten days, the military censorship exercised by the United States.

Grant Squires

Source: Grant Squires, "Experiences of a War Censor," *Atlantic Monthly* 83(497) (March 1899): 425–432.

107. Severo Gómez Nuñez, *The Spanish-American War Blockades and Coast Defense*, 1899 [Excerpt]

Introduction

After the Spanish-American War, a Spanish artillery captain wrote a set of pamphlets about Spain's conduct of the war. The U.S. Office of Naval Intelligence translated and published his remarks. The author published his views in the hope of preventing Spain from being annihilated while in a "pitiful state" of "appalling decline" after its defeat. He first conveys his astonishment at the openness of American society in which no information is hidden and where the press gave advance publicity to the details of America's war plans. He contrasts Spain's postwar silence with the proliferation of detailed analyses among U.S. officers and official inquiries about every aspect of the war. The author argues that Spain could have benefitted from more American-style openness, baldly stating that it was madness for Spain to go to war with the United States and that if the public had known the true state of Spain's military resources, it would not have supported the war. Accordingly, he calls for Spain to analyze its errors and rebuild its military resources. He emphasizes the importance of coastal fortifications and batteries, arguing that the American blockade of Cuba would have been far less effective if there had been a system of coastal defenses.

Primary Source

INTRODUCTION.

I frankly acknowledge that I had considerable misgivings when I gave the first book of this work to the public.

I was afraid that a storm would be raised against it, and although I always try to use moderation in my criticism, I had at times to fight with so many obstacles in conforming to that line of conduct that I was tempted to tear up what I had written.

But the conviction triumphed within me that anyone who knows *anything* relative to the defeats we have suffered is under moral obligations to speak out, and that by doing so he renders a valuable service, because nothing is gained by suffering in silence; on the contrary, by clearly setting forth the facts we make the benefits inherent in truth accessible to all, and at the same time, by conveying an accurate knowledge of the errors which have brought us to our present pitiful condition, we give a better understanding of the responsibilities which, in the distribution of the same, fall to each entity, and of the dangers which the future has in reserve for us—dangers of death, of absolute dissolution, of complete annihilation—which will fall down upon us with crushing force, unless we place our whole trust and energy at the service of one single idea, the *defense, preservation, and development of what there is left to us of our country*.

Fully convinced of the necessity of promulgating these theories, I put in print the second volume of *The Spanish-American War*, inspired by the same motives as set forth in the preface to that work, although at present I possess more freedom of action, since I do not labor under the disadvantages which I experienced before. The cause of this change is the good will and approval with which the public has received the first part of this work, entitled *Ships, Guns, and Small Arms*, and the kindness with which the press has commented upon it. From these circumstances I gather the conviction that the great mass of the people is not indifferent to the causes of the present terrible decline of Spain, and that therefore it will not be labor lost to examine into the disaster for the purpose of deriving lessons therefrom and obtaining the means for obviating still more radical misfortunes.

As the subject of the present volume, I propose to analyze the principal system of warfare (if I may be permitted to use that term) which the United States employed against our colonies—the blockade—in order to explain the fatal circumstances which rendered efficacious a course of action hitherto looked upon as a secondary means of little consequence in naval conflicts, and will then enter upon an analysis of coast defense and show, always with reference to the results of the Spanish-American war, how necessary it is for our country to prepare for the defensive, applying the maxim of *less theory and more practice, less studies and more action*.

And when I set down these words, with which I closed the first book of this work, it must not be supposed that I deem studies and theory superfluous; on the contrary, the less studies are required in the execution of anything, the more studies are necessary in the preparation therefore. Technical knowledge is becoming each day more indispensable, and we may be sure that as its foundation grows more solid the mind will be more and more freed from fantastical schemes, followed by irresolute action, with serious detriment to the service. What I mean is this, that to defend our coasts it is not sufficient to widen the Held by studies *a posteriori*, when the essential thing, a knowledge of the harbors, is an already much abused matter, on the subject of

which innumerable plans have been drawn and lucid essays written; we should also understand that our tendency should be to begin with the acquisition of the most modern and perfect material with which to equip our works of defense, because the factors of defense and, to a certain extent, their location are subordinate to their equipment. There was a time when it was possible to pursue the opposite course; that is to say, to construct fortifications with numerous emplacements for guns, which were to be had in large numbers; but nowadays, when guns are very expensive and of complicated construction, it is indispensable to have the guns first and adapt to them the works of defense, and that is precisely what requires a great deal of previous study on the part of those who are called upon to decide as to the acquisition of our future war material, because, as was said by a general of our army, well known for his scientific learning:

They should be, inspired with the most complete knowledge, of the technical principles which underlie modern inventions, and it is only with such knowledge and the application of the results achieved in other countries, together with further experiments in our own, that the problems which present themselves, one after another, can be speedily solved and the country prepared for the future.

To these ideas we might add the advisability of giving an impulse, on a large scale, to our military industries—gun, shell, cartridge, and powder factories—but as the men who are at present in charge of our military matters appear to have realized this, we do not deem it necessary to insist upon it.

But it should be remembered that nothing we have said is opposed to the rapid development of our defenses, with *less studies and more action*.

Severo Gómez Nuñez
MADRID, JUNE 2, 1899

THE UNITED STATES PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.

POLITICAL BLINDNESS—WHAT SPAIN COULD DO—WHAT THE UNITED STATES COULD DO—NAVAL STRATEGY.

Anyone who had not seen the war coming must have been blind.

To us the war seemed inevitable and imminent. Nevertheless the news which reached Cuba from the Peninsula revealed great confidence that the conflict would be settled peaceably. The mistake was patent and the harm it worked was infinite. This hope should never have been harbored in Spain, and yet there were people who believed in it, and their belief seemed warranted by the absolute calm that reigned, for neither in Spain nor in Cuba were any of those rapid and energetic measures taken which the war demanded in the way of provisioning the country, concentrating the troops, and developing the naval power.

The plan of campaign of the United States commenced to be clearly outlined. The astonishing voracity of the press in that country gave free play to its anxiety and devoted itself to sketching the outlines of the naval and military operations likely to be undertaken against us. The Yankee strategists attached the greatest importance to our navy, which appeared to be quite strong judging from the published lists of our warships and the attributes with which they were credited, among others the speed and efficiency claimed for our destroyers, which really succeeded in producing a certain panic among the United States sailors. We feel sure that the exaggerated reports about the expedition of which they formed part were not without influence on the subsequent maneuvers of the United States squadron.

In the United States the war was considered so imminent that more than two months before it broke out, namely, on February 13, the New York Herald gave to the press a complete plan of operations, which was considered of semiofficial character.

Much of this plan was so rational that there could be no doubt as to its having been traced by an expert hand, and it might very well have been taken as a basis for the future policy of our country. But perhaps our Government had better information. We had not, and, moreover, there was so much consistency between what the plan said, what logical reasoning advised, and what the Americans did that we will take it for the basis of our argument.

It might be objected that there could be little foundation for a plan of war which was imparted beforehand to the enemy. Anticipating this objection, we will say that anyone who has lived in the United States and is acquainted with its mode of being knows that there is nothing hidden in that country. This special idiosyncrasy is carried to such a degree that even the most secret plans are published. As an example, we might cite the filibustering expeditions, which were always announced beforehand and afterwards confirmed by facts.

In the plan of war referred to, the following questions were discussed:

In case war should be declared between Spain and the United States, what would be the plans of campaign of the two nations?

Would Spain be the first to take the offensive?

Would the initial action be taken by the United States?

Would the struggle be easy if carried abroad, on land or on the sea, or in both places, and to what extent?

These different subjects are discussed in the following manner: In strategy there are three things which demand special consideration :

- (1) The base of operations.
- (2) The objective.
- (3) The line of operations.

The base of operations is the position from which the forces are able to advance and to which they can withdraw.

The objective comprises four different phases: Attack upon the enemy's commerce; bombardments of hostile ports; blockade of hostile coasts; invasion of hostile territory.

The line of operations designates the place where the lighting occurs—that is to say, the scene of war generally.

THE SPANISH BASE OF OPERATIONS.

The principal base of operations for Spain would be the island of Cuba, and for the United States, Key West. Cuba is the largest island of the West Indies and the most important Spanish colony. It is situated at the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico, 130 miles south of the State of Florida and 75 miles distant from Key West, from which it is separated by the Florida Channel. To the east, the island is separated from Haiti by the Windward Passage, which is over 50 miles wide; 90 miles to the south, in the Caribbean Sea, lies the island of Jamaica; to the west, Yucatan Channel, 130 miles wide, separates it from the nearest part of Central America.

The extent of its coasts, leaving minor sinuosities out of the question, is 2,000 miles. The littoral is very dangerous and full of rocks and reefs, and of sand banks extending several miles into the sea. Owing to these sand banks there are only a few places where it is possible to land. There are not to exceed fourteen bays of sufficient depth to allow warships of average draught to enter.

Hence there are along the coasts arms of the sea which are protected by keys and sand banks and can only be entered through straits and sinuous channels, at the extremities of which the bays open, or which terminate toward the outside, between sand banks, in the shape of bays.

This configuration must be taken into consideration from a strategic standpoint and from the point of view of the advantages and disadvantages which these coasts present. From what has been stated it will be seen that it would not be a difficult operation to close the ports of Cuba against a foe and leave them open as places of safety and refuge for the friend.

[...]

THE POLITICAL ASPECT—THE NAVAL ASPECT—THE MILITARY ASPECT—THE NEEDS OF OUR NATION.

Following our usual method of placing by the side of the facts the lessons arising therefrom, we will set forth those which may be logically derived from the pages of this book.

In years to come, when the history of this war is written on the basis of absolutely impartial information, a different method may perhaps be pursued, giving all the facts first, and at the end deducing the results. But at present we must alternate the facts with the results, because all nations are waiting to profit by what Spain has experienced, and we must offer them data from which they can judge with impartiality.

It is surprising how much has been written in foreign countries on the Spanish-American war during these few months. We have before us dozens of American, English, French, Italian, and German books, reviews, and periodicals, in which writers relate to their hearts' content the phases of our defeat. And in the face of this wonderful activity, which often interprets erroneously the

causes of the appalling decline of Spain, we, on the other hand, preserve death-like silence.

This is not as it should be. In the United States, for instance, there is not a single officer of high rank who took an active part in the war but has furnished, in books or reviews, an exposition of the facts, substantiated by documents, and the Government, in its turn, has followed the same plan and has published reports of the Army and Navy. Among us, as stated, death-like silence reigns, and thus it is that foreign critics lack all knowledge of our claims to vindication, which, though slight, may nevertheless throw light on many things; for, by the side of much that is bad, and for which we are being justly censured, there is also some good which is being ignored, while it should be truthfully and conscientiously set forth, so that we may not be judged without being heard and considered more inefficient and incapable than we really are.

In the first place, it should be stated that the cause of our disasters lies much deeper and dates much further back than is generally believed.

We do not mean to exonerate this or that branch of the Spanish Government, nor do we wish to confine the blame to any particular one. The evil is so great that there is enough responsibility for all. But it is unjust, criminal even, to want to throw the whole burden of responsibility for the catastrophes upon the military institutions, and still that seems to be the tendency.

(1) Because the Cuban war, the source of or pretext for our ruin, was due to causes of a political order, and even the measures for suppressing it and the election of those who were to bring this about were in obedience to considerations of the highest political order.

(2) Because our principal enemy, the United States, without whose assistance the Cuban insurrection would not have existed and could not have been continued, was aided by our erroneous policy, which in these colonial questions went from one mistake to another, without heeding any warning or advice.

(3) If there were deficiencies in the organization of our armed forces and in the direction and general strategic conception of the war, the cause must be sought, not in the army alone, but higher, in the disorganized condition of the highest branches of the Government, in the power whose duty it is to regulate and correct, without hesitation, whatever may be detrimental, and to keep a close watch always, so that everyone may be made to do his duty and strive for perfection.

(4) We went to war without any support or sympathy, led on by an erroneous conception of our strength, which may have been excusable in the common people, but it was inexcusable that it was fostered by fanatic speeches and by people whose duty it was to know the condition of our naval and military resources.

The London Times, in answer to Captain Mahan, says:

The direction of warlike operations should never be influenced by the clamor of public opinion, and no government worthy of that name will sink millions in defenses merely for the purpose of calming the fears of people whom Lord St.

Vincent appropriately designated as “old women of both sexes.”

It is infinitely simpler and cheaper to educate public opinion by imbuing it with sound principles than to accede to mad demands, and one of the most important lessons of the recent war is that very modest coast defenses are sufficient for all actual needs, provided they are well armed and under efficient command. Even the miserable works hurriedly improvised at Santiago may be said to have fulfilled their object, since they compelled the Americans to resort to military operations on land.

As to the naval aspect of the question, the publication of Cervera's letters has confirmed abroad the opinion of experts. The most eminent critics who comment on our defeat, without losing sight of the naval responsibilities as to whether it was expedient or not for the squadron to enter Santiago Harbor; whether or not it could have reached another port before it was blockaded here, and whether that would have been preferable; whether the sortie should have been ordered; whether, when ordered, it was better to go out at night or in daytime; whether it was better for the ships upon coming out to follow divergent courses, or to hug the shore as they did—without losing sight of all this, we say, the naval experts of the world agree:

(1) That the destruction of the squadron was decreed from the very moment that it received orders to leave Cape Verde, for our naval deficiency was unquestionable.

(2) That from that very moment the problem ceased to be naval and became a political problem, for to political motives only can we attribute the fact that a squadron which amounted to so little was made to go out and fight with one so powerful.

This statement is corroborated by the following words:

The United States Navy has demonstrated its ability to carry out much greater enterprises than the one intrusted to it last year, and still it can not be said that the fleet as a whole was managed with great skill, by which circumstance the Navy has contracted a great debt of gratitude with the Spanish Government.—The Times.

(3) That the main responsibility should not be sought in the disaster itself, but in events prior to the disaster, in order to ascertain the reasons why we had no fleet, and why the materiel that we did possess was in such poor condition, in spite of the enormous sums which the nation had expended upon it.

(4) That even within the limits of our deficiencies and errors, having once launched on a mad war, we should have gone into it with madness, without considering means of attack, without considerations of any kind, making war *upon commerce* to the greatest possible extent.

Source: Severo Gómez Nuñez, *The Spanish-American War: Blockades and Coast Defense* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1899), 7–10, 98–101.

108. C. W. Cordin, Letter Concerning the Treatment of Blacks in the American South, January 14, 1899

Introduction

As part of the mobilization for the war against Spain, seven states responded to President William McKinley's call for volunteers by mustering in black units. State officials assumed that the regiments would mirror the practice of the black regular army units, namely black soldiers led by white officers. However, many blacks called for black officers to lead their regiments and eventually brought about change. By late 1898, about 6,000 black volunteers had entered federal service, and another 4,000 had been assigned to the four so-called Immune regiments, composed of men believed to be immune to tropical diseases. When the black volunteer and Immune regiments went to training camps located in the South, they encountered bitter racism. The Seventh Immunes trained at Camp Haskell, Georgia. At first, the trolleys serving nearby Macon made no effort to enforce segregated seating. However, the local white citizens complained, and so-called Jim Crow trailers were added to the trolley service to provide separate cars. By the time the black volunteers departed Camp Haskell, at least three had been shot and killed by trolley conductors for refusing to follow segregated seating practices. The following letter, written by a black soldier in the Seventh Immunes, was published by a black newspaper in Cleveland, Ohio. It describes examples of racial injustice experienced by black soldiers.

Primary Source

Hon. H.C. Smith
Gazette

Dear Sir:

A member of the Sixth Virginia (private) was shot and killed the 22nd Ult. by a street car conductor. The Afro-American soldier wanted to ride in the front of the car and the conductor would not let him. Words ensued and the sequel was that the United States soldier was killed. What will be done remains to be seen. In consequence there has been no night passes issued for fear that vengeance might be wrought upon some miserable, low-lived Georgia “crackers.”

I met an old man on his way home from town with his mule, his wagon and two sons, where he had been to take his last bale of cotton. He hailed me in a most pitiful manner and asked me if I would come and do something for him. He told me that white folks were trying to wipe the Afro-Americans out “down home.” This is his pitiful story: He runs a farm for a Mrs. Woodley; raised and delivered \$470.70 worth of cotton and had drawn \$14 per month in rations for nine months. In the meantime he had not drawn one cent for anything else, and had furnished his own mules and implements. His children helped him. This morning this Mrs. Woodley presented him

(William Lamar) with a bill of \$16.20, telling him, if it was not paid by night she would take his corn (300 bushels). He dare not sell one ear of it. If he does he is liable to go to the stockade (chain gang) for a long term as no part of the corn is his until it is divided. No white person will lend him a cent and an Afro-American dare not. He could borrow from one white firm by paying 50 cents on a dollar, as the New York Loan Co. only lends to our people. Mr. Lamar has a wife and 13 children. He told me it was the truth that the white people try not to leave the Afro-American farmers one extra nickel. If you could only see the hundreds of poor, half-starved Afro-Americans walking into town on the morning of the 19th Ult to see McKinley you would believe it.

There is a rumor that the Immunes, seventh and tenth regiments, and the Engineers are to go to Cuba in a few weeks. Orders came from Washington that the Third North Carolina will be mustered out soon. They have all "colored" officers and yet 900 of the rank and file had in applications for discharge.

Macon has many Afro-Americans in business and who are quite wealthy. Among them Mr. Henry Hammons, who has a splendid business, theater, saloon and restaurant and pays taxes on \$10,000 worth of real estate.

The "boys" (Afro-American soldiers) made a fine showing before the president, and although it rained, there was an immense crowd. There was only one tune cheered and that was "Dixie." The reception given by the citizens was a cheap affair. The health of the camp is good. I will write your valuable paper nothing but what is absolutely the truth.

I forgot to state what Mr. Lamar wanted me to do. He thought as I was a U.S. soldier I could write a letter and give it to him to hand to Mrs. Woodley and cause her to give him his just dues and he did not believe me when I told him my letter would do no good.

Fine weather prevails here and has for a week or more with the exception of occasional rain showers such as you have in the spring time. Don't need any fires in our tents and only one blanket at night, and that is a little warm.

I took a walk in the country this afternoon and stopped at the cabin of an old lady. While in conversation with her she said that was where her master placed her when he freed her. He gave her the cabin, a half acre of land and turned her over to the county authorities. This fact gives her the privilege of going to the proper county officials and getting one ticket gratis each month, that calls for 75 cents in trade at any store she wishes to trade at. She is charged double price for whatever she gets.

We are camping in the same place that Maj. Gen. (J.M.) Wilson used when he ousted Jeff. Davis' cohorts. About a quarter of a mile from the seventh regiment is the foundry Jeff built for the manufacturing of guns, etc.

In regard to the tree which he kept for lynching purposes and which was cut down, I have learned something new to me from a man who lives in sight of where it stood so long. One Afro-American was hung on the tree by the name of Will Singleton, who was caught in Alabama. The mob took him to their tree, first cut off his _____; then hung him and shot him full of holes. His _____ was taken to the city, put into a bottle and pickled with alcohol. It was kept in Hurley's saloon on Avenue Street (in a prominent place) until a few weeks ago, but was hid away since on account of the presence of soldiers. This is not from one many but from a dozen or more reliable citizens. Only a short while ago a white, burly brute named White, shot and killed an Afro-American, because the latter saw fit to hold up for himself. The white scoundrel and murderer has not been arrested as yet. The Afro-Americans I have talked with claim the white people treat them very good now, since the soldiers are here. One old man explained: "Good Lawd! jess wait tell deys' all gone; den you'll see hard times about heah."

I find from careful observations that our country people are not lazy as claimed; they work just enough to keep body and soul together because if they get more than that the white folks will take it from them. Not half the Georgia crackers pay the wages they promise. They will give their "colored" help 10 or 25 cents in "driblets" and pretty soon claim they (the help) have been paid in full. And if any words are passed, a crowd comes to the poor Afro-American's cabin that night and he is whipped and sometimes killed. . . .

The Macon Telegraph gave the four regiments (colored) a four line notice out of a seven column write up and there were only seven regiments in the parade. The much talked of spirit of a united north and south is all bosh, as far as the south is concerned, and someday it will be known only too well in the North.

Wishing you a Merry Xmas and Happy New Year, I am yours respectfully,

C.W. Cordin

7th Reg. U.S.V.I.

Source: Willard B. Gatewood, *"Smoked Yankees" and the Struggle for Empire: Letters from Negro Soldiers, 1898-1902* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 159-163.

109. Opinion of the Peace Commissioners on the Retention of the Philippines, October 25, 1898

Introduction

President William McKinley chose five people to serve on the peace commission, whose task was to negotiate with Spain. They included one Democratic and two Republican senators, former secretary of

state William Day, and Whitelaw Reid, a prominent newspaper editor. All except the Democrat supported an expansionist policy. The expansionists firmly believed that the United States should acquire foreign territory for commercial and political reasons. They also believed, as did McKinley, that the people of the newly captured Philippines were incapable of self-government and that if the United States left the Philippines, civil war would ensue. Thus, they conveniently argued that the United States had a moral obligation to retain the Philippines. Because the Democratic commissioner dissented from this view, the commissioners sent the following message to McKinley. It represents some of the divergence of opinion in America regarding the wisdom of overseas expansion. Three days after receiving this communication, McKinley told the commissioners to demand from Spain all of the Philippine Islands. The Spanish and American negotiators eventually agreed that the United States would pay Spain \$20 million for the Philippines.

Primary Source

Information gained by Commission in Paris leads to conviction that it would be a naval, political, and commercial mistake to divide the archipelago. Nearly all expert testimony taken tends to this effect. As instructions provide for retention at least of Luzon, we do not consider question of remaining in Philippine Islands at all as now properly before us. We therefore ask for extension of instructions.

Spain governed and defended these islands from Manila; and with destruction of her fleet and surrender of her army we became as complete masters of the whole group as she had been, with nothing needed to complete the conquest save to proceed with the ample forces we had at hand to take unopposed possession. The Ladrões and Carolines were also governed from the same capital by the same governor-general.

National boundaries ought to follow natural divisions, but there is no natural place for dividing the Philippines.

There is hardly a single island in the group from which you can not shoot across to one or more of the others. Scarcely another archipelago in the world in which the islands are crowded so closely together and so interdependent. Military and naval witnesses agree that it would be practically as easy to hold and defend the whole as a part.

Some say easier; all say safer. Agree, too, that ample and trustworthy military force could be raised among natives, needing only United States officers and a small nucleus of United States troops; also that islands could be relieved from oppressive Spanish taxation and yet furnish sufficient revenue for the whole cost of administration and defense.

Great danger must result from division. Other islands, seeing benefits from our government of Luzon, are sure to revolt, and to be aided and encouraged by natives of Luzon, thus repeating, in more aggravated form, our troubles with Spain about Cuba. Visayas already in revolt. Division would thus insure lawlessness and turbulence within gunshot of our shores, with no prospect of relief unless in Spanish sale of islands to unfriendly commercial rivals, which would proba-

bly happen if we hold the most important—Luzon—and release the others. Generally expected now that this would be attempted the moment we released them. If such sale or transfer is to be made at all, would be less dangerous to our interests if done by us rather than by Spain. If we do not want the islands ourselves, better to control their disposition—i.e., to hold the option on them rather than to abandon it. Could then at least try to protect ourselves by ample treaty stipulations with the acquiring powers.

Commercially, division of archipelago would not only needlessly establish dangerous rivals at our door, but would impair value of part we kept. Present prosperity of Manila depends on its being natural center of import and export trade for the whole group. Large part of its business derived from Iloilo, Cebu, and other points in south. To yield these to unfriendly rivals would be to provide beforehand for diversion of business from our own possessions.

Moral obligations not to return Manila and Luzon to the oppressive power from which we have relieved them applies also to the rest of the archipelago, since Spanish power there is now broken and can not be restored without our consent. We believe public opinion in Europe, including that of Rome, expects us to retain whole of the Philippines, and would prefer that to any other solution save the impossible one of restoration of Spanish power over all the islands.

If a division should be insisted on, the only one that seems to us admissible would be by a line from the Straits of San Bernardino, south of Masbate and north of Panay, to the northeast corner of Borneo, leaving to the United States all to the westward, including Luzon, Mindoro, and Palawan. This would control the China Sea, and give excellent ports of call along the whole line from Borneo to Hongkong. But it would throw away the Visayas, including the best sugar, hemp, and tobacco islands. These contribute a large part of Manila's trade, and are inhabited generally by a people nearly as easy to manage as those of Luzon.

We are convinced that much injustice has been done inhabitants in published accounts of their character. Even the Mohammedans of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, if left enjoyment of religious liberty and given freedom from oppressive taxation, would be found less intractable, in opinion of the experts, than under the rule of Spain; while the others would be comparatively easy to control, and glad to welcome strong and just rule of United States.

(Signed) CUSHMAN K. DAVIS.

WILLIAM P. FRYE.

WHITELAW REID.

(2) I am unable to agree that we should peremptorily demand the entire Philippine group. In the spirit of our instructions, and bearing in mind the often declared disinterestedness of purpose and freedom from designs of conquest with which the war was undertaken, we should be consistent in our demands in making peace. Territory permanently held must be taken as war indemnity, and with due regard to our responsibility because of the conduct of our military and naval

authorities in dealing with the insurgents. Whether this conduct was wise or unwise is not now important. We can not leave the insurgents to mere treaty stipulations or to their unaided resources, either to form a government or to battle against a foe which, unequal to us, might readily overcome them. On all hands it is agreed that the inhabitants of the islands are unfit for self-government. This is particularly true of Mindanao and the Sulu group.

Only experience can determine the success of colonial expansion upon which the United States is entering. It may prove expensive in proportion to the scale upon which it is tried with ignorant and semi-barbarous people at the other side of the world. It should, therefore, be kept within bounds. Accepting Luzon, strategic advantage, as shown by high naval authority, may require cession of that part of the group lying north and west of a line drawn through San Bernardino Strait, south of Luzon to San Bernardino Islet, and thence by the Naranjos Islands and certain courses and distances to Tambisan Island, on the northeast coast of Borneo, conveying to the United States Luzon, Mindoro, Palawan, and various other islands, thus controlling the entrance to China Sea, with additional harbors and ports of call.

The objection that other islands will be acquired by European powers without regard to our interests can be obviated by treaty stipulation for nonalienation without the consent of the United States. There should also be stipulations for absolute freedom of trade and intercourse among all the islands of the group. This gives us practical control of the situation, with a base for the navy and commerce in the East, and responsibility for the people to whom we owe obligation and those most likely to become fit for self-government. It affords an opportunity for lessening the burden of colonial government, with room for further expansion if desired. It does not leave us open to the imputation of following agreement to negotiate with demand for whole subject-matter of discussion ourselves.

(Signed) WILLIAM R. DAY.

(3) The undersigned can not agree that it is wise to take Philippines in whole or in part. To do so would be to reverse accepted continental policy of country declared and acted upon throughout our history. Proximity governs case of Cuba and Puerto Rico. Policy proposed introduces us into European politics and the entangling alliances against which Washington and all American statesmen have protested. It will make necessary a navy equal to largest of powers, a greatly increased military establishment, immense sums for fortifications and harbors, multiply occasions for dangerous complications with foreign nations, and increase burdens of taxation. Will receive in compensation no outlet for American labor in labor market already overcrowded and cheap, no area for homes for American citizens—climate and social conditions demoralizing to character of American youth. New and disturbing questions introduced into our politics, church question menacing. On whole, instead of indemnity—injury. Undersigned can not agree that any obligation incurred to insurgents is paramount to

our manifest interests. Attacked Manila as part of legitimate war against Spain. If we had captured Cadiz and Carlists had helped us, would not owe duty to stay by them at conclusion of war. On contrary, interest and duty would require us to abandon both Manila and Cadiz. No place for colonial administration or government of subject people in American system.

So much from standpoint of interest. But even conceding all benefits claimed for annexation, we thereby abandon the infinitely greater benefit to accrue from acting the part of a great, powerful, and Christian nation; we exchange the moral grandeur and strength to be gained by keeping our word to nations of the world and by exhibiting a magnanimity and moderation in hour of victory that becomes the advanced civilization we claim, for doubtful material advantages and shameful stepping down from high moral position boastfully assumed. We should set example in these respects, not follow in the selfish and vulgar greed for territory which Europe has inherited from mediaeval times. Our declaration of war upon Spain was accompanied by a solemn and deliberate definition of our purpose. Now that we have achieved all and more than our object, let us simply keep our word. Third article of protocol leaves everything concerning control of Philippines to negotiation between the parties. Absurd now to say that we will not negotiate, but will appropriate whole subject-matter of negotiation. At the very least, let us adhere to President's instructions, and if conditions require the keeping of Luzon forego the material advantages claimed in annexing other islands—above all, let us not make a mockery of the injunction contained in those instructions, where, after stating that “we took up arms only in obedience to the dictates of humanity and in the fulfillment of high public and moral obligations,” and that “we had no design of aggrandizement and no ambition of conquest,” the President, among other things, eloquently says: “It is my earnest wish that the United States in making peace should follow the same high rule of conduct which guided it in facing war. It should be as scrupulous and magnanimous in the concluding settlement as it was just and humane in its original action.” This and more, of which I earnestly ask a repudiation, binds my conscience and governs my action.

(Signed) GEORGE GRAY.

Source: U.S. Congress, *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States with the Annual Message of the President Transmitted to Congress December 5, 1898* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901), 932–935.

110. Finley Peter Dunne, “Mr. Dooley” on the Philippines, 1898

Introduction

American humorist Finley Peter Dunne created the character Mr. Dooley, the Irish proprietor of a Chicago bar, in 1892. Mr. Dooley and

his regular customer Mr. Hennessy carried on debates about topics great and small, sometimes touching on matters of national importance. Dunne published close to 300 Mr. Dooley columns between 1892 and 1899. So popular were Dunne's newspaper pieces featuring the character that members of the president's cabinet were rumored to ask "What would Mr. Dooley say?" when contemplating national policy decisions. Indeed, Theodore Roosevelt received a letter from a friend congratulating him on being mentioned by Mr. Dooley. In this column, Mr. Dooley weighs in on no less a matter than the fate of the newly captured Philippines. American opinion was deeply divided on whether or not the United States should retain the Philippines, with largely Republican imperialists and Democratic anti-imperialists lined up on opposite sides. The author satirizes President William McKinley's apparent indecision, having Mr. Dooley argue that on the one hand the Philippines are too alien and far away but, on the other hand, if the United States lets them go, someone else will take them. He concludes that Admiral George Dewey should decide since he was responsible for winning them.

Primary Source

"I KNOW what I'd do if I was Mack," said Mr. Hennessy. "I'd hist a flag over th' Ph'lippeens, an' I'd take in th' whole lot iv thim."

"An' yet," said Mr. Dooley, "tis not more thin two months since ye larned whether they were islands or canned goods. Ye'er back yard is so small that ye'er cow can't turn r-round without buttin' th' woodshed off th' premises, an' ye wudden't go out to th' stock yards without takin' out a policy on yer life. Suppose ye was standin' at th' corner iv State Shreet an' Archey R-road, wud ye know what car to take to get to th' Ph'lippeens? If yer son Packy was to ask ye where th' Ph'lippeens is, cud ye give him anny good idea whether they was in Rooshia or jus' west iv th' thracks?"

"Mebbe I cudden't," said Mr. Hennessy, haughtily, "but I'm f'r takin' thim in, anny- how."

"So might I be," said Mr. Dooley, "if I cud on'y get me mind on it. Wan iv the worst things about this here war is th' way it's makin' puzzles f'r our poor, tired heads. Whin I wint into it, I thought all I'd have to do was to set up here behind th' bar with a good tn-cint see-gar in me teeth, an' toss dinnymite bombs into th' hated city iv Havana. But look at me now. Th' war is still goin' on; an' ivry night, whin I'm countin' up the cash, I'm askin' mesilf will I annex Cubia or lave it to the Cubians? Will I take Porther Ricky or put it by? An' what shud I do with the Ph'lippeens? Oh, what shud I do with thim? I can't annex thim because I don't know where they ar-re. I can't let go iv thim because some wan else'll take thim if I do. They are eight thousan' iv thim islands, with a popylation iv wan hun- dherd millyon naked savages; an' me bedroom's crowded now with me an' th' bed. How can I take thim in, an' how on earth am I goin' to cover th' nakedness iv thim savages with me wan shoot iv clothes? An' yet 'twud break me heart to think iv givin' people I niver see or heerd tell iv back to other people I don't know. An', if I don't take thim, Schwartzmeister down th' shreet, that has half me thrade already, will grab thim sure.

"It ain't that I'm afraid iv not doin' th' r-right thing in th' end, Hinnessy. Some mornin' I'll wake up an' know jus' what to do, an' that I'll do. But 'tis th' annoyance in th' mane time. I've been r-readin' about th' counthry. 'Tis over beyant ye'er left shoulder whin ye're facin' east. Jus' throw ye'er thumb back, an' ye have it as ac'rate as anny man in town. 'Tis farther thin Boohl- gahrya an' not so far as Blewchoochoo. It's near Chiny, an' it's not so near; an', if a man was to bore a well through fr'm Goshen, Indianny, he might sthrike it, an' thin again he might not. It's a poverty-sthriken counthry, full iv goold an' precious stones, where th' people can pick dinner off th' threes an' ar-re starvin' because they have no step-ladders. Th' inhabitants is mostly nay- gurs an' Chinnymen, peaceful, industhrus, an' law-abidin', but savage an' bloodthirsty in their methods. They wear no clothes except what they have on, an' each woman has five husbands an' each man has five wives. Th' r-rest goes into th' discard, th' same as here. Th' islands has been ownded be Spain since befure th' fire; an' she's threated thim so well they're now up in ar-rms again her, except a majority iv thim which is thurly loyal. Th' natives seldom fight, but whin they get mad at wan another they r-run- a-muck. Whin a man r-runs-a-muck, sometimes they hang him an' sometimes they discharge him an' hire a new motorman. Th' women ar-re beautiful, with languishin' black eyes, an' they smoke see-gars, but ar-re hurried an' incomplete in their dhress. I see a pitcher iv wan th' other day with nawthin' on her but a basket of cocoanuts an' a hoop-skirt. They're no prudes. We import juke, hemp, cigar wrappers, sugar, an' fairy tales fr'm th' Ph'lippeens, an' export six-inch shells an' th' like. Iv late th' Ph'lippeens has awaked to th' fact that they're behind th' times, an' has received much American amminition in their midst. They say th' Spanyards is all tore up about it.

"I larned all this fr'm th' papers, an' I know 'tis sthstraight. An' yei, Hinnessy, I dinnow what to do about th' Ph'lippeens. An' I'm all alone in th' wurruld. Ivrybody else has made up his mind. Ye ask anny con-ducthor on Ar-rchy R-road, an' he'll tell ye. Ye can find out fr'm the papers; an', if ye really want to know, all ye have to do is to ask a prom'nent citizen who can mow all th' lawn he owns with a safety razor. But I don't know."

"Hang on to thim," said Mr. Hennessy stoutly. "What we've got we must hold."

"Well," said Mr. Dooley, "if I was Mack, I'd lave it to George. I'd say: 'George, I'd say, 'if ye're f'r hangin' on, hang on it is. If ye say, lave go, I dhrop thim.' 'Twas George won thim with th' shells, an' th' question's up to him."

Source: Finley Peter Dunne, *Mr. Dooley in Peace and War* (Boston: Small, Maynard, 1898), 43–47.

111. William McKinley, "Benevolent Assimilation" Letter, December 21, 1898

Introduction

By terms of the treaty signed on December 10, 1898, the United States paid Spain \$20 million for the Philippine Islands. The capture of the Philippines sparked widespread debate on the future direction of the United States as a world power. American opinion was deeply divided on whether the United States should extend its territory and influence toward the Pacific and Asia. President William McKinley wavered on whether the United States should retain the Philippines but eventually decided in favor. On December 21, 1898, the president issued his orders to the secretary of war, who in turn conveyed them to the U.S. military governor, Major General Elwell S. Otis. McKinley directed Otis to inform the Filipino people that the U.S. Army was remaining there as protectors, not conquerors. The army was to maintain order throughout the islands and to respect private property rights. Most notably, these orders set forth the policy of benevolent assimilation, intended to extend the benefits of just and stable government to the Filipino people. However, Filipino leader Emilio Aguinaldo believed that the Americans had reneged on a promise to grant Philippine independence, and the Philippine rebellion began six weeks later.

Primary Source

Adjutant-General's Office,
Washington, December 21, 1898.

Maj. Gen. E. S. Otis,

United States Volunteers, Commanding Department of the Pacific, and Military Governor of the, Philippine Islands, Manila.

Sir: By direction of the Secretary of War, I have the honor to transmit herewith instructions of the President relative to the administration of affairs in the Philippine Islands.

Executive Mansion, *Washington, December 21, 1898.*

The Secretary Of War.

Sir: The destruction of the Spanish fleet in the harbor of Manila by the United States naval squadron commanded by Rear-Admiral Dewey, followed by the reduction of the city and the surrender of the Spanish forces, practically effected the conquest of the Philippine Islands and the suspension of Spanish sovereignty therein.

With the signature of the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain by their respective plenipotentiaries at Paris, on the 10th instant, and as the result of the victories of American arms, the future control, disposition, and government of the Philippine Islands are ceded to the United States. In the fulfillment of the rights of sovereignty thus acquired, and the responsible obligations of government thus assumed, the actual occupation and administration of the entire group of the Philippine Islands becomes immediately necessary, and the military government heretofore maintained by

the United States in the city, harbor, and bay of Manila is to be extended with all possible dispatch to the whole of the ceded territory.

In performing this duty the military commander of the United States is enjoined to make known to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands that, in succeeding to the sovereignty of Spain, in severing the former political relations of the inhabitants, and in establishing a new political power, the authority of the United States is to be exerted for the security of the persons and property of the people of the islands, and for the confirmation of all their private rights and relations. It will be the duty of the commander of the forces of occupation to announce and proclaim in the most public manner that we come, not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends, to protect the natives in their homes, in their employments, and in their personal and religious rights. All persons who, either by active aid or by honest submission, cooperate with the government of the United States to give effect to these beneficent purposes, will receive the reward of its support and protection. All others will be brought within the lawful rule we have assumed, with firmness if need be, but without severity so far as may be possible.

Within the absolute domain of military authority, which necessarily is and must remain supreme in the ceded territory until the legislation of the United States shall otherwise provide, the municipal laws of the territory in respect to private rights and property and the repression of crime are to be considered as continuing in force and to be administered by the ordinary tribunals so far as practicable. The operations of civil and municipal government are to be performed by such officers as may accept the supremacy of the United States by taking the oath of allegiance, or by officers chosen as far as may be practicable from the inhabitants of the islands.

While the control of all the public property and the revenues of the State passes with the cession, and while the use and management of all public means of transportation are necessarily reserved to the authority of the United States, private property, whether belonging to individuals or corporations, is to be respected except for cause duly established. The taxes and duties heretofore payable by the inhabitants to the late Government become payable to the authorities of the United States, unless it be seen fit to substitute for them other reasonable rates or modes of contribution to the expenses of government, whether general or local. If private property be taken for military use, it shall be paid for when possible in cash, at a fair valuation, and when payment in cash is not practicable receipts are to be given.

All ports and places in the Philippine Islands in the actual possession of the land and naval forces of the United States will be opened to the commerce of all friendly nations. All goods and wares, not prohibited for military reasons by due announcement of the military authority, will be admitted upon payment of such duties and other charges as shall be in force at the time of their importation.

Finally, it should be the earnest and paramount aim of the military administration to win the confidence, respect, and affection of

the inhabitants of the Philippines by assuring them in every possible way that full measure of individual rights and liberties which is the heritage of free peoples, and by proving to them that the mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation, substituting the mild sway of justice and right for arbitrary rule. In the fulfillment of this high mission, supporting the temperate administration of affairs for the greatest good of the governed, there must be sedulously maintained the strong arm of authority to repress disturbance, and to overcome all obstacles to the bestowal of the blessings of good and stable government upon the people of the Philippine Islands under the free flag of the United States.

“William McKinley.”

Very respectfully,

H. C. Corbin, *Adjutant-General*.

[This letter was sent to General Otis, Manila, by cable, in cipher, December 27, 1898, 9 p. m.]

Source: United States, Adjutant General's Office, *Correspondence relating to the War with Spain* . . . (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1993), 858–859.

112. Emilio Aguinaldo, *A Second Look at America*, 1957 [Excerpt]

Introduction

In 1897, Emilio Aguinaldo seized control of the Philippine revolution against Spanish colonial rule. After an unsuccessful guerrilla campaign, he was forced into exile in Hong Kong. In April 1898, he met Commodore George Dewey and American diplomat E. Spencer Pratt in Singapore. Aguinaldo then returned to the Philippines on one of Dewey's ships, arriving in late May, and ordered his rebel forces to attack the Spanish, calling the Americans “our redeemers.” Aguinaldo maintained for the rest of his life, as in this excerpt from his 1957 autobiography, that the Americans had promised independence for the Philippines, an assertion disavowed by Dewey and Pratt. U.S. forces captured Manila in a way that denied Aguinaldo's forces a role in the conquest. On the signing of the U.S.-Spanish truce, President William McKinley instructed his peace commissioners to insist that Spain cede the Philippines to the United States. The negotiators eventually agreed that the United States would pay \$20 million for the Philippines, and the treaty was signed on December 10, 1898. Aguinaldo's revolutionary government filed a futile protest against the terms of the treaty. On February 4, 1899, an encounter between American soldiers and Aguinaldo's men escalated, beginning the Philippine-American War.

Primary Source

. . . The Admiral replied in the affirmative, adding that the United States had come to the Philippines to free the Filipino from the yoke

of Spain. He said furthermore that America was exceedingly well off as regards territory, revenue, and resources and needed no colonies. He assured me finally that there was no reason for me to entertain any doubts whatever about the recognition of the Independence of the Philippines by the United States.

Then, Admiral Dewey asked me if I could induce the Filipinos to rise against the Spaniards and make a short, sharp and decisive campaign.

In reply, I said that events would speak for themselves. However, I explained, until I would receive the first arms which Consul Wildman was to send me, I would not be able to go into action. The Admiral thereupon offered to dispatch a steamer to take the arms. Indicating his anxiety for action, he also placed immediately at my disposal all the guns seized on board the Spanish warships as well as 62 Mausers and a good many rounds of ammunition which the *Petrel* had brought from Corregidor.

My record of the next conference with Dewey reads:

“I candidly informed the Admiral that when I was about to leave Hongkong the Filipinos residing in that colony had held a meeting in which they had fully discussed the possibility that after the Spaniards were defeated, the American Government might not recognize our independence and another war would follow. In that event, the Americans would surely defeat us for they would find us worn out and short of ammunition owing to our struggle against the Spaniards. I then asked the Admiral if my countrymen's misgivings had any basis. I hastened to beg him to excuse me for bringing up the matter, but I had to do so in the interest of frankness as befits allies.

“The Admiral said he was glad to have this evidence of our earnestness and frankness. In reply, he thought that Filipinos and Americans should act toward one another as friends and allies, and therefore it was proper that all doubts be expressed frankly so that explanations may be made, distrust removed and difficulties avoided. He then stated that, as he had already indicated, the United States would unquestionably recognize the Independence of the people of the Philippines, guaranteed as it was by the word of honor of Americans which, he said, was more positive, more irrevocable, than a written statement which might not be regarded as binding when there is an intention or desire to repudiate it, as was the case with the pact we made with the Spaniards in Biaknabato.”

In this interview, the Admiral suggested that I have a Philippine Flag made which, he said, he would recognize and protect in the presence of the other nations represented in the various naval squadrons in Manila Bay. He advised me, however, that I should not hoist the flag until we had destroyed the power of Spain in the

islands in order that it would, when unfurled, catch the eyes of the world at the moment of victory.

By invitation of the Admiral, I made my headquarters and home in the former headquarters of the Spanish Naval Commandant of the Cavite Arsenal. It was here where American officials came to see me or from which I sallied forth to see them. Upon their insistent urgings, we started our drive against the Spaniards almost immediately.

In the archives of the government in Washington and in almost all the history books on the Philippine-American War, it is of record that both Dewey, Pratt and Wildman completely denied having made every promise that they had made to me.

[...]

Source: Emilio Aguinaldo and Vicente Albano Pacis, *A Second Look at America* (New York: Robert Speller and Sons, 1957), 38–39, 52.

113. Emilio Aguinaldo, Proclamation to the Philippine People, February 5, 1899

Introduction

In 1897, Emilio Aguinaldo seized control of the Philippine revolution against Spanish colonial rule. After an unsuccessful guerrilla campaign, he was forced into exile in Hong Kong. In April 1898, he met Commodore George Dewey and American diplomat E. Spencer Pratt in Singapore. Aguinaldo then returned to the Philippines on one of Dewey's ships, arriving in late May, and ordered his rebel forces to attack the Spanish, calling the Americans "our redeemers." Aguinaldo maintained for the rest of his life that the Americans had promised independence for the Philippines, an assertion disavowed by Dewey and Pratt. U.S. forces captured Manila in a way that denied Aguinaldo's forces a role in the conquest. On the signing of the U.S.-Spanish truce, President William McKinley instructed his peace commissioners to insist that Spain cede the Philippines to the United States. The negotiators eventually agreed that the United States would pay \$20 million for the Philippines, and the treaty was signed on December 10, 1898. Aguinaldo's revolutionary government filed a futile protest against the terms of the treaty. On February 4, 1899, an encounter escalated, and U.S. soldiers opened fire on Aguinaldo's men outside Manila. The next day, Aguinaldo, president of the Philippine Republic, issued this proclamation exhorting his people to drive out the foreign invaders.

Primary Source

By my proclamation of yesterday I have published the outbreak of hostilities between the Philippine forces and the American forces of

occupation in Manila, unjustly and unexpectedly provoked by the latter.

In my manifest of January 8 last I published the grievances suffered by the Philippine forces at the hands of the army of occupation. The constant outrages and taunts, which have caused the misery of the people of Manila, and, finally the useless conferences and the contempt shown the Philippine government prove the premeditated transgression of justice and liberty.

I know that war has always produced great losses; I know that the Philippine people have not yet recovered from past losses and are not in the condition to endure others. But I also know by experience how bitter is slavery, and by experience I know that we would sacrifice all on the altar of our honor and of the national integrity so unjustly attacked.

I have tried to avoid, as far as it has been possible for me to do so, armed conflict, in my endeavors to assure our independence by pacific means and to avoid more costly sacrifices. But all my efforts have been useless against the measureless pride of the American Government and of its representatives in these islands, who have treated me as a rebel because I defend the sacred interests of my country and do not make myself an instrument of their dastardly intentions.

Past campaigns will have convinced you that the people are strong when they wish to be so. Without arms we have driven from our beloved country our ancient masters, and without arms we can repulse the foreign invasion as long as we wish to do so. Providence always has means in reserve and prompt help for the weak in order that they may not be annihilated by the strong; that justice may be done and humanity progress.

Be not discouraged. Our independence has been watered by the generous blood of our martyrs. Blood which may be shed in the future will strengthen it. Nature has never despised generous sacrifices.

But remember that in order that our efforts may not be wasted, that our vows may be listened to, that our ends may be gained, it is indispensable that we adjust our actions to the rules of law and of right, learning to triumph over our enemies and to conquer our own evil passions.

Emilio Aguinaldo
President of the Philippine Republic
Malolos, February 5, 1899

Source: Elwell Stephen Otis, *Report on Military Operations and Civil Affairs in the Philippine Islands, 1899* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1899).

114. African Methodist Episcopal Church, "The Negro should not enter the army," May 1, 1899

Introduction

Leading black Americans were divided on whether black men should serve in the U.S. military. At the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, prominent black educator Booker T. Washington had pledged to recruit 10,000 blacks to serve in the armed forces, asserting that they would be better able than whites to tolerate Cuba's tropical climate. Indeed, 10,000 blacks did volunteer for service. However, blacks who had served with the military in Cuba were becoming disillusioned about the benefits they had expected to gain from their military service. They had found American racist attitudes largely unchanged by their notable sacrifices in Cuba. In addition, many believed that in fighting to quash the Philippine rebellion, the United States was taking on the role of oppressor and exporting American racism. Consequently, a large vocal anti-imperialist movement arose in the black community. The missionary department of the Atlanta, Georgia, African Methodist Episcopal Church issued this statement urging blacks to stay out of the U.S. Army. The writer cites examples of unabated racism and lynching in the United States, arguing that blacks should not fight for a flag that offers them no rights or protection at home, and reports on a dark-skinned Cuban visitor's indignation at being forced to ride in a segregated trolley car.

Primary Source

It is about time for the ministers of the A.M.E. Church, who, in the aggregate, are the most progressive, enlightened and racial of the Africanite ministry of the world, with the highest regard for all other denominations, to begin to tell the young men of our race to stay out of the United States army. If it is a white man's government, and we grant it is, let him take care of it.

The Negro has no flag to defend. There is not a star in the flag of this nation, out of the forty odd, that the colored race can claim, nor is there any symbol signalized in the colors of the flag that he can presume to call his, unless it would be the stripes, and the stripes are now too good for him. He is only regarded as entitled to powder and lead and the burning fagots. He has no civil, social, political, judicial or existing rights any longer. He may exist, be or live till the lynchers say he must die, and when they get ready to demand his life, the nation, from President McKinley down, down and down to the most contemptible white riff-raff, says well done! If not in words, they say it by their silence; and those who did enlist some months ago, were abused, misrepresented and vilified when they even passed through the country, worse than brutes would have been. If they came out of the cars and walked about the depot, they were charged with trying to kill men, women and children, and fire the cities and villages. If they sat in the cars and failed to get out, the newspapers branded them with cowardice, and said

they were afraid, they knew what would follow, while one town would telegraph to the next that Negro soldiers would pass through. "Have your armed police at the railroad station, armed to the teeth and ready to shoot them down upon the slightest provocation." Yet the same towns and villages were ready to supply them with all the rot-gut whiskey they were able to purchase, to transform them into maniacs and human devils, if these soldiers were low enough to drink the infernal drug.

We now ask, in the face of these facts, and they are not half told, what does the Negro want to enlist lay his life upon the alter of the nation and die for? What is to be gained? Where is the credit? Who will accord it to him? In what particular will the race be benefited? Suppose the Negro should enlist in great numbers and go to the Spanish islands and help to subjugate the territory now in dispute, and subordinate it to the dictatorial whim of the United States. What right, what privilege, what immunity, what enjoyment, what possession will he be the recipient of? A Cuban from Havana who was compelled to ride with us in a jim-crow car a week ago, and who was as mad as vengeance at this restriction of his manhood, told us that the diabolical prejudice of the United States was being exhibited there, and his curse-words were sulphuretic vengeance itself. He said "This valuing a man by his color was unknown in Cuba until the scoundrels and villains of this country went there." He showed us papers which represented him as a great business man, dealing in the finest tobacco and cigars, yet he was compelled to ride in the jim-crow car or be mobbed at every station, and this Cuban was not a black man. We ask the young men of the Negro race if you have got any life to throw away for such a country as this? If you have a spare life on hand, that you wish to dispose of by sacrifice, for mercy's sake, for honor's sake, for manhood's sake, and for common sense sake throw it away for a better purpose, in a nobler act, in doing something that will perpetuate your memory, to say the least. While we are the first Africanite Chaplain in the history of the nation, and have once been proud of the flag of this nation as it waved and flaunted in the air, as a Negro we regard it a worthless rag. It is the symbol of liberty, of manhood sovereignty and of national independence to the white man, we grant, and he should justly be proud of it, but to the colored man, that has any sense, any honor, and is not a scullionized fool, it is a miserable dirty rag. We repeat that the A. M. E. ministry, yes, and the Negro ministry of the country should fight the enlistment of colored men in the United States army, as they would liquor, brothels, thievery, breaking the Sabbath, or any crime even in the catalogue of villainy. The Negro minister of the gospel who would encourage enlistment in the United States army, in the conditions things are now, encourages murder and the shedding of innocent blood for nothing, as the foolish young men do not know what steps they are taking.

Moreover, the bulk of the white people do not want colored soldiers. Our own governor disapproves of it. The majority of the white press is against it. They regard the black soldiers as monstrosities, and we regard them monstrosities also. Again we say to the colored

men, stay out of the United States army. Take no oath to protect any flag that offers no protection to its sable defenders.

If we had the voice of seven thunders, we would sound a protest against Negro enlistment till the very ground shook below our feet.

Source: Missionary Department of the Atlanta, Georgia, A.M.E. Church, "The Negro Should Not Enter the Army," *Voice of Missions*, Atlanta, May 1, 1899.

115. M. W. Saddler, Letter from a Black U.S. Soldier in the Philippines, November 18, 1899

Introduction

In 1899, the American military began a three-year campaign to crush the guerrillas fighting for Philippine independence. The Philippine cause attracted much sympathy in the United States. Many black Americans particularly identified with the Filipino people, calling them "our kinsmen" and "our colored brothers." At the same time, blacks who had served with the military in Cuba were becoming disillusioned about the benefits they had expected to gain from their military service. They had found American racist attitudes largely unchanged by their notable sacrifices in Cuba. Consequently, a large vocal anti-imperialist movement arose in the black community. This movement caused War Department planners to question the wisdom of sending black volunteer soldiers to the Philippines. The War Department did decide to commit to the Philippines portions of the four black regular units that had fought in Cuba. M. W. Saddler was a sergeant in the 25th Infantry, a unit that had distinguished itself at El Caney during the Cuban Campaign. As the following letter reveals, the idea of fighting against the Filipino guerrillas troubled his conscience. However, he justified black soldiers serving in the Philippines by the belief that it would enhance the status of blacks within the U.S. Army.

Primary Source

Nothing of a historical nature has been experienced since my last letter. Everything is hustle and bustle; great preparations are being made, and everything indicates a hard campaign in the near future. Officers and enlisted men of my regiment are undergoing rigid training, mentally and physically. Our greatest aim is to maintain our standing among American soldiers and add another star to the already brilliant crown of the Afro-American soldier. I am not a correspondent by profession but am willing to keep my people informed in regards to our arduous Orient duties. We are now arrayed to meet what we consider a common foe, men of our own hue and color. Whether it is right to reduce these people to submission is not a question for the soldier to decide. Our oath of allegiance knows neither race, color nor nation, and if such a question should

arise, it would be disposed of as one of a political nature by a soldier. There is one great desire among the colored soldiers now-a-days that did not exist probably a decade ago. That is to be represented in the file as well as the ranks. As the situation now stands, we moisten the soil with our precious blood, stain the colors with our oozing brains, only to make an already popular race more famous. Many of the intelligent heroes of the ranks would probably give their undivided attention to military training if there was an open avenue to a commission from the ranks and many inspired youths would cast their lot with us and display courage on the fields of battle. The Afro-Americans are represented in these islands by two thousand sable sons, as a Manila paper puts it "Greek against Greek" and in the usual old way we are here as an experiment. But experimenting with the colored soldiers has always added another laurel to support my assertion. I point with pride to the 54th Massachusetts, the regular army in the Indian campaigns, the 9th and 10th Cavalry and 24th Infantry at San Juan Hill, the 25th Infantry at El Caney and before Santiago. The latter regiment in which the writer had the honor to exercise military skill and face cannon balls. The honors of the campaign in the Philippines are to come. Military maneuvering and fighting between civilized colored men is not recorded in history. The results of black regiments against black regiments are not known. The coming campaign is indeed one of an experimental nature. The Filipinos, in my estimation, are far superior to the Cubans in every degree, though Spanish rule has made them treacherous, but they are trying to carry on a civilized warfare, and for an American to fall a captive to them does not mean present death as the case of the Spanish prisoners in the hands of the Cubans. I am thoroughly convinced that if these people are given home rule under American protection it will finally result in absolute independence.

M. W. Saddler
Serg't. Co. K, 25th Inf.

Source: Willard B. Gatewood, *"Smoked Yankees" and the Struggle for Empire: Letters from Negro Soldiers, 1898–1902* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 247–249.

116. William McKinley, Basis of the Decision to Retain the Philippines, November 21, 1899

Introduction

When American troops captured the Philippines and ousted Spain from its longtime colony, the conquest sparked widespread debate about the future direction of the United States as a world power. American opinion was deeply divided on whether the United States should extend its territory and influence toward the Pacific and Asia. President William McKinley himself wavered on whether the

United States should retain the Philippines, and he traveled the nation seeking a sense of public opinion. He eventually arrived at a decision and by September 1898 had instructed his peace commissioners to negotiate for possession of the Philippines. By terms of the treaty signed on December 10, 1898, the United States paid Spain \$20 million for the Philippine Islands. On December 21, 1898, the president issued orders to the War Department on how to govern the islands. The Philippine rebellion began six weeks later on February 4, 1899. In November 1899, speaking informally to a group of church leaders, McKinley revealed the basis of his 1898 decision to retain the Philippines. He described praying for divine guidance followed by a sense of certainty that the United States must keep the Philippines to prevent other powers from taking them and to “civilize” the Filipino people, whom he viewed as incapable of self-government.

Primary Source

“Hold a moment longer! Not quite yet, gentlemen! Before you go I would like to say just a word about the Philippine business. I have been criticized a good deal about the Philippines, but don’t deserve it. The truth is I didn’t want the Philippines, and when they came to us, as a gift from the gods, I did not know what to do with them. When the Spanish War broke out Dewey was in Hongkong, and I ordered him to go to Manila and to capture or destroy the Spanish fleet, and he had to; because, if defeated, he had no place to refit on that side of the globe, and if the Dons were victorious they would likely cross the Pacific and ravage our Oregon and California coasts. And so he had to destroy the Spanish fleet, and did it! But that was as far as I thought then.

“When I next realized that the Philippines had dropped into our laps, I confess I did not know what to do with them. I sought counsel from all sides—Democrats as well as Republicans—but got little help. I thought first we would take only Manila; then Luzon; then other islands perhaps also. I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight; and I am not ashamed to tell you, gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed Almighty God for light and guidance more than one night. And one night late it came to me this way—I don’t know how it was, but it came: (1) That we could not give them back to Spain—that would be cowardly and dishonorable; (2) that we could not turn them over to France and Germany—our commercial rivals in the Orient—that would be bad business and discreditable; (3) that we could not leave them to themselves—they were unfit for self-government—and they would soon have anarchy and misrule over there worse than Spain’s was; and (4) that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God’s grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellow-men for whom Christ also died. And then I went to bed, and went to sleep, and slept soundly, and the next morning I sent for the chief engineer of the War Department (our map-maker), and I told him to put the Philippines on the map of the

United States (pointing to a large map on the wall of his office), and there they are, and there they will stay while I am President!”

Source: James Rusling, “Interview with President William McKinley,” *Christian Advocate*, January 22, 1903, p. 17.

117. Stephen Crane, “Do Not Weep, Maiden, For War is Kind,” 1899

Introduction

Stephen Crane’s best-known work, his American Civil War novel *The Red Badge of Courage*, was published in 1895. Although he had never been a soldier, his realistic portrayal of combat attracted favorable attention. A newspaper hired Crane as a war correspondent, and he barely survived a shipwreck while trying to enter Cuba to cover the insurrection. He then traveled to Europe to cover the Greco-Turkish War in 1897. When war broke out with Spain the following year, he volunteered for the U.S. Navy but was rejected for his poor physical condition and failing health. Instead, he went to war as a correspondent for the *New York World*. After a falling out with the *World*, he switched to the rival *Journal*. He reported on the war first in Cuba and then in Puerto Rico. In addition to his novels and war reporting, Crane wrote peerless short stories and innovative unrhyming poetry. This poem, the title piece of his collection *War Is Kind*, expresses bitter sentiment against all war. It appeared at a time of developing domestic opposition to the war in the Philippines. Crane died of tuberculosis in 1900 at only 28 years old.

Primary Source

Do not weep, maiden, for war is kind.
Because your lover threw wild hands toward the sky
And the affrighted steed ran on alone,
Do not weep.
War is kind.

Hoarse, booming drums of the regiment,
Little souls who thirst for fight,
These men were born to drill and die.
The unexplained glory flies above them,
Great is the battle-god, great, and his kingdom—
A field where a thousand corpses lie.

Do not weep, babe, for war is kind.
Because your father tumbled in the yellow trenches,
Raged at his breast, gulped and died,
Do not weep.
War is kind.

Swift blazing flag of the regiment,
Eagle with crest of red and gold,

These men were born to drill and die.
 Point for them the virtue of slaughter,
 Make plain to them the excellence of killing
 And a field where a thousand corpses lie.

Mother whose heart hung humble as a button
 On the bright splendid shroud of your son,
 Do not weep.
 War is kind.

Source: Stephen Crane, "War Is Kind," *Bookman*, 40 (September 1914–February 1915).

118. Platform of the American Anti-Imperialist League, 1899

Introduction

When the United States ousted Spain from the distant Philippines, imperialism became a divisive issue in American politics. Anti-imperialists believed that the United States was wrongly abandoning its founding principles by acquiring distant possessions over the objections of their people. Supporters of imperialism argued that expansion of U.S. territory and the acquisition of overseas possessions would impart commercial and political advantages to the United States and that Americans had a moral obligation to bring the benefits of democracy to other nations. Formed in 1898, the American Anti-Imperialist League opposed U.S. imperialism during a time when the United States was seeking to annex Hawaii, fighting the Spanish-American War to drive the centuries-old Spanish colonial power from the Western Hemisphere, and suppressing a rebellion for independence in the Philippines. The Anti-Imperialist League advocated free trade without aggression or conquest of foreign territory. The organization's membership included such prominent Americans as Mark Twain. Despite the group's unifying cause and the publication of this national platform stating its goals, the Anti-Imperialist League disintegrated in 1900 over which candidate to support in that year's presidential election. The eventual candidate, William Jennings Bryan, lost to William McKinley.

Primary Source

We hold that the policy known as imperialism is hostile to liberty and tends toward militarism, an evil from which it has been our glory to be free. We regret that it has become necessary in the land of Washington and Lincoln to reaffirm that all men, of whatever race or color, are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We maintain that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. We insist that the subjugation of any people is "criminal aggression" and open disloyalty to the distinctive principles of our Government.

We earnestly condemn the policy of the present National Administration in the Philippines. It seeks to extinguish the spirit of 1776 in those islands. We deplore the sacrifice of our soldiers and sailors, whose bravery deserves admiration even in an unjust war. We denounce the slaughter of the Filipinos as a needless horror. We protest against the extension of American sovereignty by Spanish methods.

We demand the immediate cessation of the war against liberty, begun by Spain and continued by us. We urge that Congress be promptly convened to announce to the Filipinos our purpose to concede to them the independence for which they have so long fought and which of right is theirs.

The United States have always protested against the doctrine of international law which permits the subjugation of the weak by the strong. A self-governing state cannot accept sovereignty over an unwilling people. The United States cannot act upon the ancient heresy that might makes right.

Imperialists assume that with the destruction of self-government in the Philippines by American hands, all opposition here will cease. This is a grievous error. Much as we abhor the war of "criminal aggression" in the Philippines, greatly as we regret that the blood of the Filipinos is on American hands, we more deeply resent the betrayal of American institutions at home. The real firing line is not in the suburbs of Manila. The foe is of our own household. The attempt of 1861 was to divide the country. That of 1899 is to destroy its fundamental principles and noblest ideals.

Whether the ruthless slaughter of the Filipinos shall end next month or next year is but an incident in a contest that must go on until the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States are rescued from the hands of their betrayers. Those who dispute about standards of value while the foundation of the Republic is undermined will be listened to as little as those who would wrangle about the small economies of the household while the house is on fire. The training of a great people for a century, the aspiration for liberty of a vast immigration are forces that will hurl aside those who in the delirium of conquest seek to destroy the character of our institutions.

We deny that the obligation of all citizens to support their Government in times of grave National peril applies to the present situation. If an Administration may with impunity ignore the issues upon which it was chosen, deliberately create a condition of war anywhere on the face of the globe, debauch the civil service for spoils to promote the adventure, suppressing censorship and demand of all citizens a suspension of judgment and their unanimous support while it chooses to continue the fighting, representative government itself is imperiled.

We propose to contribute to the defeat of any person or party that stands for the forcible subjugation of any people. We shall oppose

for reelection all who in the White House or in Congress betray American liberty in pursuit of un-American ends. We still hope that both of our great political parties will support and defend the Declaration of Independence in the closing campaign of the century.

We hold, with Abraham Lincoln, that “no man is good enough to govern another man without that other’s consent. When the white man governs himself, that is self-government, but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism.” “Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it.”

We cordially invite the cooperation of all men and women who remain loyal to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

Source: “Platform of the American Anti-Imperialist League,” in *Speeches, Correspondence, and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. 6, edited by Frederick Bancroft, 77n1 (New York: Putnam, 1913).

119. John Hay, Open Door Policy, 1899

Introduction

In a circular letter sent on September 6, 1899, to the U.S. ambassadors in Germany, Russia, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, U.S. secretary of state John Hay articulated what became known as the Open Door Policy in regard to China. Over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, these powers had carved up China into spheres of influence, within which each country dominated trade relations. Great Britain and the United States grew concerned that the other powers would partition China and thus interfere with their lucrative trade. The Open Door Policy, first proposed by a British customs official in China, advocated that these spheres of influence be disregarded so that trade could flow more freely. The U.S. ambassadors announced the new policy to their host countries, receiving evasive promises of compliance from the European powers and an outright rejection from Japan. Nevertheless, Hay announced the acceptance and enactment of the policy in March 1900. In practice, none of the countries, including the United States, paid much attention to the Open Door Policy. Nonetheless, most of the countries continued to affirm their adherence to the policy up until the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1932, which was the first overt act of World War II in the Pacific.

Primary Source

At the time when the Government of the United States was informed by that of Germany that it had leased from His Majesty the Emperor of China the port of Kiao-chao and the adjacent territory

in the province of Shantung, assurances were given to the ambassador of the United States at Berlin by the Imperial German minister for foreign affairs that the rights and privileges insured by treaties with China to citizens of the United States would not thereby suffer or be in anywise impaired within the area over which Germany had thus obtained control.

More recently, however, the British Government recognized by a formal agreement with Germany the exclusive right of the latter country to enjoy in said leased area and the contiguous “sphere of influence or interest” certain privileges, more especially those relating to railroads and mining enterprises; but as the exact nature and extent of the rights thus recognized have not been clearly defined, it is possible that serious conflicts of interest may at any time arise not only between British and German subjects within said area, but that the interests of our citizens may also be jeopardized thereby.

Earnestly desirous to remove any cause of irritation and to insure at the same time to the commerce of all nations in China the undoubted benefits which should accrue from a formal recognition by the various powers claiming “spheres of interest” that they shall enjoy perfect equality of treatment for their commerce and navigation within such “spheres,” the Government of the United States would be pleased to see His German Majesty’s Government give formal assurances, and lend its cooperation in securing like assurances from the other interested powers, that each, within its respective sphere of whatever influence—

First. Will in no way interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called “sphere of interest” or leased territory it may have in China.

Second. That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within said “sphere of interest” (unless they be “free ports”), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

Third. That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such “sphere” than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or operated within its “sphere” on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such “sphere” than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationals transported over equal distances.

The liberal policy pursued by His Imperial German Majesty in declaring Kiao-chao a free port and in aiding the Chinese Government in the establishment there of a customhouse are so clearly in line with the proposition which this Government is anxious to see recognized that it entertains the strongest hope that Germany

will give its acceptance and hearty support. The recent ukase of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia declaring the port of Ta-lien-wan open during the whole of the lease under which it is held from China to the merchant ships of all nations, coupled with the categorical assurances made to this Government by His Imperial Majesty's representative at this capital at the time and since repeated to me by the present Russian ambassador, seem to insure the support of the Emperor to the proposed measure. Our ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg has in consequence been instructed to submit it to the Russian Government and to request their early consideration of it. A copy of my instruction on the subject to Mr. Tower is herewith inclosed for your confidential information.

The commercial interests of Great Britain and Japan will be so clearly observed by the desired declaration of intentions, and the views of the Governments of these countries as to the desirability of the adoption of measures insuring the benefits of equality of treatment of all foreign trade throughout China are so similar to those entertained by the United States, that their acceptance of the propositions herein outlined and their cooperation in advocating their adoption by the other powers can be confidently expected. I inclose herewith copy of the instruction which I have sent to Mr. Choate on the subject.

In view of the present favorable conditions, you are instructed to submit the above considerations to His Imperial German Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs, and to request his early consideration of the subject.

Source: *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1899).

120. Rudyard Kipling, "The White Man's Burden," 1899

Introduction

Rudyard Kipling, the author of numerous stories set in British India during the height of British imperialism, penned "The White Man's Burden" in 1899 to articulate his view of the American role in the Philippines. It is unknown whether Kipling intended his description of a colonial power's responsibility toward a conquered people to be ironic or straightforward. Some view the poem as a satirical indictment of an imperial power's treatment of native peoples, while others view it as a straightforward call to Americans to assume the thankless duty of civilizing the nonwhite world. Kipling's poem was widely read and reprinted in the United States. Supporters of American imperialism viewed the taking up of the white man's burden as noble, and the phrase

entered into common use. Because Kipling supported the British Empire, the poem's explicit imperialist attitudes caused some to denounce him as racist and elitist. However, with the conquest of the Philippines, many Americans came to believe that they had a moral obligation to civilize and Christianize the Filipino people and to bring them the benefits of democracy. They viewed the Filipino people as childlike, savage, damaged by long exposure to Spanish cruelty, and incapable of self-government.

Primary Source

Take up the White Man's burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need;

To wait in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half-devil and half-child.

Take up the White Man's burden—
In patience to abide,
To veil the threat of terror
And check the show of pride;

By open speech and simple,
An hundred times made plain
To seek another's profit,
And work another's gain.

Take up the White Man's burden—
The savage wars of peace—
Fill full the mouth of Famine
And bid the sickness cease;

And when your goal is nearest
The end for others sought,
Watch sloth and heathen Folly
Bring all your hopes to nought.

Take up the White Man's burden—
No tawdry rule of kings,
But toil of serf and sweeper—
The tale of common things.

The ports ye shall not enter,
The roads ye shall not tread,
Go mark them with your living,
And mark them with your dead.

Take up the White Man's burden—
And reap his old reward:

The blame of those ye better,
The hate of those ye guard—

The cry of hosts ye humour
(Ah, slowly!) toward the light:—
“Why brought he us from bondage,
Our loved Egyptian night?”

Take up the White Man’s burden—
Ye dare not stoop to less—
Nor call too loud on Freedom
To cloke your weariness;

By all ye cry or whisper,
By all ye leave or do,
The silent, sullen peoples
Shall weigh your gods and you.

Take up the White Man’s burden—
Have done with childish days—
The lightly proffered laurel,
The easy, ungrudged praise.

Comes now, to search your manhood
Through all the thankless years
Cold, edged with dear-bought wisdom,
The judgment of your peers!

Source: Rudyard Kipling, “The White Man’s Burden,” *McClure’s Magazine* 12 (February 1899).

121. Albert J. Beveridge, “In Support of an American Empire” Speech, 1900

Introduction

The seizure of the Philippines from Spain in 1898 presented the United States with a dilemma. The Filipino people had long desired and fought for independence. The American people were far from unanimous on the question of retaining the Philippines, and the ensuing Philippine rebellion proved highly divisive in the United States. Keeping the Philippines over the objections of its people represented an enormous departure from previous American foreign policy and propelled the nation into the ranks of imperial powers. Albert J. Beveridge, a Republican senator from Indiana, was a strong supporter of U.S. imperialism and also a great orator. On January 9, 1900, he delivered this address in the U.S. Senate, an excerpt of which appears below. It urged his fellow senators to endorse U.S. colonization of the Philippines. He blamed insufficient force and will for the prolongation of the bloody conflict and was one of the first to argue that American opposition to the war en-

couraged the enemy. Like other advocates of imperialism, Beveridge categorically stated that the Filipino people were incapable of self-government, calling them “children” and “savages.” He argued that it was America’s divine duty to bring the benefits of civilization to the world and that self-government was not a necessary component of civilization.

Primary Source

MR. PRESIDENT, the times call for candor. The Philippines are ours forever, “territory belonging to the United States,” as the Constitution calls them. And just beyond the Philippines are China’s illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either. We will not repudiate our duty in the archipelago. We will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world. And we will move forward to our work, not howling out regrets like slaves whipped to their burdens but with gratitude for a task worthy of our strength and thanksgiving to Almighty God that He has marked us as His chosen people, henceforth to lead in the regeneration of the world.

This island empire is the last land left in all the oceans. If it should prove a mistake to abandon it, the blunder once made would be irretrievable. If it proves a mistake to hold it, the error can be corrected when we will. Every other progressive nation stands ready to relieve us.

But to hold it will be no mistake. Our largest trade henceforth must be with Asia. The Pacific is our ocean. More and more Europe will manufacture the most it needs, secure from its colonies the most it consumes. Where shall we turn for consumers of our surplus? Geography answers the question. China is our natural customer. She is nearer to us than to England, Germany, or Russia, the commercial powers of the present and the future. They have moved nearer to China by securing permanent bases on her borders. The Philippines give us a base at the door of all the East.

Lines of navigation from our ports to the Orient and Australia, from the Isthmian Canal to Asia, from all Oriental ports to Australia converge at and separate from the Philippines. They are a self-supporting, dividend-paying fleet, permanently anchored at a spot selected by the strategy of Providence, commanding the Pacific. And the Pacific is the ocean of the commerce of the future. Most future wars will be conflicts for commerce. The power that rules the Pacific, therefore, is the power that rules the world. And, with the Philippines, that power is and will forever be the American Republic. . . .

But if they did not command China, India, the Orient, the whole Pacific for purposes of offense, defense, and trade, the Philippines are so valuable in themselves that we should hold them. I have cruised more than 2,000 miles through the archipelago, every mo-

ment a surprise at its loveliness and wealth. I have ridden hundreds of miles on the islands, every foot of the way a revelation of vegetable and mineral riches. . . .

Here, then, senators, is the situation. Two years ago there was no land in all the world which we could occupy for any purpose. Our commerce was daily turning toward the Orient, and geography and trade developments made necessary our commercial empire over the Pacific. And in that ocean we had no commercial, naval, or military base. Today, we have one of the three great ocean possessions of the globe, located at the most commanding commercial, naval, and military points in the Eastern seas, within hail of India, shoulder to shoulder with China, richer in its own resources than any equal body of land on the entire globe, and peopled by a race which civilization demands shall be improved. Shall we abandon it?

That man little knows the common people of the republic, little understands the instincts of our race who thinks we will not hold it fast and hold it forever, administering just government by simplest methods. We may trick up devices to shift our burden and lessen our opportunity; they will avail us nothing but delay. We may tangle conditions by applying academic arrangements of self-government to a crude situation; their failure will drive us to our duty in the end.

The military situation, past, present, and prospective, is no reason for abandonment. Our campaign has been as perfect as possible with the force at hand. We have been delayed, first, by a failure to comprehend the immensity of our acquisition; and, second, by insufficient force; and, third, by our efforts for peace. In February, after the treaty of peace, General Otis had only 3,722 officers and men whom he had a legal right to order into battle. The terms of enlistment of the rest of his troops had expired, and they fought voluntarily and not on legal military compulsion. It was one of the noblest examples of patriotic devotion to duty in the history of the world.

Those who complain do so in ignorance of the real situation. We attempted a great task with insufficient means; we became impatient that it was not finished before it could fairly be commenced; and I pray we may not add that other element of disaster, pausing in the work before it is thoroughly and forever done. That is the gravest mistake we could possibly make, and that is the only danger before us. Our Indian wars would have been shortened, the lives of soldiers and settlers saved, and the Indians themselves benefited had we made continuous and decisive war; and any other kind of war is criminal because ineffective. We acted toward the Indians as though we feared them, loved them, hated them—a mingling of foolish sentiment, inaccurate thought, and paralytic purpose. . . .

Mr. President, that must not be our plan. This war is like all other wars. It needs to be finished before it is stopped. I am prepared to

vote either to make our work thorough or even now to abandon it. A lasting peace can be secured only by overwhelming forces in ceaseless action until universal and absolutely final defeat is inflicted on the enemy. To halt before every armed force, every guerrilla band opposing us is dispersed or exterminated will prolong hostilities and leave alive the seeds of perpetual insurrection.

Even then we should not treat. To treat at all is to admit that we are wrong. And any quiet so secured will be delusive and fleeting. And a false peace will betray us; a sham truce will curse us. It is not to serve the purposes of the hour, it is not to salve a present situation that peace should be established. It is for the tranquillity of the archipelago forever. It is for an orderly government for the Filipinos for all the future. It is to give this problem to posterity solved and settled, not vexed and involved. It is to establish the supremacy of the American republic over the Pacific and throughout the East till the end of time.

It has been charged that our conduct of the war has been cruel. Senators, it has been the reverse. I have been in our hospitals and seen the Filipino wounded as carefully, tenderly cared for as our own. Within our lines they may plow and sow and reap and go about the affairs of peace with absolute liberty. And yet all this kindness was misunderstood, or rather not understood. Senators must remember that we are not dealing with Americans or Europeans. We are dealing with Orientals. We are dealing with Orientals who are Malays. We are dealing with Malays instructed in Spanish methods. They mistake kindness for weakness, forbearance for fear. It could not be otherwise unless you could erase hundreds of years of savagery, other hundreds of years of Orientalism, and still other hundreds of years of Spanish character and custom. . . .

Mr. President, reluctantly and only from a sense of duty am I forced to say that American opposition to the war has been the chief factor in prolonging it. Had Aguinaldo not understood that in America, even in the American Congress, even here in the Senate, he and his cause were supported; had he not known that it was proclaimed on the stump and in the press of a faction in the United States that every shot his misguided followers fired into the breasts of American soldiers was like the volleys fired by Washington's men against the soldiers of King George, his insurrection would have dissolved before it entirely crystallized.

The utterances of American opponents of the war are read to the ignorant soldiers of Aguinaldo and repeated in exaggerated form among the common people. Attempts have been made by wretches claiming American citizenship to ship arms and ammunition from Asiatic ports to the Filipinos, and these acts of infamy were coupled by the Malays with American assaults on our government at home. The Filipinos do not understand free speech, and therefore our tolerance of American assaults on the American President and the American government means to them that our President is in the minority or he would not permit what appears to them such

treasonable criticism. It is believed and stated in Luzon, Panay, and Cebu that the Filipinos have only to fight, harass, retreat, break up into small parties, if necessary, as they are doing now, but by any means hold out until the next presidential election, and our forces will be withdrawn.

All this has aided the enemy more than climate, arms, and battle. Senators, I have heard these reports myself; I have talked with the people; I have seen our mangled boys in the hospital and field; I have stood on the firing line and beheld our dead soldiers, their faces turned to the pitiless southern sky, and in sorrow rather than anger I say to those whose voices in America have cheered those misguided natives on to shoot our soldiers down, that the blood of those dead and wounded boys of ours is on their hands, and the flood of all the years can never wash that stain away. In sorrow rather than anger I say these words, for I earnestly believe that our brothers knew not what they did.

But, senators, it would be better to abandon this combined garden and Gibraltar of the Pacific, and count our blood and treasure already spent a profitable loss than to apply any academic arrangement of self-government to these children. They are not capable of self-government. How could they be? They are not of a self-governing race. They are Orientals, Malays, instructed by Spaniards in the latter's worst estate.

They know nothing of practical government except as they have witnessed the weak, corrupt, cruel, and capricious rule of Spain. What magic will anyone employ to dissolve in their minds and characters those impressions of governors and governed which three centuries of misrule has created? What alchemy will change the Oriental quality of their blood and set the self-governing currents of the American pouring through their Malay veins? How shall they, in the twinkling of an eye, be exalted to the heights of self-governing peoples which required a thousand years for us to reach, Anglo-Saxon though we are?

Let men beware how they employ the term "self-government." It is a sacred term. It is the watchword at the door of the inner temple of liberty, for liberty does not always mean self-government. Self-government is a method of liberty—the highest, simplest, best—and it is acquired only after centuries of study and struggle and experiment and instruction and all the elements of the progress of man. Self-government is no base and common thing to be bestowed on the merely audacious. It is the degree which crowns the graduate of liberty, not the name of liberty's infant class, who have not yet mastered the alphabet of freedom. Savage blood, Oriental blood, Malay blood, Spanish example—are these the elements of self-government?

We must act on the situation as it exists, not as we would wish it. I have talked with hundreds of these people, getting their views as

to the practical workings of self-government. The great majority simply do not understand any participation in any government whatever. The most enlightened among them declare that self-government will succeed because the employers of labor will compel their employees to vote as their employer wills and that this will insure intelligent voting. I was assured that we could depend upon good men always being in office because the officials who constitute the government will nominate their successors, choose those among the people who will do the voting, and determine how and where elections will be held.

The most ardent advocate of self-government that I met was anxious that I should know that such a government would be tranquil because, as he said, if anyone criticized it, the government would shoot the offender. A few of them have a sort of verbal understanding of the democratic theory, but the above are the examples of the ideas of the practical workings of self-government entertained by the aristocracy, the rich planters and traders, and heavy employers of labor, the men who would run the government. . . .

In all other islands our government must be simple and strong. It must be a uniform government. Different forms for different islands will produce perpetual disturbance because the people of each island would think that the people of the other islands are more favored than they. In Panay I heard murmurings that we were giving Negros an American constitution. This is a human quality, found even in America, and we must never forget that in dealing with the Filipinos we deal with children.

And so our government must be simple and strong. Simple and strong! The meaning of those two words must be written in every line of Philippine legislation, realized in every act of Philippine administration.

A Philippine office in our Department of State; an American governor-general in Manila, with power to meet daily emergencies; possibly an advisory council with no power except that of discussing measures with the governor-general, which council would be the germ for future legislatures, a school in practical government; American lieutenant governors in each province, with a like council about him if possible, an American resident in each district and a like council grouped about him. Frequent and unannounced visits of provincial governors to the districts of their province; periodical reports to the governor-general; an American board of visitation to make semi-annual trips to the archipelago without power of suggestion or interference to officials or people, but only to report and recommend to the Philippine office of our State Department; a Philippine civil service, with promotion for efficiency; the abolition of duties on exports from the Philippines; the establishment of import duties on a revenue basis, with such discrimination in favor of American imports as will prevent the cheaper goods of other nations from destroying American trade; a complete reform of local taxation on a

just and scientific basis, beginning with the establishment of a tax on land according to its assessed value; the minting of abundant money for Philippine and Oriental use. The granting of franchises and concessions upon the theory of developing the resources of the archipelago, and therefore not by sale, but upon participation in the profits of the enterprise; the formation of a system of public schools everywhere with compulsory attendance rigidly enforced; the establishment of the English language throughout the Islands, teaching it exclusively in the schools and using it, through interpreters, exclusively in the courts; a simple civil code and a still simpler criminal code, and both common to all the islands except Sulu, Mindanao, and Paluan; American judges for all but smallest offenses; gradual, slow, and careful introduction of the best Filipinos into the working machinery of the government, no promise whatever of the franchise until the people have been prepared for it, all this backed by the necessary force to execute it—this outline of government the situation demands as soon as tranquillity is established. Until then military government is advisable. . . .

The men we send to administer civilized government in the Philippines must be themselves the highest examples of our civilization. I use the word "examples," for examples they must be in that word's most absolute sense. They must be men of the world and of affairs, students of their fellowmen, not theorists nor dreamers. They must be brave men, physically as well as morally. They must be as incorruptible as honor, as stainless as purity, men whom no force can frighten, no influence coerce, no money buy. Such men come high, even here in America. But they must be had.

Better pure military occupation for years than government by any other quality of administration. Better abandon this priceless possession, admit ourselves incompetent to do our part in the world-redeeming work of our imperial race; better now haul down the flag of arduous deeds for civilization and run up the flag of reaction and decay than to apply academic notions of self-government to these children or attempt their government by any but the most perfect administrators our country can produce. I assert that such administrators can be found. . . .

Mr. President, self-government and internal development have been the dominant notes of our first century; administration and the development of other lands will be the dominant notes of our second century. And administration is as high and holy a function as self-government, just as the care of a trust estate is as sacred an obligation as the management of our own concerns. Cain was the first to violate the divine law of human society which makes of us our brother's keeper. And administration of good government is the first lesson in self-government, that exalted estate toward which all civilization tends.

Administration of good government is not denial of liberty. For what is liberty? It is not savagery. It is not the exercise of individual

will. It is not dictatorship. It involves government, but not necessarily self-government. It means law. First of all, it is a common rule of action, applying equally to all within its limits. Liberty means protection of property and life without price, free speech without intimidation, justice without purchase or delay, government without favor or favorites. What will best give all this to the people of the Philippines-American administration, developing them gradually toward self-government, or self-government by a people before they know what self-government means?

The Declaration of Independence does not forbid us to do our part in the regeneration of the world. If it did, the Declaration would be wrong, just as the Articles of Confederation, drafted by the very same men who signed the Declaration, was found to be wrong. The Declaration has no application to the present situation. It was written by self-governing men for self-governing men. It was written by men who, for a century and a half, had been experimenting in self-government on this continent, and whose ancestors for hundreds of years before had been gradually developing toward that high and holy estate.

The Declaration applies only to people capable of self-government. How dare any man prostitute this expression of the very elect of self-governing peoples to a race of Malay children of barbarism, schooled in Spanish methods and ideas? And you who say the Declaration applies to all men, how dare you deny its application to the American Indian? And if you deny it to the Indian at home, how dare you grant it to the Malay abroad?

The Declaration does not contemplate that all government must have the consent of the governed. It announces that man's "inalienable rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are established among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that when any form of government becomes destructive of those rights, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it." "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are the important things; "consent of the governed" is one of the means to those ends.

If "any form of government becomes destructive of those ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it," says the Declaration. "Any forms" includes all forms. Thus the Declaration itself recognizes other forms of government than those resting on the consent of the governed. The word "consent" itself recognizes other forms, for "consent" means the understanding of the thing to which the "consent" is given; and there are people in the world who do not understand any form of government. And the sense in which "consent" is used in the Declaration is broader than mere understanding; for "consent" in the Declaration means participation in the government "consented" to. And yet these people who are not capable of "consenting" to any form of government must be governed.

And so the Declaration contemplates all forms of government which secure the fundamental rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Self-government, when that will best secure these ends, as in the case of people capable of self-government; other appropriate forms when people are not capable of self-government. And so the authors of the Declaration themselves governed the Indian without his consent; the inhabitants of Louisiana without their consent; and ever since the sons of the makers of the Declaration have been governing not by theory but by practice, after the fashion of our governing race, now by one form, now by another, but always for the purpose of securing the great eternal ends of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, not in the savage but in the civilized meaning of those terms—life, according to orderly methods of civilized society; liberty regulated by law; pursuit of happiness limited by the pursuit of happiness by every other man.

If this is not the meaning of the Declaration, our government itself denies the Declaration every time it receives the representative of any but a republican form of government, such as that of the sultan, the czar, or other absolute autocrats, whose governments, according to the opposition's interpretation of the Declaration, are spurious governments because the people governed have not "consented" to them.

Senators in opposition are stopped from denying our constitutional power to govern the Philippines as circumstances may demand, for such power is admitted in the case of Florida, Louisiana, Alaska. How, then, is it denied in the Philippines? Is there a geographical interpretation to the Constitution? Do degrees of longitude fix constitutional limitations? Does a thousand miles of ocean diminish constitutional power more than a thousand miles of land?

The ocean does not separate us from the field of our duty and endeavor—it joins us, an established highway needing no repair and landing us at any point desired. The seas do not separate the Philippine Islands from us or from each other. The seas are highways through the archipelago, which would cost hundreds of millions of dollars to construct if they were land instead of water. Land may separate men from their desire; the ocean, never. Russia has been centuries in crossing Siberian wastes; the Puritans cross the Atlantic in brief and flying weeks.

If the Boers must have traveled by land, they would never have reached the Transvaal; but they sailed on liberty's ocean; they walked on civilization's untaxed highway, the welcoming sea. Our ships habitually sailed round the Cape and anchored in California's harbors before a single trail had lined the desert with the whitening bones of those who made it. No! No! The ocean unites us; steam unites us; electricity unites us; all the elements of nature unite us to the region where duty and interest call us.

There is in the ocean no constitutional argument against the march of the flag, for the oceans, too, are ours. With more extended coast-

lines than any nation of history; with a commerce vaster than any other people ever dreamed of, and that commerce as yet only in its beginnings; with naval traditions equaling those of England or of Greece, and the work of our Navy only just begun; with the air of the ocean in our nostrils and the blood of a sailor ancestry in our veins; with the shores of all the continents calling us, the Great Republic before I die will be the acknowledged lord of the world's high seas. And over them the republic will hold dominion, by virtue of the strength God has given it, for the peace of the world and the betterment of man.

No; the oceans are not limitations of the power which the Constitution expressly gives Congress to govern all territory the nation may acquire. The Constitution declares that "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory belonging to the United States." Not the Northwest Territory only; not Louisiana or Florida only; not territory on this continent only but any territory anywhere belonging to the nation.

The founders of the nation were not provincial. Theirs was the geography of the world. They were soldiers as well as landsmen, and they knew that where our ships should go our flag might follow. They had the logic of progress, and they knew that the republic they were planting must, in obedience to the laws of our expanding race, necessarily develop into the greater republic which the world beholds today, and into the still mightier republic which the world will finally acknowledge as the arbiter, under God, of the destinies of mankind. And so our fathers wrote into the Constitution these words of growth, of expansion, of empire, if you will, unlimited by geography or climate or by anything but the vitality and possibilities of the American people: "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory belonging to the United States."

The power to govern all territory the nation may acquire would have been in Congress if the language affirming that power had not been written in the Constitution; for not all powers of the national government are expressed. Its principal powers are implied. The written Constitution is but the index of the living Constitution. Had this not been true, the Constitution would have failed; for the people in any event would have developed and progressed. And if the Constitution had not had the capacity for growth corresponding with the growth of the nation, the Constitution would and should have been abandoned as the Articles of Confederation were abandoned. For the Constitution is not immortal in itself, is not useful even in itself. The Constitution is immortal and even useful only as it serves the orderly development of the nation. The nation alone is immortal. The nation alone is sacred. The Army is its servant. The Navy is its servant. The President is its servant. This Senate is its servant. Our laws are its methods. Our Constitution is its instrument. . . .

Mr. President, this question is deeper than any question of party politics; deeper than any question of the isolated policy of our country

even; deeper even than any question of constitutional power. It is elemental. It is racial. God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration. No! He has made us the master organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns. He has given us the spirit of progress to overwhelm the forces of reaction throughout the earth. He has made us adepts in government that we may administer government among savage and senile peoples. Were it not for such a force as this the world would relapse into barbarism and night. And of all our race He has marked the American people as His chosen nation to finally lead in the regeneration of the world. This is the divine mission of America, and it holds for us all the profit, all the glory, all the happiness possible to man. We are trustees of the world's progress, guardians of its righteous peace. The judgment of the Master is upon us: "Ye have been faithful over a few things; I will make you ruler over many things."

What shall history say of us? Shall it say that we renounced that holy trust, left the savage to his base condition, the wilderness to the reign of waste, deserted duty, abandoned glory, forget our sordid profit even, because we feared our strength and read the charter of our powers with the doubter's eye and the quibbler's mind? Shall it say that, called by events to captain and command the proudest, ablest, purest race of history in history's noblest work, we declined that great commission? Our fathers would not have had it so. No! They founded no paralytic government, incapable of the simplest acts of administration. They planted no sluggish people, passive while the world's work calls them. They established no reactionary nation. They unfurled no retreating flag.

That flag has never paused in its onward march. Who dares halt it now—now, when history's largest events are carrying it forward; now, when we are at last one people, strong enough for any task, great enough for any glory destiny can bestow? How comes it that our first century closes with the process of consolidating the American people into a unit just accomplished, and quick upon the stroke of that great hour presses upon us our world opportunity, world duty, and world glory, which none but the people welded into an invisible nation can achieve or perform?

Blind indeed is he who sees not the hand of God in events so vast, so harmonious, so benign. Reactionary indeed is the mind that perceives not that this vital people is the strongest of the saving forces of the world; that our place, therefore, is at the head of the constructing and redeeming nations of the earth; and that to stand aside while events march on is a surrender of our interests, a betrayal of our duty as blind as it is base. Craven indeed is the heart that fears to perform a work so golden and so noble; that dares not win a glory so immortal.

Do you tell me that it will cost us money? When did Americans ever measure duty by financial standards? Do you tell me of the tremen-

dous toil required to overcome the vast difficulties of our task? What mighty work for the world, for humanity, even for ourselves has ever been done with ease? Even our bread must we eat by the sweat of our faces. Why are we charged with power such as no people ever knew if we are not to use it in a work such as no people ever wrought? Who will dispute the divine meaning of the fable of the talents?

Do you remind me of the precious blood that must be shed, the lives that must be given, the broken hearts of loved ones for their slain? And this is indeed a heavier price than all combined. And, yet, as a nation, every historic duty we have done, every achievement we have accomplished has been by the sacrifice of our noblest sons. Every holy memory that glorifies the flag is of those heroes who have died that its onward march might not be stayed. It is the nation's dearest lives yielded for the flag that makes it dear to us; it is the nation's most precious blood poured out for it that makes it precious to us. That flag is woven of heroism and grief, of the bravery of men and women's tears, of righteousness and battle, of sacrifice and anguish, of triumph and of glory. It is these which make our flag a holy thing.

Who would tear from that sacred banner the glorious legends of a single battle where it has waved on land or sea? What son of a soldier of the flag whose father fell beneath it on any field would surrender that proud record for the heraldry of a king? In the cause of civilization, in the service of the republic anywhere on earth, Americans consider wounds the noblest decorations man can win, and count the giving of their lives a glad and precious duty.

Pray God that spirit never falls. Pray God the time may never come when Mammon and the love of ease shall so debase our blood that we will fear to shed it for the flag and its imperial destiny. Pray God the time may never come when American heroism is but a legend like the story of the Cid. American faith in our mission and our might a dream dissolved, and the glory of our mighty race departed.

And that time will never come. We will renew our youth at the fountain of new and glorious deeds. We will exalt our reverence for the flag by carrying it to a noble future as well as by remembering its ineffable past. Its immortality will not pass, because everywhere and always we will acknowledge and discharge the solemn responsibilities our sacred flag, in its deepest meaning, puts upon us. And so, senators, with reverent hearts, where dwells the fear of God, the American people move forward to the future of their hope and the doing of His work.

Mr. President and senators, adopt the resolution offered that peace may quickly come and that we may begin our saving, regenerating, and uplifting work. Adopt it, and this bloodshed will cease when these deluded children of our islands learn that this is the final word of the representatives of the American people in Congress assem-

bled. Reject it, and the world, history, and the American people will know where to forever fix the awful responsibility for the consequences that will surely follow such failure to do our manifest duty. How dare we delay when our soldiers' blood is flowing?

Source: U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record*, 56 Cong., 1st sess., 704–712.

122. William Jennings Bryan, "Paralyzing Influence of Imperialism" Speech, 1900 [Excerpt]

Introduction

William Jennings Bryan was the democratic nominee for president of the United States and ran unsuccessfully against William McKinley in 1896 and 1900. Bryan was a tireless champion of liberal causes as well as a pacifist and an anti-imperialist. He also promoted the interests of rural areas and the working class versus urban interests and the business elite. In 1900, the candidates differed on the issue of imperialism raised by the acquisition of Cuba and the Philippines in the Spanish-American War. Bryan had supported the ratification of the peace treaty with Spain even though it gave the Philippines to the United States. Some historians argue that he did this so that he could then make imperialism a major issue in his 1900 campaign. His 1900 speech promoting the idea of Philippine self-determination is excerpted here. Bryan argued against the Republicans' belief that the United States should intervene in the nation's affairs and proposed that the destiny of the Philippines be guided at the "hands of its own people." He again ran unsuccessfully for president in 1908 and later served as secretary of state under President Woodrow Wilson. Bryan is most remembered for the famous 1925 trial in which he prosecuted John Scopes for teaching the theory of evolution.

Primary Source

IF IT IS RIGHT for the United States to hold the Philippine Islands permanently and imitate European empires in the government of colonies, the Republican Party ought to state its position and defend it, but it must expect the subject races to protest against such a policy and to resist to the extent of their ability.

The Filipinos do not need any encouragement from Americans now living. Our whole history has been an encouragement, not only to the Filipinos but to all who are denied a voice in their own government. If the Republicans are prepared to censure all who have used language calculated to make the Filipinos hate foreign domination, let them condemn the speech of Patrick Henry. When he uttered that passionate appeal, "Give me liberty or give me death," he expressed a sentiment which still echoes in the hearts of men.

Let them censure Jefferson; of all the statesmen of history none have used words so offensive to those who would hold their fellows in political bondage. Let them censure Washington, who declared that the colonists must choose between liberty and slavery. Or, if the statute of limitations has run against the sins of Henry and Jefferson and Washington, let them censure Lincoln, whose Gettysburg speech will be quoted in defense of popular government when the present advocates of force and conquest are forgotten.

Someone has said that a truth once spoken can never be recalled. It goes on and on, and no one can set a limit to its ever widening influence. But if it were possible to obliterate every word written or spoken in defense of the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, a war of conquest would still leave its legacy of perpetual hatred, for it was God Himself who placed in every human heart the love of liberty. He never made a race of people so low in the scale of civilization or intelligence that it would welcome a foreign master.

Those who would have this nation enter upon a career of empire must consider not only the effect of imperialism on the Filipinos but they must also calculate its effects upon our own nation. We cannot repudiate the principle of self-government in the Philippines without weakening that principle here.

Lincoln said that the safety of this nation was not in its fleets, its armies, its forts, but in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands, everywhere, and he warned his countrymen that they could not destroy this spirit without planting the seeds of despotism at their own doors.

Even now we are beginning to see the paralyzing influence of imperialism. Heretofore this nation has been prompt to express its sympathy with those who were fighting for civil liberty. While our sphere of activity has been limited to the Western Hemisphere, our sympathies have not been bounded by the seas. We have felt it due to ourselves and to the world, as well as to those who were struggling for the right to govern themselves, to proclaim the interest which our people have, from the date of their own independence, felt in every contest between human rights and arbitrary power. . . .

A colonial policy means that we shall send to the Philippine Islands a few traders, a few taskmasters, and a few officeholders, and an army large enough to support the authority of a small fraction of the people while they rule the natives.

If we have an imperial policy we must have a great standing army as its natural and necessary complement. The spirit which will justify the forcible annexation of the Philippine Islands will justify the seizure of other islands and the domination of other people, and with wars of conquest we can expect a certain, if not rapid, growth of our military establishment.

That a large permanent increase in our regular army is intended by Republican leaders is not a matter of conjecture but a matter of fact. In his message of Dec. 5, 1898, the President asked for authority to increase the standing army to 100,000. In 1896 the army contained about 25,000. Within two years the President asked for four times that many, and a Republican House of Representatives complied with the request after the Spanish treaty had been signed, and when no country was at war with the United States.

If such an army is demanded when an imperial policy is contemplated but not openly avowed, what may be expected if the people encourage the Republican Party by endorsing its policy at the polls?

A large standing army is not only a pecuniary burden to the people and, if accompanied by compulsory service, a constant source of irritation but it is even a menace to a republican form of government. The army is the personification of force, and militarism will inevitably change the ideals of the people and turn the thoughts of our young men from the arts of peace to the science of war. The government which relies for its defense upon its citizens is more likely to be just than one which has at call a large body of professional soldiers.

A small standing army and a well-equipped and well-disciplined state militia are sufficient at ordinary times, and in an emergency the nation should in the future as in the past place its dependence upon the volunteers who come from all occupations at their country's call and return to productive labor when their services are no longer required—men who fight when the country needs fighters and work when the country needs workers. . . .

The Republican platform promises that some measure of self-government is to be given the Filipinos by law; but even this pledge is not fulfilled. Nearly sixteen months elapsed after the ratification of the treaty before the adjournment of Congress last June and yet no law was passed dealing with the Philippine situation. The will of the President has been the only law in the Philippine Islands wherever the American authority extends.

Why does the Republican Party hesitate to legislate upon the Philippine question? Because a law would disclose the radical departure from history and precedent contemplated by those who control the Republican Party. The storm of protest which greeted the Puerto Rican bill was an indication of what may be expected when the American people are brought face to face with legislation upon this subject.

If the Puerto Ricans, who welcomed annexation, are to be denied the guarantees of our Constitution, what is to be the lot of the Filipinos, who resisted our authority? If secret influences could compel a disregard of our plain duty toward friendly people living near our shores, what treatment will those same influences provide for unfriendly people 7,000 miles away? If, in this country where the people have a right to vote, Republican leaders dare not take the side of the people against

the great monopolies which have grown up within the last few years, how can they be trusted to protect the Filipinos from the corporations which are waiting to exploit the islands?

Is the sunlight of full citizenship to be enjoyed by the people of the United States and the twilight of semi-citizenship endured by the people of Puerto Rico, while the thick darkness of perpetual vassalage covers the Philippines? The Puerto Rico tariff law asserts the doctrine that the operation of the Constitution is confined to the forty-five states.

The Democratic Party disputes this doctrine and denounces it as repugnant to both the letter and spirit of our organic law. There is no place in our system of government for the deposit of arbitrary and irresistible power. That the leaders of a great party should claim for any President or Congress the right to treat millions of people as mere "possessions" and deal with them unrestrained by the Constitution or the Bill of Rights shows how far we have already departed from the ancient landmarks and indicates what may be expected if this nation deliberately enters upon a career of empire.

The territorial form of government is temporary and preparatory, and the chief security a citizen of a territory has is found in the fact that he enjoys the same constitutional guarantees and is subject to the same general laws as the citizen of a state. Take away this security and his rights will be violated and his interests sacrificed at the demand of those who have political influence. This is the evil of the colonial system, no matter by what nation it is applied.

What is our title to the Philippine Islands? Do we hold them by treaty or by conquest? Did we buy them or did we take them? Did we purchase the people? If not, how did we secure title to them? Were they thrown in with the land? Will the Republicans say that inanimate earth has value but that when that earth is molded by the Divine Hand and stamped with the likeness of the Creator it becomes a fixture and passes with the soil? If governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, it is impossible to secure title to people, either by force or by purchase.

We could extinguish Spain's title by treaty, but if we hold title we must hold it by some method consistent with our ideas of government. When we made allies of the Filipinos and armed them to fight against Spain, we disputed Spain's title. If we buy Spain's title, we are not innocent purchasers. There can be no doubt that we accepted and utilized the services of the Filipinos and that when we did so we had full knowledge that they were fighting for their own independence; and I submit that history furnishes no example of turpitude baser than ours if we now substitute our yoke for the Spanish yoke. . . .

Some argue that American rule in the Philippine Islands will result in the better education of the Filipinos. Be not deceived. If we expect

to maintain a colonial policy, we shall not find it to our advantage to educate the people. The educated Filipinos are now in revolt against us, and the most ignorant ones have made the least resistance to our domination. If we are to govern them without their consent and give them no voice in determining the taxes which they must pay, we dare not educate them lest they learn to read the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States and mock us for our inconsistency.

The principal arguments, however, advanced by those who enter upon a defense of imperialism are:

First, that we must improve the present opportunity to become a world power and enter into international politics.

Second, that our commercial interests in the Philippine Islands and in the Orient make it necessary for us to hold the islands permanently.

Third, that the spread of the Christian religion will be facilitated by a colonial policy.

Fourth, that there is no honorable retreat from the position which the nation has taken.

The first argument is addressed to the nation's pride and the second to the nation's pocketbook. The third is intended for the church member and the fourth for the partisan.

It is sufficient answer to the first argument to say that for more than a century this nation has been a world power. For ten decades it has been the most potent influence in the world. Not only has it been a world power but it has done more to affect the policies of the human race than all the other nations of the world combined. Because our Declaration of Independence was promulgated, others have been promulgated. Because the patriots of 1776 fought for liberty, others have fought for it. Because our Constitution was adopted, other constitutions have been adopted.

The growth of the principle of self-government, planted on American soil, has been the overshadowing political fact of the 19th century. It has made this nation conspicuous among the nations and given it a place in history, such as no other nation has ever enjoyed. Nothing has been able to check the onward march of this idea. I am not willing that this nation shall cast aside the omnipotent weapon of truth to seize again the weapons of physical warfare. I would not exchange the glory of this republic for the glory of all the empires that have risen and fallen since time began.

The permanent chairman of the last Republican National Convention presented the pecuniary argument in all its baldness when he said:

We make no hypocritical pretense of being interested in the Philippines solely on account of others. While we regard the welfare of those people as a sacred trust, we regard the welfare of the American people first. We see our duty to ourselves as well as to others. We believe in trade expansion. By every legitimate means within the province of government and constitution we mean to stimulate the expansion of our trade and open new markets.

This is the commercial argument. It is based upon the theory that war can be rightly waged for pecuniary advantage and that it is profitable to purchase trade by force and violence. Franklin denied both of these propositions. When Lord Howe asserted that the acts of Parliament which brought on the Revolution were necessary to prevent American trade from passing into foreign channels, Franklin replied:

To me it seems that neither the obtaining nor retaining of any trade, howsoever valuable, is an object for which men may justly spill each other's blood; that the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce are the goodness and cheapness of commodities, and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expense of compelling it and holding it by fleets and armies. I consider this war against us, therefore, as both unjust and unwise.

I place the philosophy of Franklin against the sordid doctrine of those who would put a price upon the head of an American soldier and justify a war of conquest upon the ground that it will pay. The Democratic Party is in favor of the expansion of trade. It would extend our trade by every legitimate and peaceful means; but it is not willing to make merchandise of human blood.

But a war of conquest is as unwise as it is unrighteous. A harbor and coaling station in the Philippines would answer every trade and military necessity and such a concession could have been secured at any time without difficulty. It is not necessary to own people in order to trade with them. We carry on trade today with every part of the world, and our commerce has expanded more rapidly than the commerce of any European empire. We do not own Japan or China, but we trade with their people. We have not absorbed the republics of Central and South America, but we trade with them. Trade cannot be permanently profitable unless it is voluntary.

When trade is secured by force, the cost of securing it and retaining it must be taken out of the profits, and the profits are never large enough to cover the expense. Such a system would never be defended but for the fact that the expense is borne by all the people while the profits are enjoyed by a few.

Imperialism would be profitable to the Army contractors; it would be profitable to the shipowners, who would carry live soldiers to the Philippines and bring dead soldiers back; it would be profitable to those who would seize upon the franchises, and it would be prof-

itable to the officials whose salaries would be fixed here and paid over there; but to the farmer, to the laboring man, and to the vast majority of those engaged in other occupations, it would bring expenditure without return and risk without reward.

Farmers and laboring men have, as a rule, small incomes, and, under systems which place the tax upon consumption, pay much more than their fair share of the expenses of government. Thus the very people who receive least benefit from imperialism will be injured most by the military burdens which accompany it. In addition to the evils which he and the former share in common, the laboring man will be the first to suffer if Oriental subjects seek work in the United States; the first to suffer if American capital leaves our shores to employ Oriental labor in the Philippines to supply the trade of China and Japan; the first to suffer from the violence which the military spirit arouses, and the first to suffer when the methods of imperialism are applied to our own government. It is not strange, therefore, that the labor organizations have been quick to note the approach of these dangers and prompt to protest against both militarism and imperialism.

The pecuniary argument, though more effective with certain classes, is not likely to be used so often or presented with so much enthusiasm as the religious argument. If what has been termed the "gunpowder gospel" were urged against the Filipinos only, it would be a sufficient answer to say that a majority of the Filipinos are now members of one branch of the Christian Church; but the principle involved is one of much wider application and challenges serious consideration.

The religious argument varies in positiveness from a passive belief that Providence delivered the Filipinos into our hands for their good and our glory to the exultation of the minister who said that we ought to "thrash the natives (Filipinos) until they understand who we are," and that "every bullet sent, every cannon shot, and every flag waved means righteousness."

We cannot approve of this doctrine in one place unless we are willing to apply, it everywhere. If there is poison in the blood of the hand, it will ultimately reach the heart. It is equally true that forcible Christianity, if planted under the American flag in the far-away Orient, will sooner or later be transplanted upon American soil. . . .

The argument made by some that it was unfortunate for the nation that it had anything to do with the Philippine Islands, but that the naval victory at Manila made the permanent acquisition of those islands necessary, is also unsound. We won a naval victory at Santiago, but that did not compel us to hold Cuba.

The shedding of American blood in the Philippine Islands does not make it imperative that we should retain possession forever;

American blood was shed at San Juan Hill and El Caney, and yet the President has promised the Cubans independence. The fact that the American flag floats over Manila does not compel us to exercise perpetual sovereignty over the islands; the American flag waves over Havana today, but the President has promised to haul it down when the flag of the Cuban republic is ready to rise in its place. Better a thousand times that our flag in the Orient give way to a flag representing the idea of self-government than that the flag of this republic should become the flag of an empire.

There is an easy, honest, honorable solution of the Philippine question. It is set forth in the Democratic platform and it is submitted with confidence to the American people. This plan I unreservedly endorse. If elected, I will convene Congress in extraordinary session as soon as inaugurated and recommend an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose: first, to establish a stable form of government in the Philippine Islands, just as we are now establishing a stable form of government in Cuba; second, to give independence to the Cubans; third, to protect the Filipinos from outside interference while they work out their destiny, just as we have protected the republics of Central and South America, and are, by the Monroe Doctrine, pledged to protect Cuba.

A European protectorate often results in the plundering of the ward by the guardian. An American protectorate gives to the nation protected the advantage of our strength without making it the victim of our greed. For three-quarters of a century the Monroe Doctrine has been a shield to neighboring republics and yet it has imposed no pecuniary burden upon us. After the Filipinos had aided us in the war against Spain, we could not honorably turn them over to their former masters; we could not leave them to be the victims of the ambitious designs of European nations, and since we do not desire to make them a part of us or to hold them as subjects, we propose the only alternative, namely, to give them independence and guard them against molestation from without.

When our opponents are unable to defend their position by argument, they fall back upon the assertion that it is destiny and insist that we must submit to it no matter how much it violates our moral precepts and our principles of government. This is a complacent philosophy. It obliterates the distinction between right and wrong and makes individuals and nations the helpless victims of circumstances. Destiny is the subterfuge of the invertebrate, who, lacking the courage to oppose error, seeks some plausible excuse for supporting it. Washington said that the destiny of the republican form of government was deeply, if not finally, staked on the experiment entrusted to the American people.

How different Washington's definition of destiny from the Republican definition! The Republicans say that this nation is in the hands of destiny; Washington believed that not only the destiny of our

own nation but the destiny of the republican form of government throughout the world was entrusted to American hands. Immeasurable responsibility!

The destiny of this republic is in the hands of its own people, and upon the success of the experiment here rests the hope of humanity. No exterior force can disturb this republic, and no foreign influence should be permitted to change its course. What the future has in store for this nation no one has authority to declare, but each individual has his own idea of the nation's mission, and he owes it to his country as well as to himself to contribute as best he may to the fulfillment of that mission.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee, I can never fully discharge the debt of gratitude which I owe to my countrymen for the honors which they have so generously bestowed upon me; but, sirs, whether it be my lot to occupy the high office for which the convention has named me or to spend the remainder of my days in private life, it shall be my constant ambition and my controlling purpose to aid in realizing the high ideals of those whose wisdom and courage and sacrifices brought this republic into existence.

I can conceive of a national destiny surpassing the glories of the present and the past—a destiny which meets the responsibilities of today and measures up to the possibilities of the future. Behold a republic, resting securely upon the foundation stones quarried by revolutionary patriots from the mountain of eternal truth—a republic applying in practice and proclaiming to the world the self-evident proposition that all men are created equal; that they are endowed with inalienable rights; that governments are instituted among men to secure these rights, and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Behold a republic in which civil and religious liberty stimulate all to earnest endeavor and in which the law restrains every hand uplifted for a neighbor's injury—a republic in which every citizen is a sovereign, but in which no one cares to wear a crown. Behold a republic standing erect while empires all around are bowed beneath the weight of their own armaments—a republic whose flag is loved while other flags are only feared. Behold a republic increasing in population, in wealth, in strength, and in influence, solving the problems of civilization and hastening the coming of an universal brotherhood—a republic which shakes thrones and dissolves aristocracies by its silent example and gives light and inspiration to those who sit in darkness. Behold a republic gradually but surely becoming a supreme moral factor in the world's progress and the accepted arbiter of the world's disputes—a republic whose history, like the path of the just, "is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

Source: *Official Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention Held in Kansas City, Mo., July 4, 5 and 6, 1900*, Chicago, 1900, 205–227.

123. Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, Letters Supporting England in the Boer War, February 2, 1900

Introduction

Great Britain had been a loyal supporter of American interests during the Spanish-American War, a time when other European powers sympathized with Spain. When the British became embroiled in the Boer War (1899–1902) in which they wrested from the Boers (Dutch settlers) their South African colonies, their brutal tactics stirred international sympathy for the Boers. Most notably, the British turned to the practice of reconcentration, first employed by the Spanish in Cuba. In order to break the spirits of the Boer guerrillas and prevent civilians from helping them, the British rounded up more than 100,000 noncombatant women and children and placed them in camps. The British withheld adequate food from the families of Boer combatants, and more than 27,000 of the internees, mostly children, died of malnutrition and disease. Despite the worldwide horror engendered by British behavior, the United States did not wish to alienate a longtime ally. In these excerpts from their personal correspondence, then-governor of New York Theodore Roosevelt asserts that Americans should not criticize the British because of their loyalty during the war with Spain, and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge expresses human sympathy for the Boers while stating that the downfall of the British Empire would be detrimental to American interests.

Primary Source

... What a terrible time the English are having! There is no question that the Boers outfight them. I am heartily ashamed of Mason, Hale and the other men of their stamp who show the particularly mean attribute of jumping on England when she is down. But of course those who have been entirely against their own nation cannot be expected to have any sense of propriety in dealing with another nation which was friendly during the war with Spain. ...

Ever yours,
Theodore Roosevelt

Private and Confidential
February 2, 1900
Dear Theodore:

I have your letter of the 29th. . . . I think we shall manage to keep our neutrality, and that the government will be kept from doing anything in the way of meddling in the Transvaal war. There is a very general and solid sense of the fact that however much we sympathize with the Boers the downfall of the British Empire is something

which no rational American could regard as anything but a misfortune to the United States. . . .

H.C. Lodge

Source: *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, 1884–1918*, Vol. 1 (New York: Scribner, 1925), 444, 446.

124. Leaflet Urging U.S. Possession of the Philippines, 1900

Introduction

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Germany, Russia, France, Italy, Japan, and Great Britain had carved up China into spheres of influence, within which each country dominated trade relations. On acquiring the Philippines, the United States grew more interested in trade with China. Great Britain and the United States became concerned that the other powers would partition China and thus interfere with trade. Therefore, in 1899 the United States proposed the Open Door Policy, which advocated that spheres of influence in China be disregarded. In China, meanwhile, secret societies had emerged that sought to eject all foreigners. Westerners came to call the adherents Boxers because they practiced ritual exercises that resembled boxing. Boxers believed that their rituals invited spirits to possess their bodies and give them superhuman power. China's rulers turned a blind eye to the Boxers' activities. In early 1900, the Boxers rose up and murdered hundreds of foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians. The United States contributed troops to an international expeditionary force to suppress the Boxer Rebellion. Most of these were detached from the U.S. Army operations in the Philippines. This pro-imperialist Republican campaign leaflet from the 1900 presidential election argues that the China expedition justified possession of the Philippines.

Primary Source

Isn't Every American

Proud of the part that American soldiers bore in the relief of Pekin? But that would have been impossible if our flag had not been in the Philippines.

Gen. Chaffee led two infantry regiments, the Ninth and the Fourteenth, and one battery of the Fifth Artillery to Pekin. They did not come direct from the United States; there was not time. The Sixth Cavalry, which was dispatched from San Francisco, failed to catch the relief column. The Ninth, the Fourteenth and Reilly's battery, CAME UP FROM MANILA FROM GEN. MACARTHUR'S ARMY.

But for these men and the marines from Manila barracks, Minister Conger and his American comrades in the besieged legation

would not have seen their country's flag, and would OWE THEIR RELIEF TO BRITISH, JAPANESE AND RUSSIANS.

When Mr. Bryan tells you that the Philippines are worth nothing to America, you can tell him to "REMEMBER PEKIN!"

Source: Daniel B. Schirmer and Stephen Rosskamm Shalom, eds., *The Philippines Reader* (Boston: South End Press, 1987), 33.

125. Michael H. Robinson Jr., Letter from a Black U.S. Soldier in the Philippines, March 17, 1900 [Excerpt]

Introduction

In 1899, U.S. forces began a three-year campaign to crush Philippine resistance to the American presence. However, the cause of Philippine independence attracted much sympathy in the United States. Many black Americans identified with the Filipino people, calling them "our kinsmen" and "our colored brothers." At the same time, blacks who had served with the military in Cuba were growing disillusioned about the benefits they had expected to gain from their military service. They had found American racist attitudes largely unchanged by their notable sacrifices in Cuba. Consequently, an anti-imperialist movement arose in the black community. Meanwhile, elements of the four black regular units that had fought in Cuba went to the Philippines. Many of the black soldiers sent letters describing their experiences to black newspapers in the United States. They believed that white newspapers would either slight or ignore their accomplishments, and thus only the black papers would provide truthful accounts. The *Colored American*, a newspaper based in Washington, D.C., published this soldier's account of a fight between his regiment and Filipino guerrillas. Michael H. Robinson served in the 25th Infantry, a regular army unit with black enlisted men and white officers. The captain described in the account, Joseph O'Neil, was white.

Primary Source

. . . On the morning of January 6th, 1900, Iba was attacked by 800 bolo and 600 riflemen, making a grand total of 1400. The insurgents surrounded the town, leaving the road leading to the ocean open, giving us a chance to retreat, but we, however, being strongly positioned cared not for the opportunity. One of our outposts was cut off and were compelled to hide in the grass until after night. Five o'clock sharp they began firing from all sides; we were quartered in church, jail and warehouse, forming a triangle. They attacked the scouts in the warehouse but were repulsed again and again. Those who were in the rear of the jail gave yell after yell and their trumpeter blowed the charge, but instead of the charge being made at this point, those who were about 400 yards south of this position charged the church expecting to catch us unawares, but were driven back quickly. The firing kept steadily on until daybreak and when it became light we could

see insurgents on all sides like bees; the officers could be seen trying to urge their men on but they seemed to falter under the deadly fire of the Krags. . . . At this juncture in the engagement Captain O'Neil took a squad of F Company to see if he could drive them back far enough to allow the scouts to come out of the warehouse. When outside these men fired a volley in the air and charged; as they did so, the scouts took advantage of the momentary stampede among the insurgents and rushed out. Now all hands got out in the open and things began to resemble a slaughter pen, bolo men armed with long knives being encouraged by their officers, tried to stand, but were shot down; but finally those who could took to their heels, carrying and dragging many of their dead with them. . . . In the road in the rear of the scout's quarters where the final charge was made, men were piled one upon another, dead and wounded. It was an awful sight, one not easily forgotten, but it was fight or die with us, for things were exceedingly desperate for awhile.

Our commanding officer remarked after the fight, concerning the coolness of the men, saying it surpassed anything he had ever seen of its kind. Not a man shirked his duty and acted as if at target practice, firing carefully and accurately . . . and even making comical remarks concerning the appearance of the insurgents. . . . I am exceedingly thankful that I can say not a man was injured on our side. . . . These boys feel that they have avenged the cowardly murder of our friend and comrade, William Shepard, who was murdered several days previous to the fight, while bathing, by ten bolo men. We received this information from a Cheno spy employed by our command.

I could say much concerning the capture of Fort Camansi but fearing to consume too much . . . space . . . I will only say that it was a very difficult and perilous undertaking. We lost one corporal and a private was badly wounded, and the insurgent loss was 12 killed and wounded; and before leaving the hill all of the houses were burned.

In conclusion I will say that we of the 25th Infantry feel rather discouraged over the fact that the sacrifice of life and health has to be made for a cause so unpopular among our people. Yet the fact that we are American soldiers instills within us the feeling and resolve to perform our duty, no matter what the consequence may be as to public sentiment. Those who are thoughtful do not attempt to discuss the "why" concerning the enlisted man. We have been warned several times by insurgent leaders in the shape of placards, some being placed on trees, others left mysteriously in houses we have occupied, saying to the colored soldier that while he is contending on the field of battle against people who are struggling for recognition and freedom, your people in America are being lynched and disfranchised by the same who are trying to compel us to believe that their government will deal justly and fairly by us.

Hoping that you find space in your valuable paper for a portion at least, of this article. Though the attempt be but a feeble one, I trust

it may serve . . . to convey the meaning intended. I am yours obediently,

Michael H. Robinson, Jr.
Co. F 25th Infantry

Source: Willard B. Gatewood, "*Smoked Yankees*" and the Struggle for Empire: *Letters from Negro Soldiers, 1898–1902* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 266–269.

126. Translation of Boxer Poster, 1900

Introduction

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Germany, Russia, France, Italy, Japan, and Great Britain had carved up China into spheres of influence, within which each country dominated trade relations. Great Britain and the United States grew concerned that the other powers would partition China and thus interfere with their own lucrative trade. In September 1899, at the suggestion of the British, the United States proposed the Open Door Policy, which advocated that national spheres of influence in China be disregarded so that trade could flow more freely. In China, meanwhile, secret societies had emerged that sought to eject all foreigners. Westerners came to call the adherents Boxers because they practiced ritual exercises that resembled boxing. Boxers believed that their rituals invited spirits to possess their bodies and give them superhuman power. China's rulers turned a blind eye to the Boxers' activities. Independent Boxer groups communicated their beliefs by posting notices such as this one in which the Boxers blame Christian practices for a drought and call for destruction of Western-built railroads and telegraph lines. In early 1900, the Boxers rose up and murdered hundreds of foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians. The United States contributed troops to an international expeditionary force to subdue the Boxers.

Primary Source

Divinely aided Boxers,
United-in-Righteousness Corps
Arose because the Devils
Messed up the Empire of yore.

They proselytize their sect,
And believe in only one God,
The spirits and their own ancestors
Are not even given a nod.

Their men are all immoral;
Their women truly vile.
For the Devils it's mother-son sex
That serves as the breeding style.

And if you don't believe me,
Then have a careful view:
You'll see the Devils' eyes
Are all a shining blue.

No rain comes from Heaven.
The earth is parched and dry,
And all because the churches
Have bottled up the sky.

The gods are very angry.
The spirits seek revenge.
En masse they come from Heaven
To teach the Way to men.

The Way is not a heresy;
It's not the White Lotus Sect.
The chants and spells we utter,
Follow mantras, true and correct.

Raise up the yellow charm,
Bow to the incense glow.
Invite the gods and spirits
Down from the mountain grotto.

Spirits emerge from the grottos;
Gods come down from the hills,
Possessing the bodies of men,
Transmitting their boxing skills.

When their martial and magic techniques
Are all learned by each one of you,
Suppressing the Foreign Devils
Will not be a tough thing to do.

Rip up the railroad tracks!
Pull down the telegraph lines!
Quickly! Hurry up! Smash them—
The boats and the steamship combines.

The mighty nation of France
Quivers in abject fear,
While from England, America, Russia
And from Germany nought do we hear.

When at last all the Foreign Devils
Are expelled to the very last man,
The Great Qing, united, together,
Will bring peace to this our land.

Source: Joseph W. Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Rebellion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 299–300.

127. Correspondence Regarding the Deployment of Troops from the Philippines to China, 1900

Introduction

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Germany, Russia, France, Italy, Japan, and Great Britain had carved up China into spheres of influence, within which each country dominated trade relations. On acquiring the Philippines, the United States grew more interested in trade with China. Great Britain and the United States became concerned that the other powers would partition China and thus interfere with trade. Therefore, in 1899 the United States proposed the Open Door Policy, which advocated that spheres of influence in China be disregarded. In China, meanwhile, secret societies had emerged that sought to eject all foreigners. Westerners came to call the adherents Boxers because they practiced ritual exercises that resembled boxing. Boxers believed that their rituals invited spirits to possess their bodies and give them superhuman power. China's rulers turned a blind eye to the Boxers' activities. In early 1900, the Boxers rose up and murdered hundreds of foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians. The United States contributed troops to an international expeditionary force to suppress the Boxer Rebellion. The commanding general in the Philippines, Arthur MacArthur, at first argued that he needed all his troops to continue the fight in the Philippines. However, on receiving reports on the seriousness of the situation in China, MacArthur volunteered to lead the detachment himself. His offer was declined.

Primary Source

Manila. (Received June 24, 1900.)

Adjutant-General, *Washington*:

Another regiment can not be spared for China. At this moment troops are urgently needed in Camarines, Samar, Mindanao. As a purely military proposition Ninth Infantry can not be sent as ordered without risking material interests here. As a consequence of persistently following a policy of dissemination this army now widely scattered is uniformly weak everywhere, and the strain on the troops has reached the full limit. The archipelago is overrun, but not a single province reached has been pacified. In sentiment the natives are a unit against us, but are prepared to accept our ascendancy if asserted with sufficient force. Time is operating in our favor and a pro-American party attached to *us* by motives of self-interest is slowly emerging from the mass. We are now on the very verge of a favorable crisis and the most inspiring events may reasonably be expected in the near future if the military pressure can be maintained, which will be impossible if troops are detached from here to China. Every able-bodied soldier who leaves this army at present weakens the military situation. The detachment of regiments jeopardizes the entire enterprise.

MACARTHUR.

Adjutant-General's Office,
Washington, July 16, 1900.

Macarthur, Manila:

Remey's reports from China are of a serious character. Loss in Ninth Infantry reported heavy, including Liscum among those killed. It may be absolutely necessary to draw from you for considerably greater force. The Secretary War directs me to prepare you for this draft and to instruct you to have plans perfected for sending as fast as transportation can be provided a further force, not exceeding 5,000 officers and men, with full complement of staff officers, rapid-fire guns, sixty days' subsistence, and medical supplies, with sufficient funds for the quartermaster and subsistence officers. It is fully understood how undesirable this is from your point of view. At the same time we know that you will do your best when faced with this imperative and, for the moment at least, more important duty, and give us all the support we ask. Manila as a base of operations enabling us to meet this emergency in China will have a helpful effect here and in the end give you strength and needful support. We are arranging to send you further additional forces from here. How many Maxim and Hotchkiss mountain rapid-fire 6-pounders and Colt's automatic guns can you spare?

CORBIN

Manila. (Received July 18, 1900.)

Adjutant-General, Washington:

Will send troops to China when so ordered by Secretary War with as much perfection and energy as though I believed in the wisdom of such policy. As preliminary to that purpose, shall detain in China waters all transports intended for United States until final action of Secretary War is communicated. If necessary, shall bring them here and make quick work of movement. Will report on machine and rapid-fire guns when compiled. As paramount situation has for time being developed in China, request permission to proceed thereto in person to command Held operations until crisis has passed.

MACARTHUR.

Source: United States, Adjutant General's Office, *Correspondence relating to the War with Spain* . . . (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1993), 417, 426, 429.

128. William McKinley, Circular Letter on U.S. Policy in China, July 3, 1900

Introduction

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Germany, Russia, France, Italy, Japan, and Great Britain had carved up China into spheres of influence, within which each country dominated trade

relations. On acquiring the Philippines, the United States grew more interested in trade with China. Great Britain and the United States became concerned that the other powers would partition China and thus interfere with trade. Therefore, in 1899 the United States proposed the Open Door Policy, which advocated that spheres of influence in China be disregarded. In China, meanwhile, secret societies had emerged that sought to eject all foreigners. Westerners came to call the adherents Boxers because they practiced ritual exercises that resembled boxing. Boxers believed that their rituals invited spirits to possess their bodies and give them superhuman power. China's rulers turned a blind eye to the Boxers' activities. In early 1900, the Boxers rose up and murdered hundreds of foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians. The United States contributed troops to an international expeditionary force to suppress the Boxer Rebellion. However, President William McKinley first issued to the other powers this statement of his rationale for participation, namely to rescue Americans, protect American interests in China, restore order, and preserve Chinese territorial integrity.

Primary Source

Following statement of American policy was communicated to all the powers by circular letter July 3:

"The purpose of the President is to act concurrently with the other powers: First, in opening up communication with Peking and rescuing the American officials, missionaries, and other Americans who are in danger; secondly, in affording all possible protection everywhere in China to American life and property; thirdly, in guarding and protecting all legitimate American interests; and fourthly, in aiding to prevent a spread of the disorders to the other provinces of the Empire and a recurrence of such disasters. It is, of course, too early to forecast the means of attaining this last result; but the policy of the Government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire."

Source: United States, Adjutant General's Office, *Correspondence relating to the War with Spain* . . . (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1993), 462.

129. Mark Twain, "Battle Hymn of the Republic (Brought Down to Date)," February 1901

Introduction

The United States entered into the brief Spanish-American War to free Cuba from Spanish domination. In the course of achieving that

objective, the United States also acquired control of the Philippines halfway around the world. The Filipino people had long desired and fought for independence. The issue of whether to retain the former Spanish colony over the objections of its people became highly divisive in the United States. Anti-imperialists believed that the United States was wrongly abandoning its founding principles by acquiring distant possessions over the objections of their people. Supporters of imperialism argued that expansion of U.S. territory and the acquisition of overseas possessions would impart commercial and political advantages to the United States and that Americans had a moral obligation to bring the benefits of democracy to other nations. Meanwhile, the United States began another war, longer and bloodier, to suppress the Philippine rebellion. Prominent citizens joined the anti-war, anti-imperialist movement and questioned the morality of killing people who only desired their independence. Mark Twain was one of the most well-known anti-imperialists. He turned his pen to the creation of both passionate argument and biting satire about America's course of action in the Philippines. In this parody, Twain decries American aggression and attributes it to greed.

Primary Source

Mine eyes have seen the orgy of the launching of the Sword;
He is searching out the hoardings where the stranger's wealth
is stored;
He hath loosed his fateful lightnings, and with woe and death
has scored:
His lust is marching on.

I have seen him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling
camps,
They have builded him an altar in the Eastern dews and
damps;
I have read his doomful mission by the dim and flaring
lamps—
His night is marching on.

I have read his bandit gospel writ in burnished rows of steel:
“As ye deal with my pretensions, so with you my wrath shall
deal;
Let the faithless son of Freedom crush the patriot with his
heel;
Lo, Greed is marching on!”

We have legalized the strumpet and are guarding her retreat;
Greed is seeking out commercial souls before his judgment
seat;
O, be swift, ye clods, to answer him! be jubilant my feet!
Our god is marching on!

In a sordid slime harmonious, Greed was born in yonder
ditch,
With a longing in his bosom—and for other's goods an itch—

As Christ died to make men holy, let men die to make us rich—
Our god is marching on.

Source: Jim Zwick, ed., *Mark Twain's Weapons of Satire* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1992), 40–41.

130. Boxer Protocol, 1901

Introduction

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Germany, Russia, France, Italy, Japan, and Great Britain had carved up China into spheres of influence within which each country dominated trade relations. On acquiring the Philippines, the United States grew more interested in China. In China, meanwhile, secret societies had emerged that sought to eliminate Western influence, eject all foreigners, and overthrow the imperial government of China. Westerners came to call the adherents Boxers because they practiced ritual exercises that resembled boxing. Boxers believed that their rituals invited spirits to possess their bodies and give them superhuman power. China's rulers turned a blind eye to the Boxers' activities while at the same time reluctantly cooperating with foreign powers and attempting to introduce a series of reforms to Chinese society. In early 1900, the Boxers rose up and murdered hundreds of foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians. The United States contributed troops to an international expeditionary force to suppress the Boxer Rebellion, and within months China sued for peace. Signed at Beijing (Peking) on September 7, 1901, the Boxer Protocol forced China to accept a series of concessions, including acceptance of a foreign military presence.

Primary Source

THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES of . . . [Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Spain, United States, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Russia, China] have met for the purpose of declaring that China has complied with the conditions laid down in the note of the 22nd December, 1900, and which were accepted in their entirety by His Majesty the Emperor of China in a Decree dated the 27th December, 1900.

ARTICLE 1.

1) By an Imperial Edict of the 9th June last, . . . Prince of the First Rank, Chun, was appointed Ambassador of His Majesty the Emperor of China, and directed in that capacity to convey to His Majesty the German Emperor the expression of the regrets of His Majesty the Emperor of China and of the Chinese Government at the assassination of his Excellency the late Baron von Ketteler, German Minister.

Prince Chun left Peking on the 12th July last to carry out the orders which had been given him.

2) The Chinese Government has stated that it will erect on the spot of the assassination of his Excellency the late Baron von Ketteler, commemorative monument worthy of the rank of the deceased, and bearing an inscription in the Latin, German, and Chinese languages which shall express the regrets of His Majesty the Emperor of China for the murder committed.

The Chinese Plenipotentiaries have informed his Excellency the German Plenipotentiary, in a letter dated the 22nd July last, that an arch of the whole width of the street would be erected on the said spot, and that work on it was begun on the 25th June last.

ARTICLE II.

1) Imperial Edicts of the 13th and 21st February, 1901, inflicted the following punishments on the principal authors of the attempts and of the crimes committed against the foreign Governments and their nationals:—

Tsa-li, Prince Tuan, and Tsai-Lan, Duke Fu-kuo, were sentenced to be brought before the Autumnal Court of Assize for execution, and it was agreed that if the Emperor saw fit to grant them their lives, they should be exiled to Turkestan, and there imprisoned for life, without the possibility of commutation of these punishments.

Tsai Hsun, Prince Chuang, Ying-Nien, President of the Court of Censors, and Chao Shu- chiao, President of the Board of Punishments, were condemned to commit suicide.

Yu Hsun, Governor of Shansi, Chi Hsiu, President of the Board of Rites, and Hsu Cheng-yu, formerly Senior Vice-President of the Board of Punishments, were condemned to death.

Posthumous degradation was inflicted on Kang Yi, Assistant Grand Secretary, President of the Board of Works, Hsu Tung, Grand Secretary, and Li Ping-heng, former Governor-General of Szu-chuan.

Imperial Edict of the 13th February last rehabilitated the memories of Hsu Yung-yi, President of the Board of War; Li Shan, President of the Board of Works; Hsu Ching Cheng, Senior Vice-President of the Board of Civil Office; Lien Yuan, Vice-Chancellor of the Grand Council; and Yuan Chang, Vice-President of the Court of Sacrifices, who had been put to death for having protested against the outrageous breaches of international law of last year.

Prince Chuang committed suicide on the 21st February last; Ying Nien and Chao Shu- chiao on the 24th February; Yu Hsien was executed on the 22nd February; Chi Hsiu and Hsu Cheng-yu on the 26th February; Tung Fu-hsiang, General in Kan-su, has been deprived of his office by Imperial Edict of the 13th February last, pending the determination of the final punishment to be inflicted on him.

Imperial Edicts, dated the 29th April and 19th August, 1901, have inflicted various punishments on the provincial officials convicted of the crimes and outrages of last summer.

2) An Imperial Edict, promulgated the 19th August, 1901, ordered the suspension of official examinations for five years in all cities where foreigners were massacred or submitted to cruel treatment.

ARTICLE III.

So as to make honourable reparation for the assassination of Mr. Sugiyama, Chancellor of the Japanese Legation, His Majesty the Emperor of China, by an Imperial Edict of the 18th June, 1901, appointed Na T'ung, Vice-President of the Board of Finances, to be his Envoy Extraordinary, and specially directed him to convey to His Majesty the Emperor of Japan the expression of the regrets of His Majesty the Emperor of China and of his Government at the assassination of Mr. Sugiyama.

ARTICLE IV.

The Chinese Government has agreed to erect an expiatory monument in each of the foreign or international cemeteries which were desecrated, and in which the tombs were destroyed.

It has been agreed with the Representatives of the Powers that the Legations interested shall settle the details for the erection of these monuments, China bearing all the expenses thereof, estimated at 10,000 taels, for the cemeteries at Peking and in its neighbourhood, and at 5,000 taels for the cemeteries in the provinces. The amounts have been paid, and the list of these cemeteries is inclosed herewith.

ARTICLE V.

China has agreed to prohibit the importation into its territory of arms and ammunition, as well as of materials exclusively used for the manufacture of arms and ammunition.

An Imperial Edict has been issued on the 25th August, forbidding said importation for a term of two years. New Edicts may be issued subsequently extending this by other successive terms of two years in case of necessity recognized by the Powers.

ARTICLE VI.

By an Imperial Edict dated the 29th May, 1901, His Majesty the Emperor of China agreed to pay the Powers an indemnity of 450,000,000 of Haikwan taels.

This sum represents the total amount of the indemnities for States, Companies, or Societies, private individuals and Chinese, referred to in Article 6 of the note of the 22nd December, 1900.

- 1) These 450,000,000 constitute a gold debt calculated at the rate of the Haikwan tael to the gold currency of each country [335million gold dollars, etc.] . . .

This sum in gold shall bear interest at 4 per cent. per annum, and the capital shall be reimbursed by China in thirty-nine years in the manner indicated in the annexed plan of amortization. Capital and interest shall be payable in gold or at the rates of exchange corresponding to the dates at which the different payments fall due.

The amortization shall commence the 1st January, 1902, and shall finish at the end of the year 1940. The amortizations are payable annually, the first payment being fixed on the 1st January, 1903.

Interest shall run from the 1st July, 1901, but the Chinese Government shall have the right to pay off within a term of three years, beginning January 1902, the arrears of the first six months ending the 31st December, 1901, on condition, however, that it pays compound interest at the rate of 4 per cent a year on the sums the payment of which shall have been thus deferred.

Interest shall be payable semi-annually, the first payment being fixed on the 1st July, 1902.

- 2) The service of the debt shall take place in Shanghai in the following manner:—

Each Power shall be represented by a Delegate on a Commission of bankers authorized to receive the amount of interest and amortization which shall be paid to it by the Chinese authorities designated for that purpose, to divide it among the interested parties, and to give a receipt for the same.

- 3) The Chinese Government shall deliver to the Doyen [i.e., the senior member] of the Diplomatic Corps at Peking a bond for the lump sum, which shall subsequently be converted into fractional bonds bearing the signature of the Delegates of the Chinese Government designated for that purpose. This operation and all those relating to issuing of the bonds shall be performed by the above-mentioned Commission, in accordance with the instructions which the Powers shall send their Delegates.
- 4) The proceeds of the revenues assigned to the payment of the bonds shall be paid monthly to the Commission.
- 5) The seven assigned as security for the bonds are the following:—
 - a) The balance of the revenues of the Imperial Maritime Customs, after payment of the interest and amortization of preceding loans secured on these revenues, plus the proceeds of the raising to 5 per cent. effective of the present tariff of

maritime imports, including articles until now on the free list, but exempting rice, foreign cereals, and flour, gold and silver bullion and coin.

- b) The revenues of the native Customs, administered in the open ports by the Imperial Maritime Customs.
- c) The total revenues of the salt gabelle, exclusive of the fraction previously set aside for other foreign loans.
- 6) The raising of the present tariff on imports to 5 per cent effective is agreed to on the conditions mentioned below. It shall be put in force two months after the signing of the present Protocol, and no exceptions shall be made except for merchandize in transit not more than ten days after the said signing. . . .
- b) The beds of the Rivers Whangpoo and Peiho shall be improved with the financial participation of China.

ARTICLE VII.

The Chinese Government has agreed that the quarter occupied by the Legations shall be considered as one specially reserved for their use and placed under their exclusive control, in which Chinese shall not have the right to reside, and which may be made defensible. . . .

In the Protocol annexed to the letter of the 16th January, 1901, China recognized the right of each Power to maintain a permanent guard in the said quarter for the defence of its Legation.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Chinese Government has consented to raze the forts of Taku, and those which might impede free communication between Peking and the sea. Steps have been taken for carrying this out.

ARTICLE IX.

The Chinese Government conceded the right to the Powers in the Protocol annexed to the letter of the 16th January, 1901, to occupy certain points, to be determined by an Agreement between them for the maintenance of open communication between the capital and the sea. The points occupied by the Powers are:—

Huang-tsun, Lang-fang, Yang-tsun, Tien-tsin, Chun-liang-Cheng, Tong-ku, Lu-tai, Tong-shan, Lan-chou, Chang-li, Chin-wang Tao, Shan-hai Kuan.

ARTICLE X.

The Chinese Government has agreed to post and to have published during two years in all district cities the following Imperial Edicts:

- 1) Edict of the 1st February, 1901, prohibiting for ever under pain of death, membership in any anti-foreign society.
- 2) Edicts of the 13th and 21st February, 29th April and 19th August, 1901, enumerating the punishments inflicted on the guilty.
- 3) Edict of the 19th August, 1901, prohibiting examinations in all cities where foreigners were massacred or subjected to cruel treatment.
- 4) Edicts of the 1st February, 1901, declaring all Governors-General, Governors, and provincial or local officials responsible for order in their respective districts, and that in case of new anti-foreign troubles or other infractions of the Treaties which shall not be immediately repressed and the authors of which shall not have been punished, these officials shall be immediately dismissed without possibility of being given new functions or new honours.

The posting of these Edicts is being carried on throughout the Empire.

ARTICLE XI.

The Chinese Government has agreed to negotiate the amendments deemed necessary by the foreign Governments to the Treaties of Commerce and Navigation and the other subjects concerning commercial relations with the object of facilitating them.

At present, and as a result of the stipulation contained in Article 6 concerning the indemnity, the Chinese Government agrees to assist in the improvement of the courses of the Rivers Peiho and Whangpoo, as stated below.—

- 1) The works for the improvement of the navigability of the Peiho, begun in 1898 with the co-operation of the Chinese Government, have been resumed under the direction of an International Commission. As soon as the Administration of Tien-tsin shall have been handed back to the Chinese Government it will be in a position to be represented on this Commission, and will pay each year a sum of 60,000 Haikwan taels for maintaining the works.
- 2) A Conservancy Board, charged with the management and control of the works for straightening the Whangpoo and the improvement of the course of that river, is hereby created.

The Board shall consist of members representing the interests of the Chinese Government and those of foreigners in the shipping trade of Shanghai.

The expenses incurred for the works and the general management of the undertaking are estimated at the annual sum of 460,000 Haikwan taels for the first twenty years. This sum shall be supplied in

equal portions by the Chinese Government and the foreign interests concerned.

ARTICLE XII.

An Imperial Edict of the 24th July, 1901, reformed the Office of Foreign Affairs, Tsung-li Yamen, on the lines indicated by the Powers, that is to say, transformed it into a Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Wai Wu Pu, which takes precedence over the six other Ministries of State; the same Edict appointed the principal Members of this Ministry.

An agreement has also been reached concerning the modification of Court ceremonial as regards the reception of foreign Representatives, and has been the subject of several notes from the Chinese Plenipotentiaries, the substance of which is embodied in a Memorandum herewith annexed.

Finally, it is expressly understood that as regards the declarations specified above and the annexed documents originating with the foreign Plenipotentiaries, the French text only is authoritative.

The Chinese Government having thus complied to the satisfaction of the Powers with the conditions laid down in the above-mentioned note of the 22nd December, 1900, the Powers have agreed to accede to the wish of China to terminate the situation created by the disorders of the summer of 1900. In consequence thereof, the foreign Plenipotentiaries are authorized to declare in the names of their Governments that, with the exception of the Legation guards mentioned in Article VII, the international troops will completely evacuate the city of Peking on the 7th September, 1901, and, with the exception of the localities mentioned in Article IX, will withdraw from the Province of Chihli on the 22nd September, 1901.

The present final Protocol has been drawn up in twelve identical copies, and signed by all the Plenipotentiaries of the contracting countries.

Source: Charles James Fox, *The Protocol of 1901, Charter of Peking's Diplomacy* (Tientsin: North China Star, 1920).

131. Platt Amendment, 1901

Introduction

The United States went to war with Spain to win Cuban independence from Spanish colonial rule. After the war, the U.S. government, fearing intervention by another European power, made withdrawal of American troops conditional on the Cubans creating a constitution that included clauses limiting their own sovereignty. These clauses limited the authority of Cuba to enter into treaties with or

borrow money from other nations, permitted the United States to intervene "for the preservation of Cuban independence," and granted bases in Cuba to the United States. The Cubans modeled their constitution closely on that of the United States but initially refused to include the U.S.-mandated clauses. At the request of U.S. secretary of state Elihu Root, U.S. senator Orville H. Platt of Connecticut introduced a bill on March 2, 1901, that required the Cubans to add the specified clauses to their constitution before the United States would withdraw its troops from the country. By a margin of one vote, delegates to the Cuban constitutional convention added the clauses specified in the Platt Amendment in June 1902. The same provisions also appeared in a U.S.-Cuba treaty signed on May 22, 1903. The United States withdrew its troops but intervened in 1906 to put down a rebellion. Thirty years later, Cuba voided the Platt Amendment, and Cuba became truly independent of the United States.

Primary Source

ARTICLE I

The Government of Cuba shall never enter into any treaty or other compact with any foreign power or powers which will impair or tend to impair the independence of Cuba, nor in any manner authorize or permit any foreign power or powers to obtain by colonization or for military or naval purposes, or otherwise, lodgment in or control over any portion of said island.

ARTICLE II

The Government of Cuba shall not assume or contract any public debt to pay the interest upon which, and to make reasonable sinking-fund provision for the ultimate discharge of which, the ordinary revenues of the Island of Cuba, after defraying the current expenses of the Government, shall be inadequate.

ARTICLE III

The Government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the Treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the Government of Cuba. . . .

ARTICLE V

The Government of Cuba will execute, and, as far as necessary, extend the plans already devised, or other plans to be mutually agreed upon, for the sanitation of the cities of the island, to the end that a recurrence of epidemic and infectious diseases may be prevented, thereby assuring protection to the people and commerce of Cuba,

as well as to the commerce of the Southern ports of the United States and the people residing therein. . . .

ARTICLE VII

To enable the United States to maintain the independence of Cuba, and to protect the people thereof, as well as for its own defense, the Government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations, at certain specified points, to be agreed upon with the President of the United States.

Source: "The Platt Amendment," in *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America, 1776–1949* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), 1116–1117.

132. Arthur MacArthur, Letter Reporting on Frederick Funston's Capture of Emilio Aguinaldo, March 1901

Introduction

In 1897, Emilio Aguinaldo seized control of the Philippine revolution against Spanish colonial rule. After an unsuccessful guerrilla campaign, he was forced into exile in Hong Kong. While in exile, he met Commodore George Dewey and an American diplomat, both of whom Aguinaldo believed had promised that the Philippines would become independent if the Filipinos assisted the Americans in driving out the Spanish. Aguinaldo returned to the Philippines on an American ship and urged his followers to attack the Spanish, calling the Americans "our redeemers." U.S. forces captured Manila in a way that denied Aguinaldo's forces a role in the conquest. In the war-ending treaty, signed on December 10, 1898, the United States agreed to pay Spain \$20 million for the Philippines. Aguinaldo's revolutionary government filed a futile protest against the terms of the treaty. On February 4, 1899, an encounter escalated, and U.S. soldiers opened fire on Aguinaldo's men outside Manila. Aguinaldo, as president of the Philippine Republic, exhorted his people to drive out the foreign invaders. After years of bloody warfare, in March 1901 the successful fruition of General Frederick Funston's ingenious plan to capture Aguinaldo occurred, described in this letter by commanding general Arthur MacArthur. The rebellion lost strength, and President Theodore Roosevelt declared it at an end in July 1902 despite continuing unrest.

Primary Source

Manila. (Received March 28, 1901–4.38 p. m.)

Adjutant-General, *Washington*:

Important messages fell into General Funston's hands February 28, from which Aguinaldo was located at Palanan, Isabela Province.

Expedition organized, consisting Aguinaldo's captured messenger, 4 ex-insurgent officers, and 78 Macabebes, who spoke Tagalo; armed Mausers, Remingtons; dressed to represent insurgents. Funston commanded, accompanied by Capt. Russell T. Hazzard, Eleventh Cavalry; Capt. Harry W. Newton, Thirty-fourth Volunteer Infantry; Lieut. Oliver P. M. Hazzard, Eleventh Volunteer Cavalry; Lieut. Burton J. Mitchell, Fortieth Volunteer Infantry. Officers dressed as American privates, and represented prisoners. Expedition sailed Manila March 6, *Vicksburg*. Landed March 14 last, coast Luzon, 20 miles south Casiguran. Reached Palanan, marching three afternoons, March 23. Natives completely misled; supposed detachment insurgent reinforcements, for which supplies furnished Aguinaldo; also sent supplies, and had his escort, 40 men, paraded to extend proper honor. Short distance Aguinaldo's quarters disguise discarded. Combat followed, resulting 2 insurgents killed, 18 rifles, 1,000 rounds ammunition captured, together with Aguinaldo and two principal staff officers. No casualties our side. Splendid cooperation navy through Commander Barry. Officers, men *Vicksburg* indispensable to success. Funston loudly praises navy; entire army joins in thanks to sea service. The transaction was brilliant in conception and faultless in execution. All credit must go Funston, who, under supervision General Wheaton, organized and conducted expedition from start to finish. His reward should be signal and immediate. Concur with General Wheaton, who recommends Funston's retention volunteers until he can be appointed brigadier-general regulars. I hope speedy cessation hostilities throughout archipelago as consequence this stroke. A result of conference now in progress, probable. Aguinaldo will issue address advising general surrender, delivery arms, acceptance American supremacy. MacArthur.

Adjutant-General's Office
Washington, March 29, 1901.
 MacArthur, *Manila*:

President instructs me express his high appreciation of gallant conduct General Funston and officers and men of Army and Navy engaged with his Palanan expedition. Seewar personally joins in this expression. You will observe following instructions Seewar: Fact that Aguinaldo has made unfounded claims to have received promises from American officers should lead to especial care in communicating with him. All possibility misconstruction or misrepresentation should be avoided, and you should expressly state to him in such manner that it will be capable unquestionable proof that no officer of Government in Philippine Islands is authorized to make to him any promise not contained in your notice of amnesty June 21, 1900, with your explanatory statement July 2, 1900, or in public acts Philippine Commission heretofore enacted. He should be treated like other prisoners of war, without severity, but with every precaution against escape, and he must determine course which he will pursue in view such assurances and guarantees as are contained in papers above enumerated and in view President's instructions to

Philippine Commissioners and President's other public utterances. In case he should offer allegiance United States and undertake secure general acceptance American sovereignty by his former followers, you will nevertheless retain him in custody until practical results his efforts leave no doubt his good faith and no possibility retraction on his part. Should he take other course of refusing allegiance, he should be detained in custody in such manner that neither by act nor communication can he interfere with pacification of country; and your general order 4, January 7, 1901, special order 6 same date, and letter instructions to Major Orwig by General Barry January 14, 1901, all relating to deportation insurgent prisoners Guam, are approved both as to form and substance. If it should appear that he has violated laws of war, he should be tried.

CORBIN.

Source: United States, Adjutant General's Office, *Correspondence relating to the War with Spain* . . . (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1993), 1262–1263.

133. Manuel Quezon, On Meeting with the Captive Emilio Aguinaldo, 1901

Introduction

Emilio Aguinaldo was a leading figure in the Philippine rebellion against Spanish colonial rule. While in exile in Hong Kong, he met an American diplomat whom he believed had promised that the Philippines would become independent if the Filipinos assisted the Americans in driving out the Spanish. Aguinaldo returned to the Philippines on an American ship and urged his followers to help the Americans. Filipino fighters surrounded Manila and bottled up the Spaniards while American forces called for their surrender. After the surrender, American authorities did not permit the Filipino forces to enter the city. By February 1899, Aguinaldo was leading the Philippine fight for independence from American rule. In March 1901, the successful fruition of General Frederick Funston's ingenious plan to capture Aguinaldo occurred. Manuel Quezon was a top aide to Aguinaldo. In 1901, after word spread of Aguinaldo's capture, a rebel Filipino general ordered the ailing Quezon to surrender himself to the Americans and try to find out the circumstances regarding Aguinaldo's capture. Quezon succeeded in speaking with Aguinaldo who, as a prisoner who had just taken a loyalty oath to the Americans, refused to say whether or not his men should keep fighting. In 1935, Quezon defeated Aguinaldo in the Philippine presidential election. Quezon served as president until his death in 1944.

Primary Source

At the first discharge of our rifles the horse ran away with his rider and instinctively the tired soldiers followed their leader. We killed two whose corpses I had buried. It was my last engagement with the American troops, for from that time on my malaria came back

and I was never well enough to indulge in any guerilla warfare. I picked out a hut in the mountains of Bataan, which the American troops never reached at that time, but which became familiar to them during the recent Bataan campaign.

The American forces had occupied the whole province of Bataan, but the Filipinos including those living in the towns were still loyal to the Revolution. They told us the movements of the American troops and occasionally, whenever they could, sent us some food.

About the end of February, we received reports to the effect that General Aguinaldo had been captured in Palanan. We did not believe it. We thought that it was part of a plan to dishearten and induce us to quit, for, by that time, there had already been organized in Manila a political party which was cooperating with the United States to bring about the restoration of peace at an early date. However, the news about the capture of Aguinaldo became so persistent that, at the end of March, General Mascardo summoned me to his headquarters and gave me orders to surrender to the American forces. I was to try to find out if the capture of Aguinaldo was a fact. The General said: "You have served your country well as a soldier. But you are sick and have been suffering from malaria so long that you simply cannot stand this hard life much longer. It is better for you to surrender. The Americans will let you free as they have done in the case of most of those who have already surrendered. Go back to your university, continue with your studies and finish your career. Our country needs men with education. You will be of service to our people in other fields. Besides, I have a special mission for you. I want you to find out definitely if General Aguinaldo has been captured. If he has, try to get in touch with him and tell him of the situation of our forces here in Bataan and over there in Zambales. Ask him to instruct me whether I should surrender or continue on fighting till my last man."

With a heavy heart, I took leave of my General and started for Mariveles without saying good-by either to my comrades at headquarters or to the men under my command. General Mascardo did not want anybody to learn of the mission he had given me.

One early morning in the month of April, 1901, clad in a worn-out uniform of a major of General Aguinaldo's army, emaciated from hunger and lingering illness, I walked down the slopes of Mariveles Mountain, accompanied by two soldiers, to surrender to the American post stationed in the little town of Mariveles. The mayor of the town, a Filipino, had previously negotiated my surrender with Lieutenant Miller, the commandant of the post. I was met at the outskirts of the town by Lieutenant Miller, the first American with whom I had ever come into personal contact. After an exchange of greetings, Lieutenant Miller told me through an interpreter that I could consider myself free and should keep my revolver and my dagger, but that he would take the rifles carried by my soldiers and would give them in exchange thirty pesos each. I handed Lieutenant Miller my dagger as a present. (This same dagger he sent back to me soon after I was

elected President of the Commonwealth, thirty-five years later.) Lieutenant Miller invited me to come and stay in his headquarters until the next day when a launch would take me to Manila. During the day I turned over in my mind whether I should tell Lieutenant Miller of the special mission which General Mascardo had confided to me, and having come to the conclusion that by so doing I would sooner find out whether General Aguinaldo had been captured or not, I decided to do so. Lieutenant Miller said: "Of course, it is true that General Aguinaldo has been captured; he was captured by General Funston in Palanan. He is now a prisoner of war, but he is living in Malacañan Palace where the Military Governor, General Arthur MacArthur, lives, and where he is treated with the utmost courtesy and consideration. I will inform Manila of your mission at once; perhaps they will let you see Aguinaldo with your own eyes."

That night before I fell asleep I heard shooting in the streets of Mariveles. Later, I learned that the detachment operating between Orion and Marivales had attempted to attack the garrison, but withdrew after an exchange of a few shots. I assumed that my old comrades, believing that I had deserted them, intended to punish me. On the other hand, Lieutenant Miller now suspected that my surrender was a stratagem. My calmness when he entered my bedroom with a revolver in his hand convinced him of my innocence and without further ado he left the room.

On the afternoon of the following day, a small launch carried me from Mariveles to Manila and I was conducted directly to the Malacañan Palace—the holy place from which Spanish Governors-General had ruled the Philippines, and which I had never seen before. I was ushered into the office of General Arthur MacArthur, the father of the hero of the Battle of the Philippines. Fred Fisher who, in after years, became a member of the Supreme Court of the Philippines, acted as interpreter. He told General MacArthur in English what I had said in Spanish; namely, that I was instructed by General Mascardo to find out if General Aguinaldo had been captured. The American General, who stood erect and towered over my head, raised his hand without saying a word and pointing to the room across the hall, made a motion for me to go in there. Trembling with emotion, I slowly walked through the hall toward the room, hoping against hope that I would find no one inside. At the door two American soldiers in uniform, with gloves and bayonets, stood on guard. As I entered the room, I saw General Aguinaldo—the man whom I had considered as the personification of my own beloved country, the man whom I had seen at the height of his glory surrounded by generals and soldiers, statesmen and politicians, the rich and the poor, respected and honored by all. I now saw that same man alone in a room, a prisoner of war! It is impossible for me to describe what I felt, but as I write these lines, forty-two years later, my heart throbs as fast as it did then. I felt that the whole world had crumbled; that all my hopes and all my dreams for my country were gone forever! It took me some time before I could collect myself, but finally I was able to say in Tagalog, almost in a whisper, to my General: "Good evening, Mr. President."

“Good evening,” he answered rather coldly. I continued: “I have been sent by General Mascardo to find out whether it is true that you have been captured and if so to receive your instructions as to whether he should continue fighting or surrender.”

General Aguinaldo did not answer. It was clear from the expression of his face (and very seldom did General Aguinaldo betray his thoughts) that he suspected me of being a spy. So I turned my head and showed him a scar on my neck caused by a treatment used by Filipino herb doctors in the villages to cure a fever. As soon as he saw the scar his face brightened somewhat, and he said: “I am glad to see you. How many more men has General Mascardo?”

I answered: “About three hundred in Bataan, one hundred and fifty or two hundred in Zambales, with two or three rounds of ammunition.”

“How are you getting along with your food?” he asked.

“Sometimes we eat nothing for twenty-four hours; most of the time we have rice twice a day, and very seldom we get fish or meat,” was my reply.

The General then proceeded: “As you see, I am now a prisoner. I have taken the oath of allegiance to the United States and I have no right directly or indirectly to advise you to go on fighting. On the other hand, if I were to send word to General Mascardo to surrender, he might think that I am acting under duress and he would have the right to disobey me. General Mascardo has to assume the responsibility and decide for himself, whether he wants to surrender or not. If you see him, give him my best regards and tell him what you have seen, that is, that I am in Malacañan, very well treated by the Americans, but a prisoner just the same.”

With tears in my eyes, I prayed, “God keep you, Mr. President,” and left. I went to the house of Dr. Alejandro Albert, a former colonel of the Philippine Army, and spent the night there. I did not sleep. I thought of General Aguinaldo, my country and the future—a very dark future as it seemed to me then!

Source: Manuel Luis Quezon, *The Good Fight* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1946).

134. W. E. Ayer, Circular No. 6, December 1901

Introduction

In 1897, Emilio Aguinaldo seized control of the Philippine revolution against Spanish colonial rule. He came to believe that the Americans had vowed to grant Philippine independence in ex-

change for his assistance in driving out the Spanish. When the war-ending U.S.-Spanish treaty, signed on December 10, 1898, sold the Philippines to the United States, Aguinaldo’s government filed a futile protest. On February 4, 1899, an encounter escalated, and U.S. soldiers opened fire on Aguinaldo’s men outside Manila. In response, Aguinaldo exhorted his people to drive out the foreign invaders. As the fighting intensified, President William McKinley sent additional troops. More than 100,000 U.S. soldiers eventually served in the Philippines. The Filipino rebels used mostly guerrilla tactics. The U.S. Army scored notable successes in the first year of fighting, and the commanding general believed that the rebellion had been suppressed. However, determined resistance in outlying provinces continued to inflict significant casualties. This December 1901 circular states Brigadier General Jacob Smith’s plan for crushing all resistance on the island of Samar. Smith’s brutal campaign on Samar and his alleged unwritten orders to make Samar a “howling wilderness” led to calls for his court-martial. Smith was tried and convicted in May 1902 and retired from the military.

Primary Source

Headquarters Sixth Separate Brigade,
Tacloban, December 24, 1901.

To all station commanders:

The brigade commander has become thoroughly convinced from the great mass of evidence at hand that the insurrection for some time past and still in force in the island of Samar has been supported solely by the people who live in the pueblos ostensibly pursuing their peace pursuits and enjoying American protection, and that is especially true in regard to the “pudientes,” or wealthy class.

He is and for some time past has been satisfied that the people themselves, and especially this wealthy and influential class, can stop this insurrection any time they make up their minds to do so; that up to the present time they do not want peace; that they are working in every way and to the utmost of their ability to prevent peace. He is satisfied that this class, while openly talking peace, is doing so simply to gain the confidence of our officers and soldiers, only to betray them to the insurrectos, or, in short, that while ostensibly aiding the Americans they are in reality secretly doing everything in their power to support and maintain the insurrection.

Under such conditions there can be but one course to pursue, which is to adopt the policy that will create in all the minds of all the people a burning desire for the war to cease; a desire or longing so intense, so personal, especially to every individual of the class mentioned, and so real that it will impel them to devote themselves in real earnest to bringing about a state of real peace, that will impel them to join hands with the Americans in the accomplishment of this end.

The policy to be pursued in this brigade from this time on will be to wage war in the sharpest and most decisive manner possible. This

policy will apply to the island of Samar and to such other portions of the brigade to which it may become necessary to apply it, even though such territory is supposedly peaceful or is under civil government.

In waging this warfare, officers of this brigade are directed and expected to cooperate to their utmost, so as to terminate this war as soon as practicable, since short, severe wars are the most humane in the end. No civilized war, however civilized, can be carried on a humanitarian basis. In waging this war officers will be guided by the provisions of General Orders, No. 100, Adjutant-General's Office, 1863, which order promulgates the instructions for the government of the armies of the United States in the field. (Copies of this order will be furnished to the troops of this brigade as soon as practicable. In the meantime commanding officers will personally see to it that the younger and less experienced officers of the command are instructed in the provisions of this order wherever it is possible to do so.)

Commanding officers are earnestly requested and expected to exercise, without reference to these headquarters, their own discretion in the adoption of any and all measures of warfare coming within the provisions of this general order which will tend to accomplish the desired results in the most direct way or in the shortest possible space of time. They will also encourage the younger officers of their commands to constantly look for, engage, harass, and annoy the enemy in the field, and to this end commanding officers will repose a large amount of confidence in these subordinate officers and will permit them a large latitude of action and of discretion similar to that hereon conferred upon the commanding officers of stations by these headquarters.

Without warranting in any way carelessness of action or recklessness in the slightest degree, or the relaxation of that constant vigilance which the officer should at all times exercise in the enemy's country and especially in these islands, officers should be encouraged to bear in mind always that we have the decided morale over the natives of the islands and that they must not hesitate to attack them boldly on all occasions and drive home such attack with vigor. They should bear in mind that mere numbers of insurgents should not warrant any other course, unless and until his command is so outnumbered as to render the loss of a major portion thereof a certainty, which contingency is not likely to arise within this brigade.

In dealing with the natives of all classes, officers will be guided by the following principles:

First. Every native, whether in arms or living in the pueblos or barrios, will be regarded and treated as an enemy until he has conclusively shown that he is a friend. This he can not do by mere words or promises, nor by imparting information which, while true, is old or stale and of no value; nor can it be done by aiding us in ways that do no material harm to the insurgents. In short, the only manner in which the native can demonstrate his loyalty is by some positive act or acts that actually and positively commit him to us, thereby

severing his relations with the insurrectos, and producing or tending to produce distinctly unfriendly relations with the insurgents.

Not only the ordinary natives, but especially those of influence and position in the pueblos who manifestly and openly cultivate friendly relations with the Americans, will be regarded with particular suspicion, since by the announced policy of the insurgent government their ablest and most staunch friends, or those who are capable of skillfully practicing duplicity, are selected and directed to cultivate the friendship of American officers, so as to obtain their confidence and to secretly communicate to the insurgents everything that the Americans do or contemplate doing, particularly with regard to the movement of troops. In a word, friendship with the Americans on the part of any native will be measured directly and solely by his acts, and neither sentiment or social reasons of any kind will be permitted to enter into the determination of such friendship.

Second. It will be regarded as a certainty that all officials of the pueblos and barrios are likewise officials of Lukban and his officers, or at least that they are in actual touch and sympathy with the insurgent leaders, and that they are in secret aiding these leaders with information, supplies, etc., wherever possible. Officers will not be misled by the fact that officials of the pueblos pass ordinances inimical to those in insurrection, or by any action taken by them either collectively or individually. The public acts of pueblo councils that are favorable to the Americans are usually negative by secret communications on the part of the parties enacting them to those in insurrection; therefore such acts can not be taken as a guide in determining the friendship, or lack of it, of these officials for the American Government.

Third. The taking of the oath of allegiance by officials, presidents, vice-presidentes, consejeros, principales, tenientes of barrios, or other people of influence does not indicate that they or any of them have espoused the American cause, since it is a well-established fact that these people frequently take the oath of allegiance with the direct object and intent of enabling them to be of greater service to their real friends in the field. In short, the loyalty of these people is to be determined only by acts which, when combined with their usual course of conduct, irrevocably binds them to the American cause.

Neutrality must not be tolerated on the part of any native. The time has now arrived when all natives in this brigade who are not openly for us must be regarded as against us. In short, if not an active friend, he is an open enemy.

Fourth. The most dangerous class with whom we have to deal is the wealthy sympathizer and contributor. This class comprises not only all those officials and principals above mentioned, but all those of importance who live in the pueblos with their families. By far the most important as well as the most dangerous member of this class is the native priest. He is the most dangerous and he is successful

because he is usually best informed, besides wielding an immense influence with the people by virtue of his position. He has much to lose, in his opinion, and but little to gain through American supremacy in these islands.

It is expected that officers will exercise their best endeavors to suppress and prevent aid being given by the people of this class, especially by the native priest. Wherever there is evidence of this assistance, or where there is a strong suspicion that they are thus secretly aiding the enemies of our Government, they will be confined and held. The profession of the priest will not prevent his arrest or proceedings against him. If the evidence is sufficient they will be tried by the proper court. If there is not sufficient evidence to convict, they will be arrested and confined as a military necessity and held as prisoners of war until released by orders from these headquarters.

It will be borne in mind that in these islands as a rule it is next to impossible to secure evidence against men of influence, and especially against the native priests, so long as they are at large. On the other hand, after they are arrested and confined, it is usually quite easy to secure abundant evidence against them. Officers in command of stations will not hesitate, therefore, to arrest and to detain individuals whom they have good reasons to suspect are aiding the insurrection, even when positive evidence is lacking.

Fifth. Presidents and officials of the pueblos generally, including the police, will be especially watched by the troops, and wherever sufficient evidence can be found to warrant their convictions before the proper court of the violation of their oaths of office, by reason of their acting as agents or the insurrectos, or by aiding or assisting or protecting these insurgents in any way, they should be arrested and tried by military commission or provost court. In all cases where evidence will warrant conviction, charges will be preferred and duly forwarded for action by these headquarters.

Sixth. In the treatment of natives the officers of this brigade will bear in mind that, the ordinary "tauo" is regarded by the natives of influence and standing as but little more than a piece of machinery to be manipulated as may suit his fancy. He is the ignorant tool who follows but too blindly the lead of the man of influence. Let but little attention be paid, therefore, to the ordinary offenses against the laws of war that may be committed by this class. Their minor offenses ran and will be safely and properly disregarded. Their services may be utilized wherever practicable or desirable in operations against their leaders.

In the selection of the guides, however, officers will bear in mind that the more intelligent the native selected the greater the chance of success in the particular undertaking. Guides from the "pudientes," or influential class, should be impressed freely and in numbers sufficient to accomplish the object in view. They should be informed of their duties and responsibilities as such and be held to

a strict compliance therewith. This class can at all times communicate with the insurgents when they wish to do so, and this desire can and should be cultivated in them. Even though they may not know any given trail, their facilities for acquiring knowledge thereof are unlimited. Besides, it is quite well established that this class are good barometers and such as will afford ample protection against bamboo trap and similar pitfalls placed in the trails, if they occupy their proper position with the command.

Seventh. Special efforts will also be made to prevent contributions of all kinds to the enemy. Natives living in the pueblos will be informed that they can secure protection from forced contributions whenever they really desire such protection. To secure it, however, reports of attempted collections must be promptly made to the nearest American official, and in time to be of value. Presidents of pueblos can at all times prevent the collection of contributions within their pueblos if they really wish to do so. Any failure to do this on the part of any official, when known, should be carefully investigated, and unless it is clearly established that he is not at fault, he should be promptly confined and punished.

It is quite common for natives of all classes to claim that they are afraid of the insurgents; that if they assist the Americans or give any information to them they will be killed. There may be some isolated cases in which such claims have a foundation, but they are very rare indeed, and it is quite certain that in all cases this fear may be promptly removed by an honest effort on the part of the party possessing it. This myth of so-called fear will disappear with the first honest effort of the possessor to suppress the insurrection. Officers will furnish protection against all real dangers directed against those natives who seek such protection within their commands, provided they are friends of the established government and to no one else. All collectors of these contributions will be promptly arrested and proceeded against.

By command of Brigadier-General Smith:

W. E. Ayer, *Captain, Twelfth Infantry, Adjutant-General.*

Source: U.S. Congress, Committee on the Philippines, *Affairs in the Philippine Islands: Hearings before the Committee on the Philippines*, 57th Cong., Part 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1902), 1571–1575.

135. Army Correspondence Calling for Court-martial of General Jacob Smith, April 1902

Introduction

In 1897, Emilio Aguinaldo seized control of the Philippine revolution against Spanish colonial rule. He came to believe that the

Americans had vowed to grant Philippine independence in exchange for his assistance in driving out the Spanish. When the United States purchased the Philippines from Spain, Aguinaldo's government filed a futile protest. On February 4, 1899, an encounter escalated, and U.S. soldiers opened fire on Aguinaldo's men outside Manila. In response, Aguinaldo exhorted his people to drive out the foreign invaders. As the fighting intensified, President William McKinley sent additional troops. More than 100,000 U.S. soldiers eventually served in the Philippines. The Filipino rebels used mostly guerrilla tactics. The U.S. Army scored notable successes in the first year of fighting, and the commanding general believed that the rebellion had been suppressed. However, dogged resistance in outlying provinces continued to inflict significant casualties. Brigadier General Jacob H. Smith was accused of promoting cruelty in crushing all resistance on the island of Samar. Smith's alleged verbal orders to make Samar a "howling wilderness," to "kill and burn," and to kill prisoners as young as 10 years old earned him the nickname "Howling Jake" and led to his court-martial, conviction, and removal from service in May 1902.

Primary Source

Adjutant-General's Office,
Washington, April 16, 1902.

CHAFFEE, *Manila:*

February 19 letter was sent you inclosing for investigation copy of charges made by Governor Gardener of Tayabas Province (Luzon), which contained general allegations of cruelties practiced by troops on natives, and generally of an insolent and brutal attitude of the army toward natives. On April 2 cablegram was sent you urging action with all speed consistent with thorough and searching investigation. March 4 cablegram was sent you directing disciplinary measures to produce obedience to President's instructions subordinating military officers to civil government in pacified provinces and instructing you to relieve Maj. Edwin F. Glenn and Capt. James A. Ryan from duty and order them to Manila to await investigation into their conduct, in accordance with instructions to follow by mail. March 24 instructions were mailed you containing statement of charges against those officers and Gen. Jacob H. Smith as the basis of the investigation ordered by the cable of March 4. Further instructions in both matters are required by the following facts: Press dispatches state that upon the trial of Major Waller, of the Marine Corps, testimony was given by Waller, corroborated by other witnesses, that Gen. Jacob H. Smith instructed him to kill and burn; that the more he killed and burned the better pleased General Smith would be; that it was no time to take prisoners; and that when Major Waller asked General Smith to define the age limit for killing he replied, "Everything over 10." If such testimony was given, and the facts can be established, you will place General Smith on trial by court-martial. Yesterday, before Senate Committee on Philippines, Sergt. Charles S. Riley and Private William Lewis Smith, of the Twenty-sixth Volunteer Infantry, testified that the form of torture known as the "water cure" was administered to the presidente of

the town of Igbarras, Iloilo Province, Panay, by a detachment of the Eighteenth Regiment U.S. Infantry, under command Lieut. Arthur L. Conger, under orders of Maj. Edwin F. Glenn, then captain, Twenty-fifth Regiment U.S. Infantry, and that Capt. and Asst. Surg. Palmer Lyon, at that time a contract surgeon, was present to assist them. The officers named, or such of them as are found to be responsible for the act, will be tried therefor by court-martial. Conger and Lyon are in the United States. Twenty-sixth Volunteer Infantry and Eighteenth Regiment U.S. Infantry having returned to United States, and most of the witnesses being presumptively here, Secretary of War directs Maj. Edwin F. Glenn be directed proceed to San Francisco and report to commanding general, Department of California, with a view to his trial by court-martial under charges alleging the cruelties practiced by him upon a native of the Philippine Islands at Igbarras June 27, 1900. If you can discover any witnesses still in the service in the Philippine Islands who can testify in support of the charges, or if Major Glenn desires attendance of any persons now serving in the islands as witnesses for defense, direct them proceed to San Francisco for that purpose. As the two years allowed for the prosecution by statutes of limitation is nearly at an end, no time is to be lost. Take such course in advancing or postponing investigations previously ordered into conduct General Smith and Major Glenn as shall be required to enable you to execute these instructions. It is believed the violations of law and humanity, of which these cases, if true, are examples, will prove to be few and occasional and not to characterize the conduct of the army generally in the Philippine Islands, but the fact that any such acts of cruelty and barbarity appear to have been done indicates necessity of most thorough and searching and exhaustive investigation under the general charges preferred by Governor Gardener, and you will spare no effort in the investigation already ordered under these charges to uncover every such case which may have occurred and bring the offenders to justice. The President desires to know in the fullest and most circumstantial manner all the facts, nothing being concealed and no man being for any reason favored or shielded. For the very reason that the President intends back up the army in the heartiest fashion in every lawful and legitimate method of doing its work, he also intends to see that the most rigorous care is exercised to detect and prevent any cruelty or brutality, and that men guilty thereof are punished. Great as the provocation has been in dealing with foes who habitually resort to treachery, murder, and torture against our men, nothing can justify or will be held to justify the use of torture or inhuman conduct of any kind on the part of the American Army. By direction of the Secretary of War: CORBIN.

Manila. (Received April 19, 1902.)

Adjutant-General, Washington:

Reference your cable 17th, inquiry into Waller case disclosed inference that presidente of Basey and two native prisoners had been shot through influence, direction, or knowledge Major Glenn and

Lieutenant Cook, Philippine Scouts; that padre of Basey had been improperly treated by direction or knowledge of Major Glenn. Major Watts instructed ascertain fact. His report recently received (and) examined by me yesterday shows necessity trial Lieutenant Cook for murder [and] Lieutenant Gaujot for water cure of three padres. Probability both cases may involve Glenn to extent that officers acted according his instructions. Glenn should not therefore be ordered San Francisco. He can be charged with directing application water cure to president Igbarras as stated in your cable. Conger [and] Lyon, the presidente, Mr. Riley, and Smith to be cited as witnesses and sent out here. Two latter may not be required Glenn's case, but if Conger [and] Lyon be tried they doubtless will be needed witnesses. Inquiry will be sent [set] on foot obtain evidence at Igbarras. Waller testified incidence substance as cabled by you regarding conversation had with General Smith. Captain Porter, Marines, testified having conversation two other officers. Say Waller told them regarding it very soon after occurrence. Smith now on *Buford*, quarantined, sailing 20th, but as you direct will retain him bring trial. Of course he intended remarks to refer persons hostile to troops, not those friendly; any other inference will do him injustice. Sorely impossible convey in words correct idea difficulties been met with by officers in prosecution this war, nor can President fully comprehend that very much necessary success would have failed of accomplishment had not serious measures been used force disclosure information. Some officers have doubtless failed in exercise due discretion, blood grown hot in their dealings with deceit and lying, hence severity, some few occasions. This regretted. Record Waller trial not yet in. Sent probably May 1. Waller acquitted by court.

CHAFFEE

MANILA. (Received May 5, 1902.)

ADJUTANT-GENERAL, *Washington, D. C.*:

Brig. Gen. Jacob H. Smith did not testify as witness. He plead not guilty; admitted in writing to court "that he did give certain instructions relating to hostiles under arms in field, and instructed him not to burden himself with prisoners, of which he, General Smith, already had so many that efficiency his command was impaired; that he did tell him he wanted kill and burn in interior and hostile country; further instructed him that the interior of Samar must be made a howling wilderness, and further instructed him that he wanted all persons killed who were capable of bearing arms and were engaged in hostilities against United States, and that he designated age limit 10 years, as boys that age were actively engaged hostilities against United States authorities, and were equally dangerous as an enemy as those more mature age."

CHAFFEE.

Source: United States, Adjutant General's Office, *Correspondence relating to the War with Spain* . . . (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1993), 1327–1329, 1336.

136. "Kill Every One over Ten,"

May 5, 1902 (see page 960)

Introduction

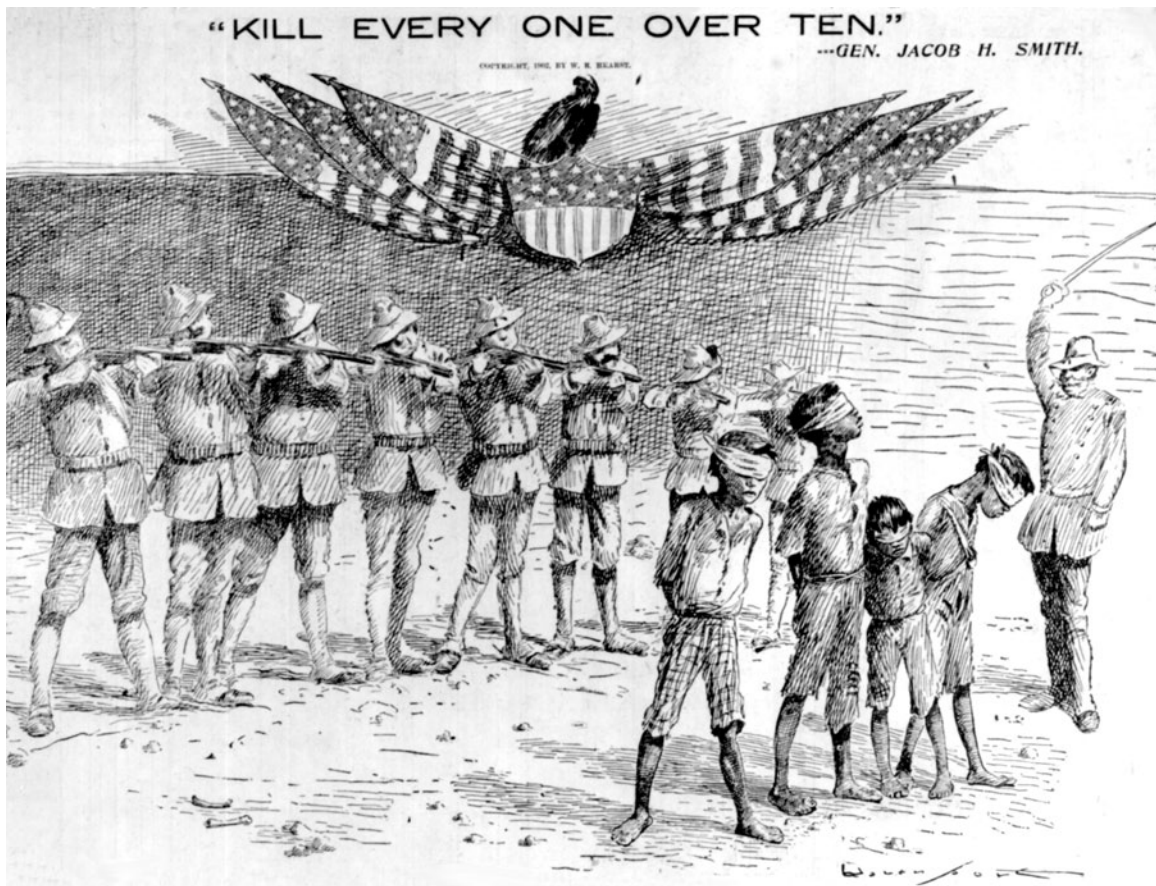
Armed Philippine resistance to American occupation began on February 4, 1899, when U.S. soldiers fired on a Philippine patrol outside Manila. Emilio Aguinaldo, president of the Philippine Republic, exhorted his people to drive out the foreign invaders. As the fighting intensified, President William McKinley sent additional troops. More than 100,000 U.S. soldiers eventually served in the Philippines. The Filipino rebels used mostly guerrilla tactics. The U.S. Army scored notable successes in the first year of fighting, and the commanding general believed that the rebellion had been suppressed. However, dogged resistance in outlying provinces continued to inflict significant casualties. Brigadier General Jacob H. Smith was accused of promoting cruelty in crushing all resistance on the island of Samar. Smith's alleged verbal orders to make Samar a "howling wilderness," to "kill and burn," and, most infamously, to kill captives as young as 10 years old earned him the nickname "Howling Jake" and led to his court-martial in May 1902. Smith admitted in written testimony that he had indeed authorized the killing of children in cases where they were thought to be active insurrectionists. He was convicted and forced to retire. This cartoon provides an example of the American public's outrage over reports of cruelty by U.S. forces.

Source: "Kill Every One over Ten," May 5, 1902 New York Evening Journal, May 5, 1902

137. "Damn, Damn, Damn the Filipinos"

Introduction

Compared to more modern standards, during the years of the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War, Americans imposed little restraint on what they said or wrote about people of other races or nationalities. Publication of racist remarks and perpetuation of stereotypes about the Spanish and Filipino people apparently caused little embarrassment. The Philippine-American War began on February 4, 1899, when U.S. soldiers opened fire on a Philippine patrol outside Manila. Emilio Aguinaldo, president of the Philippine Republic, exhorted his people to drive out the foreign invaders. As the fighting intensified, President William McKinley sent additional troops. More than 100,000 U.S. soldiers eventually served in the Philippines. The Filipino rebels used mostly guerrilla tactics. Despite notable American successes early in the war, determined resistance in outlying provinces continued to inflict significant casualties. Many American civilians sympathized with the Philippine desire for independence and were outraged by



136. "Kill Every One over Ten," May 5, 1902. Source: Library of Congress.

reports that U.S. troops resorted to cruelty and torture. However, soldiers in the thick of guerrilla warfare, subject to ambushes by bolo-wielding adversaries, had no sympathy to spare. These words, sung by American soldiers to the tune of an American Civil War march, seethe with hatred and racist invective.

Primary Source

In that land of dopy dreams, happy peaceful Philippines,
Where the boloman is hiking night and day;
Where Tagalos steal and lie, where Americanos die,
There you hear the soldiers sing this evening lay.

Chorus:

Damn, damn, damn the Filipinos, cross-eyed kakiack
ladrones!
Underneath our starry flag, civilize 'em with a Krag,
And return us to our own beloved homes.

Underneath the nipa thatch, where the skinny chickens
scratch,
Only refuge after hiking all day long,
When I lay me down to sleep, slimy lizards o'er me creep,
Then you hear the soldiers sing this evening song:

Chorus

Social customs there are few, all the ladies smoke and chew.
And the men do things the padres say are wrong.
But the padres cut no ice—for they live on fish and rice
Where you hear the soldiers sing this evening song:

Chorus

Source: "The Political Significance of a Song," *Macon Daily Telegraph*, December 25, 1906.

138. Philippine Treason Act, 1902

Introduction

When the United States acquired the Philippines, the issue of whether to retain the former Spanish colony became highly divisive. Anti-imperialists believed that the United States was wrongly abandoning its founding principles by acquiring distant possessions. Supporters of imperialism argued that expansion of U.S. territory and the acquisition of overseas possessions would impart

commercial and political advantages to the United States and that Americans had a moral obligation to bring the benefits of democracy to other nations. Meanwhile, the United States began a long and bloody war to suppress the Philippine rebellion. The U.S. Army scored notable successes in the first year of fighting, but determined resistance continued to inflict significant casualties. Prominent citizens spoke out against the war and questioned the morality of killing people who only desired their independence. Supporters of the war argued that antiwar activism encouraged the enemy to keep fighting, had prolonged the war, and was to blame for the mounting casualties. President William McKinley had appointed the U.S. Philippine Commission to oversee civil government in the islands. The commission passed a law (published in 1902 and excerpted here) that made it a criminal offense in the Philippines to publicly advocate Philippine independence. Mark Twain and other anti-imperialists called this law the "Treason Act."

Primary Source

Until it has been officially proclaimed that a state of war or insurrection against the authority or sovereignty of the United States no longer exists in the Philippine Islands, it shall be unlawful for any person to advocate orally or by writing or printing or like methods, the independence of the Philippine Islands or their separation from the United States whether by peaceable or forcible means, or to print, publish or circulate any handbill, newspaper, or other publication advocating such independence or separation.

Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding two thousand dollars and imprisonment not exceeding one year.

Source: *Philippine Review* 2(1) (1901): 136.

139. Felix Adler, "The Philippine War: Two Ethical Questions," June 1902

Introduction

When the United States acquired the Philippines, the issue of whether to retain the former Spanish colony became highly divisive. Anti-imperialists believed that the United States was wrongly abandoning its founding principles by acquiring distant possessions. Supporters of imperialism argued that expansion of U.S. territory and the acquisition of overseas possessions would impart commercial and political advantages to the United States and that Americans had a moral obligation to bring the benefits of democracy to other nations. When the United States went to war to suppress Philippine resistance, prominent citizens spoke out against the war and questioned the morality of killing people who only desired their independence. Supporters of the war argued that antiwar

activism encouraged the enemy to keep fighting, had prolonged the war, and was to blame for the mounting casualties. Felix Adler, vice president of the Anti-Imperialist League, published an essay in which he considered whether it was treason to criticize a war while it was still in progress. He argued that people have an obligation to speak out when their country is doing wrong. He also considered whether a civilized nation was ever justified in using uncivilized methods, such as torture, in war. Adler concluded that such means must never be used.

Primary Source

1. Is it treason to condemn a war waged by our country while the war is still in progress?
2. Are civilized nations justified in adopting uncivilized methods of warfare?

Treason! The word has an ominous sound and carries with it the most odious reproach. It is disloyalty in its extreme form. It may appear in private as well as in public relations. A friend may deal treacherously with his friend; a disciple with his teacher. Judas Iscariot betrayed his Master, and his name has become the synonym of infamy. And so, in an eminent sense, a citizen may commit treason against his country. In former times the crime was more frequent or, at any rate, the range within which the term applied was wider. The punishments also were terrible. In England, for instance, the wretch convicted, whether justly or unjustly, of high treason was cruelly executed, his body decapitated and quartered, his property confiscated, his blood attainted. The range within which the notion of treason applies has become much more restricted. The penalties have been mitigated; but the horror connected with the name lasts on. A sense of the peculiar heinousness of the crime remains. An accusation of this kind, therefore, should not be bandied about lightly or be advanced without the most cogent and sufficient cause. Those who are the objects of such a charge may not be in actual danger of hanging. But the charge itself, if it be unmerited, is a grievous injury. To be branded as a traitor in the eyes of one's countrymen, without adequate reason, is to suffer an unpardonable outrage.

Recently the statement has been made by a general of our army who seems to allow himself considerable latitude in employing that freedom of speech which he would refuse to others, that those persons who are publicly condemning the war in the Philippines and who plead for the independence of the inhabitants of those islands are guilty of treason and deserve to be hanged. Disregarding the hostile animus of the accusation, let us inquire whether there is any truth in it. Is it treason in a citizen of the United States to condemn the objects for which and the methods by which a war is conducted by his country, while this war is still in progress? My contention is that in certain cases it might be, and that in certain other cases it clearly cannot be, and that those who bring forward these accusations are confusing the two sets of cases. If an attack were made upon us by a foreign power, if the territorial integrity of the United States, and, still more, the life of the nation itself, were in danger, then no mat-

ter how wantonly the war might have been provoked by us in the first instance, no matter how unjust the object for which it was originally undertaken, it would, in my opinion, be the duty of every citizen to protect the national territory, to save the national existence, and it might be treason at such a time to promote disunion and to break the force of the defence by raising the question as to the original right or wrong of the objects for which the contest was begun. I can conceive of a loyal Frenchman, living under the Second Empire, as strenuously denouncing the war undertaken by Napoleon III against Germany. I can imagine this same high-minded citizen, in case the French had actually crossed the Rhine and had gained victories on German soil, continuing to denounce the war and to demand the immediate termination of hostilities. And yet I am quite convinced that the moment the tide of war rolled back across the Rhine, the moment France itself was menaced, this same patriotic son of France would have been found among the first to join Gambetta's levies. I can imagine Theodore Parker, who denounced the iniquity of our Mexican war in such virile and plain-spoken terms, himself shouldering the musket to defend the boundary of the United States, in case the Mexicans, by any chance, had prevailed.

The love of one's nation is no mere instinct of gregariousness. It is, at its best, a spiritual passion. It is a high ethical duty. We are embedded in the nation to which we belong. We are related to it as the finger to the hand, as the hand to the arm, as the arm to the body. The national language, the national literature, the national laws, the national temperament and character exercise over each one of us a controlling influence. They constitute the frame within which our individuality plays. To spring to the rescue of our nation when it is threatened with dismemberment, or when its very existence is imperiled, is to obey the duty of self-defence. For our nation is our larger self, the greater organism of which we are members. To defend it against destruction is to raise the hand to ward off a blow aimed against the whole body. We are that hand. The nation is that body. The right and duty of protecting our country against attacks from without is the right and duty of self-defence. And if the discussion of the objects for which the war was commenced tends to breed disruption at a time when unity is indispensable for salvation, then to give rise to such a discussion, to denounce the primary objects of the war, is in my opinion indeed treason, and may be dealt with as such.

As a matter of fact, during our Civil War, when the existence of the Union was at stake, President Lincoln strained to their very limit the powers of government entrusted to him. The writ of habeas corpus was suspended. The liberty of the individual was curtailed, men being forced into the service by process of conscription. And—the point here pertinent—the freedom of the press was seriously restricted, the Postmaster-General having issued an order closing the mails to certain newspapers in sympathy with the rebellion, and confiscating copies of one of them in order to prevent the spread of the opinions which it advocated. Such and other measures like them were sustained by the people. "Inter arma silent leges" (amid the clash of arms the laws are silent). Or, rather, in times of extreme

peril to the state there is a single law that supersedes all others. It is the law of national self-defence, of national self-preservation.

But the case stands very differently when there is no attack from without, no danger to the integrity of our country, when our country is itself engaged in waging war upon other countries, wars possibly of aggression, wars possibly unjustifiable, like the Mexican war, when the question perhaps is one of power, and not of self-preservation at all. In such cases, the right of free speech at home may not be violently interfered with. He best loves his friend who seeks to dissuade him from committing a wrong, and who, when his friend has entered on a course of wrong-doing, endeavors by every means in his power to persuade him to desist and retire from the false position in which he has placed himself. Shall he stand by and wait till the wrong is completed, till irreparable mischief is done, till it is no longer possible to avert the disastrous consequences? And, in like manner, he loves his country best, he is the true patriot, who would dissuade her from doing a wrong, and who, when she has entered on a course of wrong-doing, would seek by every legitimate means in his power to persuade her to desist and to withdraw from the evil position in which she has placed herself. And it makes no difference whether, in the case I am supposing, the citizen be correct or be mistaken in regard to what he denounces as wrong. If he be actuated by a patriotic motive, if he sincerely believe that the policy contemplated or in process of being carried out is pernicious, it is his right and duty to speak out. In a republic, in a country governed by public opinion, free and ample discussion is the only means of sifting out the wrong and right of alternative policies. To stifle discussion, to attempt to terrorize those who raise their voices in honest protest, is the part of tyranny, is intolerable under democratic institutions.

But treason is defined as "levying war against the United States and adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort." And it may be asked: Are not those who in their speeches assert that we should grant to the Filipinos independence at the earliest possible moment adhering to the enemy, giving them aid and comfort? Is there any question, for instance, that citizens of the United States who should furnish rifles and cartridges to the Filipinos and supply them with money to carry on the struggle would be guilty of treason? And is there any difference in principle between furnishing them with material assistance and lending them that moral support which will encourage them in their struggle, and give them hope and heart to continue it? It seems to me a strange perversity of intellect to fail to distinguish between the two cases. He who supplies arms and ammunition to the forces that are engaged in war with his own country adheres to its enemies. He places power in their hands which they may use for good or ill. He could justify his action only by expatriating himself and identifying himself wholly with those whom he assists, thus acquiring the right and the opportunity to determine the uses to which his aid shall be put. But he who seeks to prevent his own country from doing what he believes to be a wrong, to stay the hand that is already outstretched to do the wrong, he who pleads with his fellow-citizens to recall them to

considerations of justice and highest expediency, he adheres to his country and not to its enemies. The effect of his action may, indeed, be to give comfort to those who are treated as enemies, though they have never deserved to be so treated. But this effect is incidental, unavoidable. By the purpose he has in view he is to be judged, and his purpose is patriotic, noble, loyal, in the best sense of the term. Says President Schurman, in a recent article:

Even if free speech and unlimited discussion in the United States had the effect throughout all the Philippine archipelago of rendering the natives dissatisfied with our present military and semi-military government, and inspired them with the love and hope of liberty and independence, so that larger armies would be needed to keep them in colonial subjection—that, aye, and more than that, would be preferable, and infinitely preferable, to our renunciation of the principle of free speech, of the sovereignty of public opinion, of government of the people, for the people, and by the people, which is the soul and glory of our republic.

That, and more than that, I add, would be preferable to our renunciation of the right, by means of free speech, of showing that highest love for our country which consists in preventing it from doing a wrong. If this charge could be sustained, then it would equally apply to the brave Englishmen who feel and express sympathy with the Boers; then it would apply to Burke and the others who lifted up their voices at the time of the American Revolution on behalf of the rights of the colonies. Life is not the highest good. Bloodshed, horrible as it is, is not the greatest evil. Even if more blood should be shed in consequence of the attempt to prevent our country from doing a wrong, even if the war should be prolonged, it is better that men should continue to perish on either side, on both sides, so that the great principles of civil and political liberty may be perpetuated. It is treason by discussion to raise dissension when our country's life is imperilled. It is not treason to condemn a war even while it is still in progress, if that war is sincerely believed to be unjust, and if, by so doing, there is any hope that we may succeed in preventing our country from continuing a wrong.

This, then, disposes of our first question. Let us proceed now to consider the second.

Is it justifiable for a civilized people to adopt uncivilized methods of warfare? War is a terrible evil under any circumstances. When we pass over a battlefield, a field of carnage, after the fight is over, when we note the sights and sounds that meet us on every hand, the horrible mutilations inflicted by ball or shell, the glazed eyes of the dead, the torn and bleeding fragments of humanity that are strewn about, the piteous wail of the wounded; and when we turn away, shuddering, to shut out this scene from the mind, we may be tempted to ask whether there is any such distinction as that between civilized and uncivilized warfare, whether the best thing to try for is not to end a war as sharply and speedily as possible, using almost any means to that end—almost any means.

Observe that we are compelled, in expressing our thought, to introduce the qualifying word "almost." We cannot, even in the privacy of our own thought, say "any means," but are forced to add "almost"; and as soon as we introduce this word "almost," we concede the difference between civilized warfare and uncivilized warfare. There are certain means which may not and shall not be used even if they should serve to bring a war to a speedy termination. There is something worse even than war, namely, the degrading of humanity to the brutal level of using abhorrent means to stop a war. In former times poison was sometimes administered or assassination was employed as a means of cutting off the life of the commander of the enemy's army, especially when his ability was the chief obstacle to success. Poisoning and assassination are prohibited in modern warfare. And yet it cannot be denied that if a conspiracy had been formed during our Civil War to take off secretly the leading Confederate generals—Robert E. Lee and Johnston and a few others—and if it could have been carried out successfully, the result might have been to cause the speedy collapse of the Confederacy, thus deprived of the strategic skill requisite for the leading of armies. By the sacrifice of a few lives tens of thousands of lives might have been saved and incalculable suffering prevented. And yet, in what frame of mind do you suppose would McClellan, or Grant, or the President, or the people of the North have received the proposition to end the war by assassinating the ablest commanders on the other side? And this shows that the speedy termination of the struggle, at any cost, is not the sole, nor the supreme, rule that should govern action; that there are certain means which, however they may conduce to that end, we dare not use because they are unhallowed and infamous. And the distinction between civilized and uncivilized methods is just this distinction between the sort of means which a civilized people will permit itself to use and that which it will not permit itself to use.

There are, perhaps, three points of difference, characteristic of civilized warfare, to which special attention may be called. First, the restriction of the evils incident to war, as far as possible, to the combatants themselves, the protection accorded to non-combatants, especially to women and children. Their lives are to be held sacred. Their property, when taken, is to be paid for. And let me say right here that while civilized nations tend to respect this primary rule in their wars with one another, no sooner does a civilized nation make war upon a less civilized people than even this clearest command of humanity tends to fall into disuse. A war of the civilized on the uncivilized or the less civilized seems to have for its effect to drag the former down rather than to lift the others up. Heart-rending instances of this sort have come to our knowledge recently not only in the case of the conduct of the European soldiers in China, the indiscriminate shooting, the pillage, and the worse than pillage, but also in the case of the atrocious crimes perpetrated by British officers in South Africa—crimes, it is true, which have been punished, but of which the punishment cannot efface the fact that they were perpetrated; the fact that they were perpetrated showing the tendency of

which I speak. And now come the revelations that touch us as Americans, in connection with the court-martial of Major Waller, who admits the killing of natives in cold blood, and seeks to justify himself on the plea of the barbarous orders issued by his superior. The first rule of civilized warfare, as I have said, is to protect non-combatants. Even this rule is tending to fall into disuse in the dealings of civilized with uncivilized peoples.

A second all-important point of difference is that the means used should be fair. In General Orders, No. 100, approved in 1863 by President Lincoln, published for the government of the armies of the United States in the field, and now in force, we find, under Rule 16, the following statement: "Military necessity admits of deception, but disclaims acts of perfidy." A distinction is drawn between "deception" and "perfidy." As in a game of chess, so in the game of war, one of the players may endeavor, by a feint, to divert attention from the movement actually contemplated and to lull his opponent into a false security. A feint is a common device of strategy, is a legitimate act of deception. War is a struggle in which the instrumentalities used are physical: guns, swords, the physical strength of the combatants wielding them. But the struggle is redeemed from utter brutality by the moral forces involved: the courage, the daring, the scorn of death, the discipline, the solidarity, and the fact that the physical forces operate under the direction of mind. A battle between human beings, horrible as it may be, is, after all, not like a battle between tigers, because of the moral and mental factors that enter in.

But whenever means are resorted to against which courage is powerless, and which, in their nature, are such that the mind cannot deal with them, that foresight and calculation are of no avail with respect to them, then the employment of such means becomes an act of perfidy, as contrasted with deception. A stab in the back is perfidious, because we have no eyes in the back of our head and cannot be on our guard against it. A blow beneath the belt is a foul blow, because it is aimed at a part of the body which the defence of the arms cannot cover. Assassination and poisoning, as mentioned, are acts of perfidy for the same reason, because no personal courage and no alertness of the intellect can sufficiently provide against them. The use of dynamite falls under the same condemnation. And so also is the employment of the enemy's flag or uniform, without distinguishing marks that can be seen at a distance, prohibited and justly prohibited for the reason that no one can, even by utmost circumspection or intrepidity, divine the foe behind the mask of a friend, or protect himself against armed assailants when approaching in such disguise.

Now the capture of Aguinaldo was consummated by means of daring exposure to risk and hardship, but also with the help of such prohibited acts. A band of soldiers, under American officers, penetrated the enemy's lines, professing to be themselves insurgents transporting American prisoners. The uniforms of the enemy were used to allay suspicion. Forgery was perpetrated. Decoy letters were forwarded. And when the troops had arrived within eight miles of Aguinaldo's headquarters, and their provisions failed them, and

they were too weak to proceed, they sent to Aguinaldo asking for food, and he sent them food, and they ate and strengthened themselves for the work they had in hand. I have wondered how that food must have tasted in their mouths. I have wondered whether it did not stick in their throats.

The third and last point of difference between civilized and uncivilized warfare which I shall mention is this: that civilized war is ever a public act. It may be extenuated, if not justified, on the ground that it is waged in order to bring to triumph some great principle like national independence or political freedom; or, in other less defensible cases, that, at least, it is intended to enhance the power and grandeur of some state which is supposed to be a representative of civilization. Civilized war is a public act in the real or supposed interests of civilization. But whatever tends to import into the conflict an element of barbarity, whatever tends to lower the standard of humanity, to retard the progress of civilization, is in flagrant contradiction to the objects for which civilized war is deemed permissible, and subjects those who are responsible to the reproach of engaging in uncivilized warfare. It is for this reason that, in Rule 16 of the General Orders approved by President Lincoln, we read: "Military necessity does not admit of torture to extort confessions." Torture may seem to serve its purpose. It may seem the only means of extracting information necessary to the speedy termination of a war. But, whether it does or not, like assassination, like poisoning, it is a means which we dare not touch.

But, it may be asked, is it then possible that there can be any question of such a thing? Is it possible that torture can have been used in the Philippines by American soldiers, under the eye of American officers, beneath the hallowed banner of the Stars and Stripes, the very appearance of which, in distant lands, should be synonymous with justice for every wrong and hope for the oppressed? I have been just as loath to believe it as anyone. For weeks, though strongly solicited to speak on this subject, I have held my peace. I have refused to credit these shameful, these fearful accusations. But certain facts, it seems, are now so clear as to make it impossible to escape the conviction that torture has been employed, though the extent to which it has been employed is uncertain. Lieutenant Hagedorn feeds three prisoners on salt food and denies them water for forty-eight hours; subjecting them to the pains of agonizing thirst, under the fierce heat of the tropical sun, in order to extract information. He is not court-martialled; he is not punished. It is merely said of him that he has made a mistake. General Hughes, in his testimony before the Senate committee, admits that he knew of one case in which the water-cure torture was attempted by American soldiers—attempted, he says, but rejected. But it was attempted. Were those who attempted it punished? There is no evidence of such punishment.

Source: Felix Adler, "The Philippine War: Two Ethical Questions," in *Ethical Addresses*, Series 9, 171–184 (Philadelphia: S. Burns Weston, 1902).

140. Congressional Hearings on the War in the Philippines, Views of Racial Differences, 1902 [Excerpt]

Introduction

After occupying the Philippines as a result of the Spanish-American War, U.S. soldiers resumed fighting on February 4, 1899, to put down Philippine resistance. As the war intensified, President William McKinley sent additional troops. More than 100,000 U.S. soldiers eventually served in the Philippines. The Filipino rebels used mostly guerrilla tactics. The U.S. Army scored notable successes in the first year of fighting, and the commanding general believed that the rebellion had been suppressed. However, determined resistance in outlying provinces continued to inflict significant casualties. Reports filtered back to the United States about American cruelty, including scorched earth tactics and the use of torture. Prowar senator Henry Cabot Lodge, chairman of the Senate Committee on the Philippines, was forced to conduct hearings on the allegations of war crimes. The prowar and antiwar committee members heard testimony in closed sessions between January and June 1902 but spent much time trying to thwart one another and elicit testimony that supported their own views. This excerpt from the questioning of William Howard Taft, governor-general of the Philippines, and General Robert Hughes highlights the prevailing views of the era regarding racial characteristics and capacity for self-government. Although the testimony was published, no further action was taken.

Primary Source

SUPERIOR RACE WAGING WAR AGAINST INFERIOR RACE.

Senator PATTERSON. When a war is conducted by a superior race against those whom they consider inferior in the scale of civilization, is it not the experience of the world that the superior race will almost involuntarily practice inhuman conduct?

Governor TAFT. There is much greater danger in such a case than in dealing with whites. There is no doubt about that.

[...]

Senator RAWLINS. I do not want to go off into that question, particularly. This race of people, like other Asiatic races, as far as we are advised, in all history have never established and perhaps never will establish a civil republican form of self-government and maintain it. That being true, are we not attempting to fly in the face of human nature, as displayed in the characteristics of that race? Will not, after all, our efforts in the way of uplifting and civilizing them end, if we turn over the government, in a government that will result in absolutism?

Governor TAFT. After we have educated them?

Senator RAWLINS. After our efforts.

[...]

EFFECTS OF TROPICAL CLIMATE.

Senator RAWLINS. Another condition. These people are in a tropical climate.

Governor TAFT. Yes, sir; and that is another difficulty.

Senator RAWLINS. You will find that zone of course circumscribing the globe; and the people are indolent.

Governor TAFT. Yes, sir.

Senator RAWLINS. However energetic men and women may be, when they go into the Tropics they degenerate as respects indolence.

Governor TAFT. Certainly; the tropical sun induces leisurely habits.

Senator RAWLINS. It is said that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

Governor TAFT. So it is said.

Senator RAWLINS. With such indolent people there is no possibility of such vigilance as against the aggression of aspiring men. Do you not think that in our attempts there for these two reasons—all former experience seems to have demonstrated it to be true—we are flying in the face not only of human nature but of the climate in our efforts to mold those people into a republican self-governing community?

Senator CARMACK. An Anglo-Saxon republic.

Governor TAFT. I agree to the statement of the difficulties, and I am not blind to them. I am very hopeful, however, that we can overcome them.

[...]

General HUGHES. My theory of war is that it should be made entirely civilized and just as light as possible to succeed in getting the result your Government expects. I went there supposing these people to be sufficiently civilized to follow the ordinary rules of civilized warfare. I became convinced, greatly to my sorrow, that they would not follow the rules of war.

[...]

CAPACITY FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Just one other question, and then I shall have no more. I have been impressed by your clearly acute observation of these people and their conditions, and that, too, from a favorable point of view to them. What have you to say about the present or the immediately near capacity of those people for self-government, as that term is understood in America? Are they capable of such at the present time?

Mr. BARROWS. That is the whole question, I suppose, Senator. I would say this, in speaking upon it for a moment or two, I think the last twenty-five or thirty years in the Philippine Islands, which are the years that have seen the introduction of the Filipino to superior education and to superior advantages, have been very encouraging as revealing his aptitude and intelligence.

He has been within that period of time admitted to the learned professions and to journalism and to travel to a certain extent; and notwithstanding the fact that there was great repression used, as I

really believe, by the Spanish Government, and that a very few individuals out of the whole community really secured the advantages of superior education, the Filipino has done a great deal. He has shown aptness in scientific lines, in professional lines, and in a great many other lines in a way to encourage us; and I believe that under the regime we are trying to inaugurate there, which is favorable to cultivation, favorable to study and enlightenment, we may see a great acceleration of that movement. But this, of course, is to be remembered, that political self-control and political experience sufficient to govern a great population and including a great number of tribes lower than the Christianized Filipino is himself, is about the last thing that a man or a nation attains. I look forward with some confidence to a time in the near future when the Filipino will be making researches in science and will be making contributions along different lines, much as the Japanese are, but I do not see any immediate prospect, and I never expect to live to see the day when he can govern.

[...]

FILIPINO HAS PASSED THE TRIBAL STAGE.

Mr. BARROWS. It is very hard to prognosticate. The Filipino has got beyond the tribal stage. There is a stage in the social development of a race when large bodies can be governed through tribal adherence. But the Filipino is beyond that.

Source: U.S. Congress, Committee on the Philippines, *Affairs in the Philippine Islands: Hearings before the Committee on the Philippines*, 57th Cong., Part 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1902), 77, 342–343, 563, 718–719.

141. Congressional Hearings on the War in the Philippines, Report on Conflict between Civil Government and the Military, 1902 [Excerpt]

Introduction

After occupying the Philippines as a result of the Spanish-American War, U.S. soldiers resumed fighting on February 4, 1899, to put down Philippine resistance. As the war intensified, President William McKinley sent additional troops. More than 100,000 U.S. soldiers eventually served in the Philippines. The Filipino rebels used mostly guerrilla tactics. The U.S. Army scored notable successes in the first year of fighting, and the commanding general believed that the rebellion had been suppressed. However, determined resistance in outlying provinces continued to inflict significant casualties. Reports filtered back to the United States about American cruelty, including scorched earth tactics and the use of torture. Prowar senator Henry Cabot Lodge, chairman of the Senate Committee on the Philippines, was forced to conduct hearings on the

allegations of war crimes. The prowar and antiwar committee members heard testimony in closed sessions between January and June 1902 but spent much time trying to thwart one another and elicit testimony that supported their own views. U.S. Army major Cornelius Gardener was a provincial governor in the Philippines. He sent the committee a report, excerpted here, in which he asserted that the behavior of American troops was turning supporters among the Filipino people into enemies. When the committee did not summon Gardener to testify, antiwar congressmen argued that it was a purely partisan decision.

Primary Source

... Of late, by reason of the conduct of the troops, such as the extensive burning of barrios in trying to lay waste the country so that the insurgents can not occupy it, the torturing of natives by so-called “water cure” and other methods in order to obtain information, the harsh treatment of natives generally, and the failure of inexperienced, lately appointed lieutenants commanding posts to distinguish between those who are friendly and those unfriendly and treating every native as if he were, whether or no, an insurrecto at heart, this favorable sentiment above referred to is being fast destroyed and a deep hatred toward us engendered. If these things need be done they had best be done by native troops, so that the people of the United States will not be credited therewith.

Almost without exception soldiers, and also many officers, refer to the natives in their presence as “niggers,” and the natives are beginning to understand what the word “nigger” means.

The course now being pursued in this province, and in the provinces of Batangas, Laguna, and Samar, is in my opinion sowing the seeds for a perpetual revolution, or at least preparing the people of these provinces to rise up in revolution against us hereafter whenever a good opportunity offers. Under present conditions the political situation in this province is slowly retrograding, and the American sentiment is decreasing and we are daily making permanent enemies.

In the course above referred to, troops make no distinction often between the property of those natives who are insurgents or insurgent sympathizers and the property of those who heretofore have risked their lives by being loyal to the United States and giving us information against their countrymen in arms. Often every house in a barrio is burned.

In my opinion the small number of irreconcilable insurgents still in arms, although admittedly difficult to catch, does not justify the means employed, especially when taking into consideration the sufferings that must be undergone by the innocent, and its effect upon the relations with these people hereafter.

The work of the Philippine Commission and the laws that have been enacted by it are everywhere favorably commented upon by the na-

tives. The efforts being made for the general education of the people are appreciated by all. The provincial government and municipal governments established are slowly bringing order out of chaos and anarchy, and there begins to be visible everywhere in this province progress and prosperity. True loyalty and contentment can only come under a benign civil government.

The attitude of the Army, thereby meaning most of its officers and soldiers, is, however, decidedly hostile to the provincial and municipal government in this province and to civil government in these islands in general. In Manila especially it is intensely so, even among the higher officers. The work of the Commission in the establishment of provincial governments is ridiculed, even in presence of the natives. It is openly stated that the Army should remain in charge for the next twenty years. Outrages committed by officers and soldiers against natives in an organized municipality and province, when reported by the presidente or governor to the military authorities, are often not punished. This, in my opinion, is unfortunate, because loyal natives begin to fear that local self-government promised them will not last long, and that any slight disturbance in a province may at any time be made the pretext to again place it under military rule, and this is just the thing the insurgents at heart most desire.

It has been stated that a Filipino or any Oriental does not appreciate just or kindly treatment and that he considers it an evidence of weakness, and that severe and harsh measures are the only ones that are permanently effective with Filipinos. I have found that just and kind treatment, uniform and continued, is the only way by which these people can be made permanently our friends and satisfied with United States sovereignty.

Having been stationed six years on the Rio Grande, I am well acquainted with the natives of the State of Tamaulipas, Mexico, and while stationed in the province of Santa Clara, Cuba, I visited every town in that province, and was able to observe the intelligence and education there. I believe that the people of Tayabas Province are in every way superior in education, intelligence, morals, and civilization to the people of Tamaulipas or Santa Clara.

As an officer of the Army, I regret that my duty as civil governor of this province impels me to state the attitude of the majority of my fellow-officers toward civil government in these islands and its effect upon the people, but I feel that the interests of the Government involved and the future of these people, for whose welfare we are responsible, are of such vast importance that I ought to report things as I see and know them, in order that my civil superiors may be able intelligently to order what the situation demands, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CORNELIUS GARDENER,
Major, Thirteenth Infantry, U. S. Army, Provincial Governor

Source: U.S. Congress, Committee on the Philippines, *Affairs in the Philippine Islands: Hearings before the Committee on the Philippines*, 57th Cong., Part 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1902), 884–885.

142. Congressional Hearings on the War in the Philippines, Testimony regarding the Use of Torture, 1902 [Excerpt]

Introduction

After occupying the Philippines as a result of the Spanish-American War, U.S. soldiers resumed fighting on February 4, 1899, to put down Philippine resistance. As the war intensified, President William McKinley sent additional troops. More than 100,000 U.S. soldiers eventually served in the Philippines. The Filipino rebels used mostly guerrilla tactics. The U.S. Army scored notable successes in the first year of fighting, and the commanding general believed that the rebellion had been suppressed. However, determined resistance in outlying provinces continued to inflict significant casualties. Reports filtered back to the United States about American cruelty, including scorched earth tactics and the use of torture. Prowar senator Henry Cabot Lodge, chairman of the Senate Committee on the Philippines, was forced to conduct hearings on the allegations of war crimes. The prowar and antiwar committee members heard testimony in closed sessions between January and June 1902 but spent much time trying to thwart one another and elicit testimony that supported their own views. Excerpted here are the eyewitness testimony of Private William L. Smith and Lieutenant Grover Flint. They describe in detail U.S. soldiers and Philippine Scouts under their command applying the infamous water cure, the force-feeding of large volumes of water. Although the testimony was published, no further action was taken.

Primary Source

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM LEWIS SMITH.

(Sworn by the chairman.)

By Senator RAWLINS:

Q. Were you at Igaras, Iloilo Province, island of Panay, on or about the 27th of November, 1900?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What regiment were you connected with?—A. Twenty-sixth Volunteer Infantry.

Q. How long had you been in the service at that time?—A. Since July 17, 1899.

Q. Where is your home?—A. Athol, Mass.

Q. You may state whether or not you witnessed what is known as the water cure.—A. I did, sir.

Q. And where did you see it?—A. At the town of Igaras.

Q. On what day?—A. November 27, 1900.

Q. Upon whom was it inflicted?—A. Upon the presidente of the town and two native police.

Q. Did you observe it inflicted more than once?—A. I saw part of it at one time and the whole of it the second time.

Q. Describe what you saw on the first occasion.—A. We arrived at the town about daylight in the morning. It was just breaking day. There was an outpost put all over the town, so that no people could leave town by the gates, and we proceeded to quarters. A detachment of our company was stationed there. The company that we joined was commanded by Lieutenant Conger, of the Eighteenth Infantry, known as Gordon's Scouts. We proceeded to quarters, and I was one of a detail that was sent out to ask the presidente to come over to the quarters. On the way we met him and proceeded to the house of the padre, the priest of the town, to get him. He was not at home.

The presidente went along over to the quarters. When I got back to the quarters, the boys were sitting around, and I went upstairs, and the first that I saw of the presidente was that he was stripped. He had nothing on but his pants. His shirt and coat were off, and his hands were tied behind him, and Lieutenant Conger stood over him, and also a contract doctor by the name of Dr. Lyons, and as we stopped there they proceeded to give him what is known as the water cure. It was given from a large tank. I should say the tank held—well—a hundred gallons, anyway. I do not know whether it was full at the time, but the tank would hold about that—two barrels of water I should think, surely. He was thrown on his back, and these four or five men, known as the water detail of these Gordon Scouts, held him down. Water was administered by the opening of the faucet. We could not get close enough to see exactly how it was done, because if we would congregate there at all the officers would tell us to pass on. We had to go upstairs to get into our squad room, and if we would congregate there they would tell us to pass on. We would go back and forth and see it at times.

The second time I saw it after he had confessed what they wanted—I do not know whether he confessed or not, I only saw a part of that—but downstairs they asked him through an interpreter, they all stood over him at the time, and they asked him if he sent any word out to the insurgents when the troops arrived in town. One of the native police in the meantime disclosed that he had, that he had sent him personally, so in order to get that from him Lieutenant Conger called for the water detail. This time it was given by means of a syringe. Two men went out to their saddlebags and obtained two syringes, large bulbs, a common syringe, about 2 feet of common hose pipe, I should think, on either end. One was inserted in his mouth and the other up his nose. We could all stand by there and see that. When this doctor said to get a pail of water, and they started into the building with him, Captain Glenn was there, and he said, "No, this is good enough right here on the outside." So we all had a chance to witness it that time. . . .

[. . .]

Q. The Macabebe scouts took these men prisoners?—A. As the towns were approached a little skeleton cordon was thrown out. In some cases our companies moved out and formed it. The Macabebes would then enter the houses and pull out these men and talk with them and take them down to the well and put them through this test, and then the men would go off and get the guns. That was the thing that I saw at that time on that special evening.

Q. They tortured them, you say, to get knowledge of the guns, where the guns were concealed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was this done entirely by the Macabebe scouts?—A. On that evening it was done entirely by the Macabebe scouts, but on the following morning we kept on our march, and we collected all the countrymen in the barrios, and a little farther along.

By Senator BEVERIDGE:

Q. Just a moment before you go any further. Did you get the guns?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. After the application of the test you got the guns?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Go ahead.—A. Of course I could not testify as to the number; I was in the background. On the following day this same thing was repeated and our men took quite a little part in it, apparently as volunteers. They were not ordered to do so, I know that.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. They were not ordered to do so?—A. No.

Q. They were men of your regiment?—A. Yes; men of my regiment.

Q. Was any effort made to prevent it by the officer?—A. Not the slightest.

Q. Did you witness any specific case?—A. I witnessed some twenty specific cases.

Senator PATTERSON. What was that, Lieutenant?

The WITNESS. I witnessed quite a number of cases, because I was acting as a sort of an aid to the officer in command of our two companies. Major Geary. The Macabebes who were detailed with us were not under a commissioned officer at this time. They were with us and they were under a sergeant.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he a Macabebe?

The WITNESS. He was a white man. He was an American.

Senator BURROWS. Was he in the United States service?

The WITNESS. Yes; he was a regular soldier, but detailed. I do not remember his name, sir. And I saw this being done, and I told Major Geary. I went over and said to Major Geary that no commissioned officer seemed to be in charge there or seemed to be observing it, and that I would stay there for a while if he wished me to. He said: "All right, if you want to." So in that way I happened to see this performed on about, I would say, something over twenty men. This was on the second morning. The things that I had witnessed the night before I had witnessed only casually here and there. I was not what you might call a spectator.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the men subjected to this torture die?

The WITNESS. I never saw a man die. But I saw a man who I thought was going to die once, and I had indirect evidence that a man had died in another case; but nothing that I could testify to.

Senator VARMACK. That men have died in other cases, you say?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir.

By Senator CULBERSON:

Q. Apparently you were about to detail what you actually saw the next morning?—A. Yes.

Q. You stated the night before you only casually saw it, and then you were going on to state what you saw in the morning?—A. In the morning I actually witnessed it. I saw men thrown down and heard their groans and that sort of thing.

Q. Please tell the committee what you actually saw?—A. That is, you want me to describe one individual case of a man being put through the water cure?

Q. Yes; I would like you to do that, sir.—A. Very good, sir. A man is thrown down on his back and three or four men sit or stand on his arms and legs and hold him down, and either a gun barrel or a rifle barrel or a carbine barrel or a stick as big as a belaying pin—that is, with an inch circumference

Senator BEVERIDGE. As big in its diameter?

A. (Continued.) Yes; is simply thrust into his jaws and his jaws are thrust back, and, if possible, a wooden log or stone is put under his head.

Senator PATTERSON. Under his head or neck?

A. (Continued.) Under his neck, so he can be held firmly.

Senator BURROWS. His jaws are forced open, you say? How do you mean, crosswise?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; as a gag. In the case of very old men I have seen their teeth fall out—I mean when it was done a little roughly. He is simply held down, and then water is poured onto his face, down his throat and nose from a jar, and that is kept up until the man gives some sign of giving in or becomes unconscious, and when he becomes unconscious he is simply rolled aside and he is allowed to come to. That is as near a description as I think I can give. All the cases were alike I saw on that occasion.

By Senator CULBERSON:

Q. Is the water allowed to remain in the man or is it any way expelled from him, by any method?—A. Well, I know that in a great many cases, in almost every case, the men have been a little roughly handled; they were rolled aside rudely, so that water was expelled. A man suffers tremendously; there is no doubt about it. His suffering must be that of a man who is drowning, but who cannot drown.

Source: U.S. Congress, Committee on the Philippines, *Affairs in the Philippine Islands: Hearings before the Committee on the Philippines*, 57th Cong., Part 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1902), 1538–1539, 1766–1767.

143. Congressional Hearings on the War in the Philippines, Use of Concentration Camps by the United States in the Philippines, 1902 [Excerpt]

Introduction

After occupying the Philippines as a result of the Spanish-American War, U.S. soldiers resumed fighting on February 4, 1899, to put down Philippine resistance. As the war intensified, President William McKinley sent additional troops. More than 100,000 U.S. soldiers eventually served in the Philippines. The Filipino rebels used mostly guerrilla tactics. The U.S. Army scored notable successes in the first year of fighting, and the commanding general believed that the rebellion had been suppressed. However, determined resistance in outlying provinces continued to inflict significant casualties. Reports filtered back to the United States about American cruelty, including scorched earth tactics, torture, and internment of noncombatants in concentration camps. The spread of negative publicity forced the U.S. Senate to conduct hearings on the war crime allegations. The prowar and antiwar committee members heard testimony in closed sessions between January and June 1902 but spent much time trying to thwart one another and elicit testimony that supported their own views. In this excerpt, Colonel Arthur L. Wagner insisted that in contrast to the Spanish camps in Cuba, the Filipino inmates of the U.S. concentration camps were contented and well fed. However, some American soldiers had written letters home that described disease, starvation, and squalor in the camps. Although the testimony was published, no further action was taken.

Primary Source

Senator BEVERIDGE. Concerning the liberty of the people within these so-called reconcentration camps, what have you to state about that, as to their personal freedom?

Colonel WAGNER. They were given complete personal liberty within the limits of what is known as the dead line, which varies in distance from 80 yards to 800 yards from the camp.

Senator BEVERIDGE. From the camp outside of the lines?

Colonel WAGNER. Outside the lines. They were allowed within those limits to go and come as they saw fit. They were required to retire to their quarters at 8 o'clock in the evening. They were allowed to go out beyond the dead line, provided they obtained passes from the commanding officer, and they were also allowed to go out beyond the dead line, accompanied by troops, for the purpose of hunting up supplies and palay. In regard to crossing the dead line without a pass, I would say that there was an outpost consisting of natives from each barrio, who were stationed on the different roads and trails leading from the camp and who had orders to send back any natives who attempted to go out without a pass.

Senator BEVERIDGE. What was the occupation of people within these large areas, called reconcentration camps?

Colonel WAGNER. The occupation of the women was practically the same as it was at their ordinary homes. As far as the men were concerned, if not engaged in parties hunting for these caches of rice, they had practically nothing to do, excepting those who were herding cattle. They were allowed, however, to cultivate the ground within the limits of the dead line, and also under the protection of military force to cultivate ground beyond these limits.

Natives were sent out under protection of troops to gather any standing crops that were still out; that is, crops that could be used for food. But how far this cultivation in either case was carried I do not know from my own observation.

Senator DIETRICH. Colonel, you used the words "military force." You meant by that more military protection, did you not, both to see that they did not get away, and again, that those that were there would be protected against the ladrones and insurgents who undertook, in many cases, to murder and torture friendly Filipinos?

Colonel WAGNER. Yes, sir; I would state, moreover, that this protection was further necessary for the reason that these ladrones in the islands were living on the communities and towns. They obtained their rice and their money from the towns.

Senator DIETRICH. And so these concentration camps were a protection to the friendly Filipinos themselves and for their benefit, really, more than for the benefit of the United States Army?

Colonel WAGNER. The purpose was twofold: First, to protect these people, who had been compelled by the ladrones to contribute food and money and who were constantly complaining to our authorities about the impositions to which they were subjected by these hostile people. Another reason was that we might get these people into these camps, where we could be sure of feeding them and at the same time sweeping up all the food supplies in the rest of the country, in order that these ladrones in the hills might be starved out.

Senator DIETRICH. But all these people in the islands would go out and gather their food and their belongings and bring them into these camps, and there they had absolute protection against everybody else?

Colonel WAGNER. They were duly warned beforehand to bring all their property into these camps and to come in themselves, and they were all informed that they would there be protected.

Senator McCOMAS. What has been the result in reference to these ladrones or insurrectos, or whatever they were?

Colonel WAGNER. The result has been this, according to my own observation. Last July I rode through the region mentioned from Calamba over to Batangas, and thence west to Balayan, through the region which we are considering. The condition of our military

forces there might be compared with that of a blind giant. The troops were more than able to annihilate, to completely smash anything that could be brought against them in the shape of military force on the part of the insurgents; but it was almost impossible to get any information in regard to those people. The natives were afraid to give us any information because if they did they were boloed. There were instances known of natives being boloed in the market place in open day, where the deed was witnessed by hundreds of people. It was impossible to get anybody to testify in regard to the perpetrators.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Because of fear?

Colonel WAGNER. Because of fear. These ladrones would send in their agents to collect money from the people. They had a regular scale of taxation. They would charge certain people a certain amount and certain other people a certain other amount, and these people were compelled to pay through fear of assassination. We could give them no protection from anything of that sort. It became absolutely necessary, then, to separate our friends from our enemies, to put the one class where we could protect them from these ladrones and keep them in a position such that we knew everything outside of the limits was an enemy. In that case we could operate fully against—

Senator DETRICH. Colonel, right there, then, this hue that you term a dead line around these concentration camps was as much a line to serve notice upon these ladrones and these insurgents who would undertake to do violence to these people, that is, it was a dead line for those outside as much as it was a dead line for those inside, not to let those that were within escape?

Colonel WAGNER. It was, for the reason it was possible to observe everybody coming into as well as everybody going out of the camp. If a stranger came into the camp, he would be required to give an account of himself. Moreover, if this stranger was an assassin or a collector, it was a very easy matter for the headman of the barrio in the camp to report the matter to the commanding officer, and the man could be seized at once.

Senator McCOMAS. You started to say how it was before this measure was adopted, and then you were going on to say how it was afterwards.

Colonel WAGNER. I was going to say the result has been that Malvar, who before could not be caught, who practically was invisible, was at last run down and surrendered. The result is that these hostile parties have disappeared from the provinces of Batangas and Laguna, and I understand that those provinces are to revert to civil government on the 4th of July.

Senator McCOMAS. Then these people will go back to their homes?

Colonel WAGNER. They have already gone back.

Senator McCOMAS. When did they go back?

Colonel WAGNER. They went back soon after I left the Philippines.

Senator BEVERIDGE. After Malvar was captured?

Colonel WAGNER. I think so.

Senator McCOMAS. Then there are no more of these camps?

Colonel WAGNER. I understand not.

Senator McCOMAS. The incident has been closed?

Colonel WAGNER. So I understand.

Senator DETRICH. Then the result has been that by bringing all these people within these concentration camps, where they could bring their food supplies, and thereby take it away from the insurgents and ladrones, and also where they would be protected from this levy of money that was made upon them by insurgents and ladrenes, you think it would have the effect of stopping this cruel warfare that is going on much sooner than otherwise would have been the case; and it has otherwise protected the lives and property of the natives?

Colonel WAGNER. I do; I think so. Moreover, I would say that I do not see how we could have stamped out the trouble there otherwise. It was a very embarrassing situation. As I have said, the island was practically in the possession of a blind giant; strong, but unable to see where to strike.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Referring to what you have said about people being boloed in the market places of their towns, would you say that this so-called dead line was in reality for them a life line?

Colonel WAGNER. In that respect it was.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Did the people themselves who were peaceably disposed object to coming in to the reconcentration camps? You spoke of their content.

Colonel WAGNER. Whether there was objection or not, I could not say from my own knowledge; I can only state the conditions that I saw there.

[...]

Senator CULBERSON. Now, with reference to these camps of concentration. I will be glad if you will point out, if you can do so without any inconvenience, what particular sections of General Order, No. 100, authorized the concentration of all the people of a given territory within concentration camps, as was done by General Bell and General Smith.

Colonel WAGNER. There were two reasons for concentrating these people—one of duty and the other of right. The duty consisted of giving protection to people who were under the jurisdiction of our own Government. The other is the right that the Army has under paragraph 15 of General Orders, No. 100, “of all withholding of sustenance or means of life from the enemy.” In order to withhold sustenance and means of life from the enemy it was necessary to

separate these people from the hostile forces and put them in a position where they could be fed according to our duty, and such that we could be able to destroy the food products that remained outside, thus withholding the sustenance from the enemy. It is in accordance with the right granted by the laws of war to starve an enemy, either armed or unarmed, such as, for instance, the starving of the people in Vicksburg or the starving of the people in Paris during the siege.

Senator CULBERSON. You think, then that this clause of section 15 of General Orders, No. 100, “of all withholding of sustenance or means of life from the enemy,” authorized the establishment of the concentrado camps in the Philippines?

Colonel WAGNER. Paragraph 15 and paragraph 17 together authorized it. It follows as an incident to the authority granted in those two paragraphs.

Senator CULBERSON. In order to starve the enemy or persons hostile to the United States, you feel that there is authority given in paragraphs 15 and 17 to inflict, to put it mildly, inconvenience and hardship upon an entire district of noncombatants?

Colonel WAGNER. No; I would not put it that way. As I said, the concentration of these people was in accordance with a duty and a right. The hardship may have befallen these people incidentally by the concentration, but they were concentrated, not only for the purpose of starving out the enemy, but for the purpose of protecting them from assassination and from enforced contributions.

Senator CULBERSON. General Bell, however, in his telegraphic circular No. 3, dated December 9, 1901, states in effect that the whole people there were enemies of the United States, rather than friends, and that these extraordinary measures were taken substantially as a punishment, and not as a duty to the friendly Filipinos.

Colonel WAGNER. I do not understand that to be the case. These people had been claiming to be friends and had been acting as enemies, many of them. We said in effect to them, “Now, if you are friendly, come in: if you are enemies, stay out. We want to know what side you are. If you are friends we will protect you; if you are enemies, stay out and take the consequences that will befall the other people who are out against us.”

Senator CULBERSON. He says in this order No. 3:

“A general conviction, which the brigade commander shares, appears to exist, that the insurrection in this brigade continues because the greater part of the people, especially the wealthy ones, pretend to desire, but do not in reality want peace; that when all really want peace, we can have it promptly. Under such circumstances, it is clearly indicated that a policy should be adopted that will, as soon as possible, make the people want peace and want it badly.”

This policy, then, was adopted according to the language of General Bell, was it not, as punishment, especially to the wealthy classes there for their adherence to the enemies of the United States?

Colonel WAGNER. I only know, Senator, the ideas and policy of the department commander in that respect—General Wheaton. His idea was, as I have stated, that these people were to be put in these camps for their protection and to enable us to starve out the people who were out. General Bell states in the order that you have just read that many people, or most people—will you kindly let me see that order? . . . “The greater part of the people, especially the wealthy ones, pretend to desire but in reality do not want peace.”

Now according to this principle we take those people at their word if they say they are friends. If they are sincere they come in, put themselves in the list of our friends, and are protected. If they are hostile and wished to cast their lot with the insurrectos, all they had to do was to remain outside.

[. . .]

Senator CULBERSON. With reference to these concentration camps I desire to read sections 22, 23, 24, and 25 of General Orders, No. 100.

“22. Nevertheless, as civilization has advanced during the last centuries, so has likewise steadily advanced, especially in war on land, the distinction between the private individual belonging to a hostile country and the hostile country itself, with its men in arms. The principle has been more and more acknowledged that the unarmed citizen is to be spared in person, property, and honor as much as the exigencies of war will admit.

“23. Private citizens are no longer murdered, enslaved, or carried off to distant parts, and the inoffensive individual is as little disturbed in his private relations as the commander of the hostile troops can afford to grant in the overruling demands of a vigorous war.

“24. The almost universal rule in remote times was, and continues to be with barbarous armies, that the private individual of the hostile country is destined to suffer every privation of liberty and protection, and every disruption of family ties. Protection was, and still is with uncivilized people, the exception.

“25. In modern regular wars of the Europeans, and their descendants in other portions of the globe, protection of the inoffensive citizen of the hostile country is the rule; privation and disturbance of private relations are the exception.”

Now, do you think, taking those paragraphs into consideration, that the concentration camps were authorized—that is to say, it was proper to draw these people from a radius of 10 miles from their homes, from their business, and confine them to a camp under military supervision, with the inconvenience and the hardships incident to such a condition of circumstances?

Colonel WAGNER. I do. In the first place, if we regard it as a protection, paragraph 25 says that the protection of the inoffensive citizens of the hostile country is the rule. In these camps they were

protected. Before they were brought into these camps they could not be protected; so it is justified under that order. And if, on the other hand, we consider this as a hardship in regard to persons, property, etc., you will please note that paragraph 22 says “the principle has been more and more acknowledged that the unarmed citizen is to be spared in person, property, and honor as much as the exigencies of war will admit.”

That implies that the exigencies of war may, under certain circumstances, render it necessary that the unarmed citizen should not be spared in those respects. For instance, nothing is more certain or clear, according to the laws of war, that the wanton destruction of property, the wanton burning of villages or towns, is unauthorized, is improper, is a violation of the laws of war; but military necessity may compel that. . . .

Senator CULBERSON. How many concentration camps, all told, are there in the Philippines, or were there established in the Philippines?

Colonel WAGNER. I do not know that I ever saw an official report of the number. . . . The number of people in these camps altogether I should estimate as probably 100,000.

Senator CULBERSON. You cannot give numerically—

Colonel WAGNER. I cannot give the numerical strength accurately, as I never saw an official report as to the number.

Senator CULBERSON. I believe you stated Thursday that you only visited officially two camps, and unofficially one other camp.

Colonel WAGNER. Yes, sir.

Senator CULBERSON. How many people were confined, in round numbers, by estimate, in those three camps?

Colonel WAGNER. In the two camps at Tanauan there were 19,500; in the camp at Santo Tomas there were about 8,000, and I think about the same number in the camp at Calamba; but I am not sure in regard to that. . . . That would make about 35,000.

Senator CULBERSON. Then, there were other camps with an aggregate population of 65,000 people, which you did not visit either officially or unofficially?

Colonel WAGNER. Yes, sir.

[. . .]

Senator CULBERSON. Will you explain briefly the policy adopted by which the people within the camp should be furnished with food and provisions?

Colonel WAGNER. The general policy was to absolutely prevent want and at the same time to avoid pauperizing the inhabitants. It was felt that if these people were given free rice without stint it would have a tendency to cause them to wish to remain in these camps indefinitely, in ease and idleness, which would involve even-

tually a great expense to the United States Government feeding them. These people were accordingly notified to bring all their food into the camps . . . rice was sold to them as long as they had money to buy it. If they were without money, in the position of paupers, then the rice was given to them without price.

Senator CULBERSON. Do you think the expenses of these camps, in so far as sustaining the inhabitants thereof is concerned, was borne by the Filipino people, and what proportion was borne by the Government of the United States? . . .

Colonel WAGNER. I believe that by far the greater part of the expense was paid by the people themselves. To continue on the line of my former question, they were allowed to cultivate ground within the dead line, and without the dead line outstanding crops under the protection of the troops. They were encouraged to plant their crops anywhere except so far in the mountains as to render it impracticable to protect these plantations from ladrones. They were given work on the roads, for which they were paid in rice, and the United States Government then purchased a lot of rice which it sent to these different places for sale to these people as long as the people could afford to buy it. When they were without means then their support fell on the Government.

Senator CULBERSON. You say in your report, and you also have answered here, that you observed no condition of privation or want there in the camp. . . .

Colonel WAGNER. Yes, sir.

Source: U.S. Congress, Committee on the Philippines, *Affairs in the Philippine Islands: Hearings before the Committee on the Philippines*, 57th Cong., Part 3 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1902), 2849–2851, 2870–2877.

144. Anglo-Japanese Treaty, 1902

Introduction

When the United States acquired the Philippines as the spoils of victory in the Spanish-American War, it began to consider commercial opportunities in Asia. First, the United States and Great Britain cooperated in promoting the so-called Open Door Policy to establish equal access to trade with China. The various powers that wielded influence in China all grew concerned about aggressive Russian behavior in Manchuria (in northern China). The British tried to neutralize Russia's influence by forming an alliance with Japan. Signed in London on January 30, 1902, the Anglo-Japanese Treaty provided for mutual defense between Great Britain and Japan in order to protect their respective interests in China and Korea from attack by another world power, presumably Russia. On the strength of this new alliance, Japan went to war against Russia in 1904 (the Russo-Japanese War, 1904–1905). Although the United States was nominally neutral, it favored Japan. Knowing this, Japan covertly asked

U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt to bring the two warring parties to the conference table and broker a peace, which he did in 1905. The British and Japanese renewed their alliance the same year and again in 1911, and it served as the foundation for their later cooperation, along with France and the United States, in World War I.

Primary Source

The Governments of Great Britain and Japan, actuated solely by a desire to maintain the status quo and general peace in the extreme East, being moreover specially interested in maintaining the independence and territorial integrity of the Empire of China and the Empire of Korea, and in securing equal opportunities in those countries for the commerce and industry of all nations, hereby agree as follows:

ARTICLE I.

The High Contracting Parties, having mutually recognized the independence of China and Korea, declare themselves to be entirely uninfluenced by any aggressive tendencies in either country. Having in view, however, their special interests of which those of Great Britain relate principally to China, while Japan, in addition to the interests which she possesses in China, is interested in a peculiar degree politically as well as commercially and industrially in Korea, the High Contracting Parties recognise that it will be admissible for either of them to take such measures as may be indispensable in order to safeguard those interests if threatened either by the aggressive action of any other Power, or by disturbances arising in China or Korea, and necessitating the intervention of either of the High Contracting Parties for the protection of the lives and property of its subjects.

ARTICLE II.

If either Great Britain or Japan, in the defense of their respective interests as above described, should become involved in war with another power, the other high contracting party will maintain a strict neutrality, and use its efforts to prevent other Powers from joining in hostilities against its ally.

ARTICLE III.

If in the above event any other power or powers should join in hostilities against that ally, the other high contracting party will come to its assistance and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with it.

ARTICLE IV.

The high contracting parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with another power to the prejudice of the interests above described.

ARTICLE V.

Whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, the above-mentioned interests are in jeopardy, the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly.

ARTICLE VI.

The present agreement shall come into effect immediately after the date of its signature, and remain in force for five years from that date.

In case neither of the high contracting parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of the said five years the intention of terminating it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the high contracting parties shall have denounced it. But if, when the date fixed for its expiration arrives, either ally is actually engaged in war, the alliance shall, ipso facto, continue until peace is concluded.

In faith whereof the undersigned, duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed this agreement, and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done in duplicate at London the 30th January, 1902.

[L. S.] Lansdowne, Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

[L. S.] HAYASHI, Envoy Extrordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary

Source: "Anglo-Japanese Treaty," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 17, 1902.

145. Panama Canal Convention, 1903

Introduction

The U.S. victory in the Spanish-American War established the nation's willingness and ability to intervene in the affairs of Latin America. Accordingly, the United States moved to improve its strategic situation in the Western Hemisphere. Concerned about the long time required to move by sea from the Pacific coast to the Gulf of Mexico, the U.S. government wished to build a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, then part of Colombia. The United States deemed such a canal extremely valuable for both economic and military purposes. When Colombia refused to ratify a deal to lease land for the canal, the United States covertly encouraged the Panamanians, who wanted the canal built, to declare its independence. Colombia's inability to put down the rebellion resulted in the formation of a new country, Panama. On November 18, 1903, representatives from the United States and the newly formed Panamanian government signed this convention concerning the building of the Panama Canal. Canal con-

struction was completed, and the canal opened in 1914. The future canal made the area even more vital to American interests. The need to defend it contributed to President Theodore Roosevelt's corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. The United States controlled the Panama Canal until 1979, when it was returned to Panama.

Primary Source

By the President of the United States of America.

A Proclamation

Whereas, a Convention between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama to insure the construction of a ship canal across the Isthmus of Panama to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, was concluded and signed by their respective Plenipotentiaries at Washington, on the eighteenth day of November, one thousand nine hundred and three, the original of which Convention, being in the English language, is word for word as follows:

Isthmian Canal Convention

The United States of America and the Republic of Panama being desirous to insure the construction of a ship canal across the Isthmus of Panama to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and the Congress of the United States of America having passed an act approved June 28, 1902, in furtherance of that object, by which the President of the United States is authorized to acquire within a reasonable time the control of the necessary territory of the Republic of Colombia, and the sovereignty of such territory being actually vested in the Republic of Panama, the high contracting parties have resolved for that purpose to conclude a convention and have accordingly appointed as their plenipotentiaries,

The President of the United States of America, John Hay, Secretary of State, and

The Government of the Republic of Panama, Philippe Bunau-Varilla, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Panama, thereunto specially empowered by said government, who after communicating with each other their respective full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following articles:

ARTICLE I

The United States guarantees and will maintain the independence of the Republic of Panama.

ARTICLE II

The Republic of Panama grants to the United States in perpetuity, the use, occupation and control of a zone of land and land under

water for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of said Canal of the width of ten miles extending to the distance of five miles on each side of the center line of the route of the Canal to be constructed; the said zone beginning in the Caribbean Sea three marine miles from mean low water mark and extending to and across the Isthmus of Panama into the Pacific Ocean to a distance of three marine miles from mean low water mark with the proviso that the cities of Panama and Colon and the harbors adjacent to said cities, which are included within the boundaries of the zone above described, shall not be included within this grant. The Republic of Panama further grants to the United States in perpetuity, the use, occupation and control of any other lands and waters outside of the zone above described which may be necessary and convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the said Canal or of any auxiliary canals or other works necessary and convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the said enterprise.

The Republic of Panama further grants in like manner to the United States in perpetuity, all islands within the limits of the zone above described and in addition thereto, the group of small islands in the Bay of Panama, named Perico, Naos, Culebra and Flamenco.

ARTICLE III

The Republic of Panama grants to the United States all the rights, power and authority within the zone mentioned and described in Article II of this agreement, and within the limits of all auxiliary lands and waters mentioned and described in said Article II which the United States would possess and exercise, if it were the sovereign of the territory within which said lands and waters are located to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power or authority.

ARTICLE IV

As rights subsidiary to the above grants the Republic of Panama grants in perpetuity, to the United States the right to use the rivers, streams, lakes and other bodies of water within its limits for navigation, the supply of water or waterpower or other purposes, so far as the use of said rivers, streams, lakes and bodies of water and the waters thereof may be necessary and convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the said Canal.

ARTICLE V

The Republic of Panama grants to the United States in perpetuity, a monopoly for the construction, maintenance and operation of any system of communication by means of canal or railroad across its territory between the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean.

ARTICLE VI

The grants herein contained shall in no manner invalidate the titles or rights of private land holders or owners of private property in the said zone or in or to any of the lands or waters granted to the United States by the provisions of any Article of this treaty, nor shall they interfere with the rights of way over the public roads passing through the said zone or over any of the said lands or waters unless said rights of way or private rights shall conflict with rights herein granted to the United States in which case the rights of the United States shall be superior. All damages caused to the owners of private lands or private property of any kind by reason of the grants contained in this treaty or by reason of the operations of the United States, its agents or employees, or by reason of the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the said Canal or of the works of sanitation and protection herein provided for, shall be appraised and settled by a joint Commission appointed by the Governments of the United States and the Republic of Panama, whose decisions as to such damages shall be final and whose awards as to such damages shall be paid solely by the United States. No part of the work on said Canal or the Panama railroad or on any auxiliary works relating thereto and authorized by the terms of this treaty shall be prevented, delayed or impeded by or pending such proceedings to ascertain such damages. The appraisal of said private lands and private property and the assessment of damages to them shall be based upon their value before the date of this convention.

ARTICLE VII

The Republic of Panama grants to the United States within the limits of the cities of Panama and Colon and their adjacent harbors and within the territory adjacent thereto the right to acquire by purchase or by the exercise of the right of eminent domain, any lands, buildings, water rights or other properties necessary and convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation and protection of the Canal and of any works of sanitation, such as the collection and disposition of sewage and the distribution of water in the said cities of Panama and Colon, which, in the discretion of the United States may be necessary and convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the said Canal and railroad. All such works of sanitation, collection and disposition of sewage and distribution of water in the cities of Panama and Colon shall be made at the expense of the United States, and the Government of the United States, its agents or nominees shall be authorized to impose and collect water rates and sewage rates which shall be sufficient to provide for the payment of interest and the amortization of the principal of the cost of said works within a period of fifty years and upon the expiration of said term of fifty years the system of sewers and water works shall revert to and become the properties of the cities of Panama and Colon respectively, and the use of the water shall be free to the inhabitants of Panama and Colon, except to the

extent that water rates may be necessary for the operation and maintenance of said system of sewers and water.

The Republic of Panama agrees that the cities of Panama and Colon shall comply in perpetuity, with the sanitary ordinances whether of a preventive or curative character prescribed by the United States and in case the Government of Panama is unable or fails in its duty to enforce this compliance by the cities of Panama and Colon with the sanitary ordinances of the United States the Republic of Panama grants to the United States the right and authority to enforce the same.

The same right and authority are granted to the United States for the maintenance of public order in the cities of Panama and Colon and the territories and harbors adjacent thereto in case the Republic of Panama should not be, in the judgment of the United States, able to maintain such order.

ARTICLE VIII

The Republic of Panama grants to the United States all rights which it now has or hereafter may acquire to the property of the New Panama Canal Company and the Panama Railroad Company as a result of the transfer of sovereignty from the Republic of Columbia to the Republic of Panama over the Isthmus of Panama and authorizes the New Panama Canal Company to sell and transfer to the United States its rights, privileges, properties and concessions as well as the Panama Railroad and all the shares or part of the shares of that company; but the public lands situated outside of the zone described in Article II of this treaty now included in the concessions of both said enterprises and not required in the construction or operation of the Canal shall revert to the Republic of Panama except any property now owned by or in the possession of said companies within Panama or Colon or the ports or terminals thereof.

ARTICLE IX

The United States agrees that the ports at either entrance of the Canal and the waters thereof, and the Republic of Panama agrees that the towns of Panama and Colon shall be free for all time so that there shall not be imposed or collected custom house tolls, tonnage, anchorage, lighthouse, wharf, pilot, or quarantine dues or any other charges or taxes of any kind upon any vessel using or passing through the Canal or belonging to or employed by the United States, directly or indirectly, in connection with the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the main Canal, or auxiliary works, or upon the cargo, officers, crew, or passengers of any such vessels, except such tolls and charges as may be imposed by the United States for the use of the Canal and other works, and except tolls and charges imposed by the Republic of Panama upon merchandise destined to be introduced for the consumption of the rest of the Republic of Panama,

and upon vessels touching at the ports of Colon and Panama and which do not cross the Canal.

The Government of the Republic of Panama shall have the right to establish in such ports and in the towns of Panama and Colon such houses and guards as it may deem necessary to collect duties on importations destined to other portions of Panama and to prevent contraband trade. The United States shall have the right to make use of the towns and harbors of Panama and Colon as places of anchorage, and for making repairs, for loading, unloading, depositing, or transshipping cargoes either in transit or destined for the service of the Canal and for other works pertaining to the Canal.

ARTICLE X

The Republic of Panama agrees that there shall not be imposed any taxes, national, municipal, departmental, or of any other class, upon the Canal, the railways and auxiliary works, tugs and other vessels employed in the service of the Canal, store houses, work shops, offices, quarters for laborers, factories of all kinds, warehouses, wharves, machinery and other works, property, and effects appertaining to the Canal or railroad and auxiliary works, or their officers or employees, situated within the cities of Panama and Colon, and that there shall not be imposed contributions or charges of a personal character of any kind upon officers, employees, laborers, and other individuals in the service of the Canal and railroad and auxiliary works.

ARTICLE XI

The United States agrees that the official dispatches of the Government of the Republic of Panama shall be transmitted over any telegraph and telephone lines established for canal purposes and used for public and private business at rates not higher than those required from officials in the service of the United States.

ARTICLE XII

The Government of the Republic of Panama shall permit the immigration and free access to the lands and workshops of the Canal and its auxiliary works of all employees and workmen of whatever nationality under contract to work upon or seeking employment upon or in any wise connected with the said Canal and its auxiliary works, with their respective families, and all such persons shall be free and exempt from the military service of the Republic of Panama.

ARTICLE XIII

The United States may import at any time into the said zone and auxiliary lands, free of custom duties, imposts, taxes, or other charges, and without any restrictions, any and all vessels, dredges,

engines, cars, machinery, tools, explosives, materials, supplies, and other articles necessary and convenient in the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the Canal and auxiliary works, and all provisions, medicines, clothing, supplies, and other things necessary and convenient for the officers, employees, workmen and laborers in the service and employ of the United States and for their families. If any such articles are disposed of for use outside of the zone and auxiliary lands granted to the United States and within the territory of the Republic, they shall be subject to the same import or other duties as like articles imported under the laws of the Republic of Panama.

ARTICLE XIV

As the price or compensation for the rights, powers and privileges granted in this convention by the Republic of Panama to the United States, the Government of the United States agrees to pay to the Republic of Panama the sum of ten million dollars (\$10,000,000) in gold coin of the United States on the exchange of the ratification of this convention and also an annual payment during the life of this convention of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$250,000) in like gold coin, beginning nine years after the date aforesaid.

The provisions of this Article shall be in addition to all other benefits assured to the Republic of Panama under this convention.

But no delay or difference of opinion under this Article or any other provisions of this treaty shall affect or interrupt the full operation and effect of this convention in all other respects.

ARTICLE XV

The joint commission referred to in Article VI shall be established as follows:

The President of the United States shall nominate two persons and the President of the Republic of Panama shall nominate two persons and they shall proceed to a decision; but in case of disagreement of the Commission (by reason of their being equally divided in conclusion), an umpire shall be appointed by the two Governments who shall render the decision. In the event of the death, absence, or incapacity of a Commissioner or Umpire, or of his omitting, declining or ceasing to act, his place shall be filled by the appointment of another person in the manner above indicated. All decisions by a majority of the Commission or by the umpire shall be final.

ARTICLE XVI

The two Governments shall make adequate provision by future agreement for the pursuit, capture, imprisonment, detention and delivery within said zone and auxiliary lands to the authorities of

the Republic of Panama of persons charged with the commitment of crimes, felonies, or misdemeanors without said zone and for the pursuit, capture, imprisonment, detention and delivery without said zone to the authorities of the United States of persons charged with the commitment of crimes, felonies and misdemeanors within said zone and auxiliary lands.

ARTICLE XVII

The Republic of Panama grants to the United States the use of all the ports of the Republic open to commerce as places of refuge for any vessels employed in the Canal enterprise, and for all vessels passing or bound to pass through the Canal which may be in distress and be driven to seek refuge in said ports. Such vessels shall be exempt from anchorage and tonnage dues on the part of the Republic of Panama.

ARTICLE XVIII

The Canal, when constructed, and the entrances thereto shall be neutral in perpetuity, and shall be opened upon the terms provided for by Section I of Article three of, and in conformity with all the stipulations of, the treaty entered into by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain on November 18, 1901.

ARTICLE XIX

The Government of the Republic of Panama shall have the right to transport over the Canal, its vessels and its troops and munitions of war in such vessels at all times without paying charges of any kind. The exemption is to be extended to the auxiliary railway for the transportation of persons in the service of the Republic of Panama, or of the police force charged with the preservation of public order outside of said zone, as well as to their baggage, munitions of war and supplies.

ARTICLE XX

If by virtue of any existing treaty in relation to the territory of the Isthmus of Panama, whereof the obligations shall descend or be assumed by the Republic of Panama, there may be any privilege or concession in favor of the Government or the citizens and subjects of a third power relative to an interoceanic means of communication which in any of its terms may be incompatible with the terms of the present convention, the Republic of Panama agrees to cancel or modify such treaty in due form, for which purpose it shall give to the said third power the requisite notification within the term of four months from the date of the present convention, and in case the existing treaty contains no clause permitting its modifications or annulment, the Republic of Panama agrees to procure its modification or annulment in such form that there shall not exist any conflict with the stipulations of the present convention.

ARTICLE XXI

The rights and privileges granted by the Republic of Panama to the United States in the preceding Articles are understood to be free of all anterior debts, liens, trusts, or liabilities, or concessions or privileges to other Governments, corporations, syndicates or individuals, and consequently, if there should arise any claims on account of the present concessions and privileges or otherwise, the claimants shall resort to the Government of the Republic of Panama, and no to the United States for any indemnity or compromise which may be required.

ARTICLE XXII

The Republic of Panama renounces and grants to the United States, the participation to which it might be entitled in the future earnings of the Canal under Article XV of the concessionary contract with Lucien N. B. Wyse, now owned by the New Panama Canal Company and any all other rights or claims of a pecuniary nature arising under or relating to said concession, or arising under or relating to the concessions to the Panama Railroad Company or any extension or modification thereof; and it likewise renounces, confirms and grants to the United States, now and hereafter, all the rights and property reserved in the said concessions which otherwise would belong to Panama at or before the expiration of the terms of ninety-nine years of the concessions granted to or held by the above mentioned party and companies, and all right, title and interest which it now has or may hereafter have, in and to the lands, canal, works, property and rights held by the said companies under said concessions or otherwise, and acquired or to be acquired by the United States from or through the New Panama Canal Company, including any property and rights which might or may in the future either by lapse of time, forfeiture or otherwise, revert to the Republic of Panama under any contracts or concessions, with said Wyse, the Universal Panama Canal Company, the Panama Railroad Company and the New Panama Canal Company.

The aforesaid rights and property shall be and are free and released from any present or reversionary interest in or claims of Panama and the title of the United States thereto upon consummation of the contemplated purchase by the United States from the New Panama Canal Company, shall be absolute, so far as concerns the Republic of Panama, excepting always the rights of the Republic specifically secured under this treaty.

ARTICLE XXIII

If it should become necessary at any time to employ armed forces for the safety or protection of the Canal, or of the ships that make use of the same, or the railways and auxiliary works, the United States shall have the right, at all times and in its discretion, to use

its police and its land and naval forces or to establish fortifications for these purposes.

ARTICLE XXIV

No change either in the Government or in the laws and treaties of the Republic of Panama shall, without the consent of the United States, affect any right of the United States under the present convention, or under any treaty stipulation between the two countries that now exists or may hereafter exist touching the subject matter of this convention.

If the Republic of Panama shall hereafter enter as a constituent into any other Government or into any union or confederation of states, so as to merge her sovereignty or independence in such Government, union or confederation, the rights of the United States under this convention shall not be in any respect lessened or impaired.

ARTICLE XXV

For the better performance of the engagements of this convention and to the end of the efficient protection of the Canal and the preservation of its neutrality, the Government of the Republic of Panama will sell or lease to the United States lands adequate and necessary for the naval or coaling stations on the Pacific coast and on the western Caribbean coast of the Republic at certain points to be agreed upon with the President of the United States.

ARTICLE XXVI

This convention when signed by the Plenipotentiaries of the Contracting Parties shall be ratified by the respective Governments and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington at the earliest date possible.

If faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present convention in duplicate and have hereunto affixed their respective seals.

Done at the City of Washington, the 18th day of November in the year of our Lord, nineteen hundred and three.

Source: *Inter-American Relations: Collection of Documents, Legislation, Descriptions of Inter-American Organizations, and Other Material Pertaining to Inter-American Affairs* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).

146. Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, 1904 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Although the Monroe Doctrine is not an actual law, it has profoundly influenced the making of U.S. foreign policy. On December 2, 1823, President James Monroe announced in his annual message to Congress the doctrine that he had drafted with the help of Secretary of State (and future president) John Quincy Adams. The United States had just acquired Florida from Spain in 1819. Concerned that Spain or Russia might lay claim to additional territory in the Western Hemisphere, Monroe issued a general warning to European powers that they were not to consider colonizing any part of the Americas. Subsequent presidents, most notably Theodore Roosevelt, modified and extended the Monroe Doctrine. In 1903, a European court had ruled that one nation could invade another to collect debts. Fearing that powers such as Germany would use this ruling as a rationale to invade Caribbean or Latin American nations, Roosevelt declared on December 6, 1904, in his annual message to Congress that the United States would exercise “international police power” to maintain stability in the nations of Latin America and thus protect them from European aggression. This stance became known as the Roosevelt Corollary. The Monroe Doctrine remained a major component of U.S. foreign policy, and subsequent presidents used it as justification for intervening in Western Hemisphere affairs.

Primary Source

... The steady aim of this Nation, as of all enlightened nations, should be to strive to bring ever nearer the day when there shall prevail throughout the world the peace of justice. There are kinds of peace which are highly undesirable, which are in the long run as destructive as any war. Tyrants and oppressors have many times made a wilderness and called it peace. Many times peoples who were slothful or timid or shortsighted, who had been enervated by ease or by luxury, or misled by false teachings, have shrunk in unmanly fashion from doing duty that was stern and that needed self-sacrifice, and have sought to hide from their own minds their shortcomings, their ignoble motives, by calling them love of peace. The peace of tyrannous terror, the peace of craven weakness, the peace of injustice, all these should be shunned as we shun unrighteous war. The goal to set before us as a nation, the goal which should be set before all mankind, is the attainment of the peace of justice, of the peace which comes when each nation is not merely safe-guarded in its own rights, but scrupulously recognizes and performs its duty toward others. Generally peace tells for righteousness; but if there is conflict between the two, then our fealty is due first to the cause of righteousness. Unrighteous wars are common, and unrighteous peace is rare; but both should be shunned. The right of freedom and the responsibility for the exercise of that right can not be divorced. One of our great poets has well and finely said

that freedom is not a gift that tarries long in the hands of cowards. Neither does it tarry long in the hands of those too slothful, too dishonest, or too unintelligent to exercise it. The eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty must be exercised, sometimes to guard against outside foes; although of course far more often to guard against our own selfish or thoughtless shortcomings.

If these self-evident truths are kept before us, and only if they are so kept before us, we shall have a clear idea of what our foreign policy in its larger aspects should be. It is our duty to remember that a nation has no more right to do injustice to another nation, strong or weak, than an individual has to do injustice to another individual; that the same moral law applies in one case as in the other. But we must also remember that it is as much the duty of the Nation to guard its own rights and its own interests as it is the duty of the individual so to do. Within the Nation the individual has now delegated this right to the State, that is, to the representative of all the individuals, and it is a maxim of the law that for every wrong there is a remedy. But in international law we have not advanced by any means as far as we have advanced in municipal law. There is as yet no judicial way of enforcing a right in international law. When one nation wrongs another or wrongs many others, there is no tribunal before which the wrongdoer can be brought. Either it is necessary supinely to acquiesce in the wrong, and thus put a premium upon brutality and aggression, or else it is necessary for the aggrieved nation valiantly to stand up for its rights. Until some method is devised by which there shall be a degree of international control over offending nations, it would be a wicked thing for the most civilized powers, for those with most sense of international obligations and with keenest and most generous appreciation of the difference between right and wrong, to disarm. If the great civilized nations of the present day should completely disarm, the result would mean an immediate recrudescence of barbarism in one form or another. Under any circumstances a sufficient armament would have to be kept up to serve the purposes of international police; and until international cohesion and the sense of international duties and rights are far more advanced than at present, a nation desirous both of securing respect for itself and of doing good to others must have a force adequate for the work which it feels is allotted to it as its part of the general world duty. Therefore it follows that a self-respecting, just, and far-seeing nation should on the one hand endeavor by every means to aid in the development of the various movements which tend to provide substitutes for war, which tend to render nations in their actions toward one another, and indeed toward their own peoples, more responsive to the general sentiment of humane and civilized mankind; and on the other hand that it should keep prepared, while scrupulously avoiding wrongdoing itself, to repel any wrong, and in exceptional cases to take action which in a more advanced stage of international relations would come under the head of the exercise of the international police. A great free people owes it to itself and to all mankind not to sink into helplessness before the powers of evil. . . .

It is not true that the United States feels any land hunger or entertains any projects as regards the other nations of the Western Hemisphere save such as are for their welfare. All that this country desires is to see the neighboring countries stable, orderly, and prosperous. Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship. If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States. Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power. If every country washed by the Caribbean Sea would show the progress in stable and just civilization which with the aid of the Platt Amendment Cuba has shown since our troops left the island, and which so many of the republics in both Americas are constantly and brilliantly showing, all question of interference by this Nation with their affairs would be at an end. Our interests and those of our southern neighbors are in reality identical. They have great natural riches, and if within their borders the reign of law and justice obtains, prosperity is sure to come to them. While they thus obey the primary laws of civilized society they may rest assured that they will be treated by us in a spirit of cordial and helpful sympathy. We would interfere with them only in the last resort, and then only if it became evident that their inability or unwillingness to do justice at home and abroad had violated the rights of the United States or had invited foreign aggression to the detriment of the entire body of American nations. It is a mere truism to say that every nation, whether in America or anywhere else, which desires to maintain its freedom, its independence, must ultimately realize that the right of such independence can not be separated from the responsibility of making good use of it.

In asserting the Monroe Doctrine, in taking such steps as we have taken in regard to Cuba, Venezuela, and Panama, and in endeavoring to circumscribe the theater of war in the Far East, and to secure the open door in China, we have acted in our own interest as well as in the interest of humanity at large. There are, however, cases in which, while our own interests are not greatly involved, strong appeal is made to our sympathies. Ordinarily it is very much wiser and more useful for us to concern ourselves with striving for our own moral and material betterment here at home than to concern ourselves with trying to better the condition of things in other nations. We have plenty of sins of our own to war against, and under ordinary circumstances we can do more for the general uplifting of humanity by striving with heart and soul to put a stop to civic corruption, to brutal lawlessness and violent race prejudices here at home than by passing resolutions and wrongdoing elsewhere. Nevertheless there are occasional crimes committed on so vast a scale and of such pe-

culiar horror as to make us doubt whether it is not our manifest duty to endeavor at least to show our disapproval of the deed and our sympathy with those who have suffered by it. The cases must be extreme in which such a course is justifiable. There must be no effort made to remove the mote from our brother's eye if we refuse to remove the beam from our own. But in extreme cases action may be justifiable and proper. What form the action shall take must depend upon the circumstances of the case; that is, upon the degree of the atrocity and upon our power to remedy it. The cases in which we could interfere by force of arms as we interfered to put a stop to intolerable conditions in Cuba are necessarily very few. Yet it is not to be expected that a people like ours, which in spite of certain very obvious shortcomings, nevertheless as a whole shows by its consistent practice its belief in the principles of civil and religious liberty and of orderly freedom, a people among whom even the worst crime, like the crime of lynching, is never more than sporadic, so that individuals and not classes are molested in their fundamental rights—it is inevitable that such a nation should desire eagerly to give expression to its horror on an occasion like that of the massacre of the Jews in Kishenev, or when it witnesses such systematic and long-extended cruelty and oppression as the cruelty and oppression of which the Armenians have been the victims, and which have won for them the indignant pity of the civilized world.

Source: Theodore Roosevelt, "State of the Union Address," Washington, DC, December 6, 1904.

147. Peace of Portsmouth, 1905

Introduction

When the United States acquired the Philippines as the spoils of victory in the Spanish-American War, it began to consider commercial opportunities in Asia. First, the United States and Great Britain cooperated in promoting the so-called Open Door Policy to establish equal access to trade with China. The various powers that wielded influence in China all grew concerned about aggressive Russian behavior in Manchuria (in northern China). The British tried to neutralize Russia's influence by forming an alliance with Japan in 1902. On the strength of this new alliance, Japan went to war against Russia in 1904 (the Russo-Japanese War, 1904–1905). Although the United States was nominally neutral, it favored Japan. Knowing this, Japan covertly asked U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt to bring the two warring parties to the conference table and broker a peace. Signed on September 5, 1905, the Peace of Portsmouth (New Hampshire) ended the Russo-Japanese War. As Russia had fared badly in the fighting, the treaty was favorable to the Japanese and established Japan as one of the world's leading military powers. Roosevelt won the Nobel Peace Prize for his role. However, Japan was dissatisfied with the terms of the treaty, and as a result, U.S.-Japan relations deteriorated.

Primary Source

His Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, on the one hand, and His Majesty, the Emperor of Japan, on the other hand, being animated by the desire to restore the benefits of peace for their countries and their peoples, have decided to conclude a treaty of peace and have appointed for this purpose their plenipotentiaries, to wit:

His Majesty the Emperor of Russia—His Excellency, Mr, Sergius Witte, his secretary of state and president of the committee of ministers of the Empire of Russia, and

His Excellency, Baron Roman Rosen, master of the Imperial Court of Russia and his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United States of America;

And His Majesty, the Emperor of Japan—His Excellency, Baron Komura Iutaro, Iusammi, knight of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun, his minister of foreign affairs, and

His Excellency, Mr. Takahira Kogoro, Iusammi, knight of the Imperial Order of the Sacred Treasure, his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States of America; Who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, concluded the following articles:

ARTICLE I

There shall be in the future peace and friendship between Their Majesties the Emperor of all the Russias and the Emperor of Japan, as well as between their respective nations and subjects.

ARTICLE II

The Imperial Government of Russia, recognizing that Japan has predominant political, military, and economic interests in Korea, agrees not to interfere or place obstacles in the way of any measure of direction, protection, and supervision which the Imperial Government of Japan may deem necessary to adopt in Korea. It is agreed that Russian subjects in Korea shall be treated in exactly the same manner as the citizens of other foreign countries; that is, that they shall be placed on the same footing as the citizens of the most-favored nation. It is likewise agreed that, in order to avoid any cause of misunderstanding, the two high contracting parties shall refrain from adopting, on the Russo-Corean frontier, any military measures which might menace the security of the Russian or Korean territory.

ARTICLE III

Russia and Japan mutually engage: 1. To completely and simultaneously evacuate Manchuria, with the exception of the territory over which the lease of the peninsula of Liaotung extends, in ac-

cordance with the provisions of additional Article I annexed to this treaty, and 2. To entirely and completely restore to the exclusive administration of China all parts of Manchuria now occupied by Russian and Japanese troops, or which are under their control, with the exception of the above mentioned territory. The Imperial Government of Russia declares that it has no territorial advantages or preferential or exclusive concessions in Manchuria of such a nature as to impair the sovereignty of China or which are incompatible with the principle of equal opportunity.

ARTICLE IV

Russia and Japan mutually pledge themselves not to place any obstacle in the way of general measures which apply equally to all nations and which China might adopt for the development of commerce and industry in Manchuria.

ARTICLE V

The Imperial Government of Russia cedes to the Imperial Government of Japan, with the consent of the Government of China, the lease of Port Arthur, of Talien, and of the adjacent territories and territorial waters, as well as the rights, privileges, and concessions connected with this lease or forming part thereof, and it likewise cedes to the Imperial Government of Japan all the public works and property within the territory over which the above-mentioned lease extends. The high contracting parties mutually engage to obtain from the Government of China the consent mentioned in the foregoing clause. The Imperial Government of Japan gives on its part the insurance that the property rights of Russian subjects within the above-mentioned territory shall be absolutely respected.

ARTICLE VI

The Imperial Government of Russia obligates itself to yield to the Imperial Government of Japan, without compensation and with the consent of the Chinese Government, the Chan-chun (Kwan-ChienTsi) and Port Arthur Railroad and all its branches, with all the rights, privileges, and property thereunto belonging within this region, as well as all the coal mines in said region belonging to this railroad or being operated for its benefit. The two high contracting parties mutually pledge themselves to obtain from the Chinese Government the consent mentioned in the foregoing clause.

ARTICLE VII

Russia and Japan agree to operate their respective railroads in Manchuria for commercial and industrial purposes exclusively, but by no means for strategic purposes. It is agreed that this restriction does not apply to the railroads within the territory covered by the lease of the Liao-tung peninsula.

ARTICLE VIII

The Imperial Governments of Russia and Japan, with a view to favoring and facilitating relations and traffic, shall conclude, as soon as possible, a separate convention to govern their operations of repair on the railroads in Manchuria.

ARTICLE IX

The Imperial Government of Russia cedes to the Imperial Government of Japan, in perpetuity and full sovereignty, the southern part of the island of Saghalin, and all the islands adjacent thereto, as well as all the public works and property there situated. The fiftieth parallel of north latitude is adopted as the limit of the ceded territory. The exact boundary line of this territory shall be determined in accordance with the provisions of additional Article II annexed to this treaty. Japan and Russia mutually agree not to construct within their respective possessions on the island of Saghalin, and the islands adjacent thereto, any fortification or similar military work. They likewise mutually agree not to adopt any military measures which might hinder the free navigation of the Straits of La Perouse and Tartary.

ARTICLE X

The right is reserved to Russian subjects inhabiting the territory ceded to Japan to sell their real property and return to their country; however, if they prefer to remain in the ceded territory, they shall be guarded and protected in the full enjoyment of their property rights and the exercise of their industries provided they submit to the laws and jurisdiction of Japan. Japan shall have perfect liberty to withdraw the right of residence in this territory from all inhabitants laboring under political or administrative incapacity, or to deport them from this territory. It pledges itself, however, to fully respect the property rights of these inhabitants.

ARTICLE XI

Russia obligates itself to reach an understanding with Japan in order to grant to Japanese subjects fishing rights along the coast of the Russian possessions in the Seas of Japan, Okhotsk, and Bering. It is agreed that the above-mentioned obligation shall not impair the rights already belonging to Russian or foreign subjects in these regions.

ARTICLE XII

The treaty of commerce and navigation between Russia and Japan having been annulled by the war, the Imperial Governments of Russia and Japan agree to adopt as a basis for their commercial relations, until the conclusion of a new treaty of commerce and navigation on the basis of the treaty in force before the present war, the system of reciprocity on the principle of the most favored nation, including im-

port and export tariffs, custom-house formalities, transit and tonnage dues, and the admission and treatment of the agents, subjects, and vessels of one country in the territory of the other.

ARTICLE XIII

As soon as possible after the present treaty takes effect, all prisoners of war shall be mutually returned. The Imperial Governments of Russia and Japan shall each appoint a special commissioner to take charge of the prisoners. All prisoners in the custody of one of the governments shall be delivered to the commissioner of the other government or to his duly authorized representative, who shall receive them in such number and in such suitable ports of the surrendering nation as the latter shall notify in advance to the commissioner of the receiving nation. The Governments of Russia and Japan shall present to each other, as soon as possible after the delivery of the prisoners has been completed, a verified account of the direct expenditures made by them respectively for the care and maintenance of the prisoners from the date of capture or surrender until the date of their death or return. Russia agrees to refund to Japan, as soon as possible after the exchange of these accounts, as above stipulated, the difference between the actual amount thus spent by Japan and the actual amount likewise expended by Russia.

ARTICLE XIV

The present treaty shall be ratified by Their Majesties the Emperor of all the Russias and the Emperor of Japan. This ratification shall, within the shortest possible time and at all events not later than fifty days from the date of the signature of the treaty, be notified to the Imperial Governments of Russia and Japan, respectively, through the minister of France at Tokyo, and from and after the date of the last of these notifications this treaty shall enter into full force in all its parts. The formal exchange of the ratifications shall take place at Washington as soon as possible.

ARTICLE XV

The present treaty shall be signed in duplicate, in the French and English languages. The two texts are absolutely alike; however, in case of difference of interpretation the French text shall prevail. In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty of peace and affixed thereto their seals. Done at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, the twenty-third day of August (fifth of September of the year one thousand nine hundred and five, corresponding to the fifth day of the ninth month of the thirty eighth year of Meiji.

In conformity with the provisions of Articles XI and IX of the treaty of peace between Russia and Japan under this date, the undersigned plenipotentiaries have concluded the following additional articles:

The Imperial Governments of Russia and Japan mutually agree to begin the withdrawal of their military forces from the territory of Manchuria simultaneously and immediately after the entrance into force of the treaty of peace; and within a period of eighteen months from this date the armies of the two powers shall be entirely withdrawn from Manchuria, with the exception of the leased territory of the peninsula of Liao-tung. The forces of the two powers occupying advanced positions shall be withdrawn first.

The high contracting parties reserve the right to maintain guards for the protection of their respective railroad lines in Manchuria. The number of these guards shall not exceed 15 men per kilometer, and within the limit of this maximum number the commanders of the Russian and Japanese armies shall, by mutual agreement, fix the number of guards who are to be employed, this number being as low as possible and in accordance with actual requirements. The commanders of the Russian and Japanese forces in Manchuria shall reach an understanding regarding all the details connected with the evacuation, in conformity with the principles herein above set forth, and shall, by mutual agreement, adopt the measures necessary to carry out the evacuation as soon as possible and at all events within a period not exceeding eighteen months.

II. To Article IX: As soon as possible after the present treaty takes effect, a boundary commission composed of an equal number of members appointed respectively by the two high contracting parties shall mark on the spot and in a permanent manner the exact line between the Russian and Japanese possessions on the island of Saghalin. The commission shall be obliged, as far as topographical conditions permit, to follow the 50th parallel of north latitude for the line of demarcation, and in case any deviations from this line are found necessary at certain points compensation shall be made therefore by making corresponding deviations at other points. It shall also be the duty of said commission to prepare a list and description of the adjacent islands which are comprised within the cession, and finally the commission shall prepare and sign maps showing the boundaries of the ceded territory. The labors of the commission shall be submitted to the approval of the high contracting parties. The additional articles mentioned herein above shall be considered as being ratified by the ratification of the treaty of peace, to which they are annexed.

Source: "Text of Treaty; Signed by the Emperor of Japan and Czar of Russia," *New York Times*, October 17, 1905.

148. Charles R. Skinner, *Manual of Patriotism for Use in the Public Schools of New York*, 1900 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The American public desired and supported the Spanish-American War even as the president tried to slow the rush to war. On April 22, 1898, on the eve of the U.S. declaration of war on Spain, the New York state legislature passed a law requiring public schools to display the American flag and to have students salute it each day. The act also called for the state's public schools to develop a program of patriotic observances. State authorities went on to develop a manual for promoting patriotism in public schools. Other state and local authorities passed similar laws during this period. When the Spanish-American War was followed by a longer and bloodier war in the Philippines, the new war proved extremely divisive. The conflict between imperialists and anti-imperialists dominated American politics, as accusations of treason on the one hand and warmongering jingoism on the other flew back and forth. For those who supported the war and American territorial expansion, it became urgent to bring the virtues of patriotism to schoolchildren. The lengthy manual excerpted here was published in 1904 by the authority of Charles Skinner, the state superintendent of New York schools.

Primary Source

PREFACE.

Patriotism is more than a sentiment; it is a conviction based upon a comprehension of the duties of a citizen and a determination loyally to perform such duties. Patriotism is love of country, born of familiarity with its history, reverence for its institutions and faith in its possibilities, and is evidenced by obedience to its laws and respect for its flag.

American citizenship, safeguarded by the public schools, stands for the best that our institutions can offer to a free and happy people. Believing that our schools should be nurseries of patriotism, it has for many years been my constant purpose to encourage the study of history among the youth of our commonwealth as the strongest inspiration to patriotic citizenship and all that it implies. This book represents the fulfilment of such purpose, and is offered to the teachers of the State in the confident hope that the object sought to be accomplished may find ready and enthusiastic supporters among all educators who are striving for the best results of educational effort.

I have been inspired by the belief that to preserve our free institutions in all their old-time vigor and prestige, our system of public education must more and more lay stress on those civic virtues which develop and ennoble true and patriotic citizenship. This belief has steadily grown under the encouraging sympathy of thoughtful citizens, experienced educators, and patriotic organizations. The legislature of the State has acknowledged the growth of patriotic spirit by

providing for the publication of a patriotic manual for use in the public schools of our State, and for its free distribution among them.

The task imposed upon the State Superintendent of Public Instruction by this enactment has not been easy. The limitations to the broad scope of material that could legitimately be made part of such a work were by no means easy to determine. The plan finally adopted and followed in the compilation of this volume was to present the choicest literature bearing upon love of country, and upon notable events and the achievements of proud names in American history, in the belief that love of country grows best when the youth of the land have a lively appreciation of what our free institutions have cost in individual sacrifice, in suffering, and in treasure.

The Manual is now submitted to the teachers and the supervising officers of the State, and to them is intrusted the important duty of so using the material provided as to make at least some of its noble utterances, its vivid pictures of great deeds and patriotic sacrifices, and its quotations from the sayings of men honored for their clear patriotic vision, a part of the very souls of the pupils intrusted to their care. In this way shall we secure the very result intended by the legislature in enacting the law which authorized the publication of this volume. This can be done successfully only by much repetition and constant reiteration. So well established is this fact that I feel warranted in recommending that a few minutes of the opening exercises of every public school each day be devoted to observance based upon the material found in this Manual, or suggested thereby, and, in addition, that more extended exercises be provided in commemoration of the great days and the great names in our Nation's history.

I would be glad to have every pupil in our public schools commit to memory each week some patriotic selection or quotation, no matter how brief it may be. Let school be opened by a patriotic song and a salute to the flag. This may be followed by a short recitation or by several brief patriotic quotations from the masterpieces which have been arranged in this work. Let pupils choose from among their number one or more classmates whose duty it shall be to see that the flag is properly displayed in favorable weather, at other times exhibited in the schoolroom, and all times sacredly cared for.

The task of editing this work was placed in the hands of Professor William K. Wickes, principal of the high school of Syracuse, to whom my acknowledgments are due for his loyal and painstaking efforts. I also acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Isaac H. Stout, a veteran of the civil war associated with me in the educational work of the State, who suggested and arranged that part of the Manual relating to important dates in American history. I desire especially to acknowledge my obligations to Past-Commanders Albert D. Shaw, Anson S. Wood and Joseph W. Kay, Col. Joseph A. Goulden, chairman of the special committee on instruction in civics and patriotism, and

their comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic, Department of New York, without number, for their constant encouragement and earnest co-operation in all matters pertaining to patriotic education, culminating in the publication of this volume.

This Manual is submitted to teachers, school officers, the people, and the legislature in the confident belief that it will be so well used in our school work as to reflect credit on the teaching force, prove the wisdom of the legislature in authorizing its publication, and justify the earnest efforts made in behalf of the law by patriotic citizens and organizations.

Charles R. Skinner

State Superintendent. ALBANY, N. Y., May, 1900.

EDITOR'S ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

This Manual is made up from many contributing sources. To all, so far as possible, the editor wishes to make his acknowledgments and pay his meed of thanks. To Statesmen, Orators, Poets—the dead and the living—whose strong and stirring utterances give fresh life and beauty to the thought of Patriotism and its noblest symbol, The Flag. To the following publishers and composers for the crowning grace of music:—the Oliver Ditson Company, for selections from their recent book, "Patriotic Songs for School and Home," filled with gems in an admirable musical setting,—Ginn & Co., whose wide-ranging and inspiring "Academy Song Book" would be a constant joy in any schoolroom,—Silver, Burdett & Co., in whose "Songs of the Nation" may be found a fine epitome of the best in present-day patriotic music,—Houghton, Mifflin & Co., whose "Riverside Song Book" contains in compact form, set to music, the finest patriotic poems of the noblest American poets, and into whose "Riverside Literature Series" have been put illustrations of every possible phase, as it would seem, of American history and life,—the John Church Company for use of the song, "Our Flag,"—Martha Moses Peckham (and her publishers, Clayton F. Summy Company, Chicago), for her unique and rousing song, "Dewey at Manila Bay,"—Prof. Hamlin E. Cogswell for his spirit-caught interpretation of "The Liberty Bell" and "The Camp Flag,"—Miss Cornelia A. Moses for the music of the brush in her flag-drawing and initial letters. Above all, to Prof. Ralph W. Thomas for the music of human speech as shown in his many and choice selections of patriotic prose and verse.

THE EDITOR.

INTRODUCTION.

It is well to put in the very forefront of this book, the law in accordance with which this "Manual of Patriotism" has been prepared: LAWS OF NEW YORK.—By Authority.

CHAP. 481.

AN ACT to provide for the display of the United States flag on the schoolhouses of the State, in connection with the public schools; and to encourage patriotic exercises in such schools.

Became a law April 22, 1898, with the approval of the Governor. Passed, three-fifths being present.

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the school authorities of every public school in the several cities and school districts of the State to purchase a United States flag, flagstaff and the necessary appliances therefore, and to display such flag upon or near the public school building during school hours, and at such other times as such school authorities may direct.

SECTION 2. The said school authorities shall establish rules and regulations for the proper custody, care and display of the flag, and when the weather will not permit it to be otherwise displayed, it shall be placed conspicuously in the principal room in the schoolhouse.

SECTION 3. It shall be the duty of the state superintendent of public instruction to prepare, for the use of the public schools of the state, a program providing for a salute to the flag at the opening of each day of school and such other patriotic exercises as may be deemed by him to be expedient, under such regulations and instructions as may best meet the varied requirements of the different grades in such schools. It shall also be his duty to make special provision for the observance in such public schools of Lincoln's birthday, Washington's birthday, Memorial day, and Flag day, and such other legal holidays of like character as may be hereafter designated by law.

SECTION 4. The State superintendent of public instruction is hereby authorized to provide for the necessary expenses incurred in developing and encouraging such patriotic exercises in the public school.

SECTION 5. Nothing herein contained shall be construed to authorize military instruction or drill in the public schools during school hours.

SECTION 6. This act shall take effect immediately.

Reading the foregoing carefully, it will be noted that, law-like, not a word is said as to the intent of the law. But whoever will "read between the lines" cannot fail to see its gracious purpose,—nothing less or other than to awaken in the minds and hearts of the young a strong and abiding regard for the flag and intelligent appreciation of the great men and great deeds that have made it to be, to all American youth, the rallying-cry of patriotism. In other words, the Empire State seeks for its countless host of boys and girls the inculcation of a true spirit of Patriotism and a loving regard for its greatest symbol, the Flag.

Note also in the law the constraint that is put upon the authorities of every public school in the State, to furnish, display, and care for a flag. That means that the State is interested to see that those into whose hands are put all the great interests of the schools—with their large corps of teachers and immense army of pupils—shall make clear the will and mind of the State in respect to the patriotic education of its children.

This good law was put upon the statute-book through efforts made largely by the Department of New York, Grand Army of the Republic. Under "General Orders, No. 6," issued August 9, 1897, a special Committee was appointed "to examine and report to the Department . . . upon the best practical methods of teaching Patriotism and Civics in our public schools." The Committee, having previously been divided into three parts, viz.: on Civics and History; Patriotic Exercises; Public Celebrations,—made its triple report in November, 1897. This report, under the title, "To Promote Patriotic Study in the Public Schools," was published in pamphlet form by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction for general distribution throughout the State. This action greatly influenced the patriotic legislation embodied in the law above quoted.

Source: Charles R. Skinner, *Manual of Patriotism for Use in the Public Schools of the State of New York* (Albany: Brandow Printing, 1900).

149. Mark Twain, Comment on the Moro Massacre, March 1906

Introduction

After occupying the Philippines as a result of the Spanish-American War, U.S. soldiers resumed fighting on February 4, 1899, to put down Philippine resistance. As the war intensified, President William McKinley sent additional troops. More than 100,000 U.S. soldiers eventually served in the Philippines. The U.S. Army scored notable successes in the first year of fighting, and the commanding general believed that the rebellion had been suppressed. However, determined resistance in outlying provinces continued to inflict significant casualties. The United States installed an effective government over much of the Philippines, and the rebellion lost strength after the capture of revolutionary leader Emilio Aguinaldo. President Theodore Roosevelt declared the war at an end in July 1902, but violent clashes continued to occur between U.S. forces and Filipino rebels until 1913. A March 1906 battle between Muslim Moros on the island of Jolo and U.S. soldiers commanded by Major General Leonard Wood (former military governor of Cuba) culminated in the killing of more than 600 Filipino men, women, and children hiding in the crater of Mount Dajo. Mark Twain, well-known author and anti-imperialist, gave expression to his outrage over the uneven contest in which the U.S. Army had no men killed and the Moros had no survivors.

Primary Source

The incident burst upon the world last Friday in an official cablegram from the commander of our forces in the Philippines to our Government at Washington. The substance of it was as follow:

A tribe of Moros, dark-skinned savages, had fortified themselves in the bowl of an extinct crater not many miles from Jolo; and as they

were hostiles, and bitter against us because we have been trying for eight years to take their liberties away from them, their presence in that position was a menace. Our commander, Gen. Leonard Wood, ordered a reconnaissance. It was found that the Moros numbered six hundred counting women and children; that their crater bowl was in the summit of a peak or mountain twenty-two hundred feet above sea level, and very difficult of access for Christian troops and artillery. Then General Wood ordered a surprise, and went along himself to see the order carried out. Our troops climbed the heights by devious and difficult trails, and even took some artillery with them. The kind of artillery is not specified, but in one place it was hoisted up a sharp acclivity by tackle a distance of some three hundred feet. Arrived at the rim of the crater, the battle began. Our soldiers numbered five hundred and forty. They were assisted by auxiliaries consisting of a detachment of native constabulary in our pay—their numbers not given—and by a naval detachment, whose numbers are not stated. But apparently the contending parties were about equal as to number—six hundred men on our side, on the edge of the bowl; six hundred men, women and children in the bottom of the bowl. Depth of bowl, 50 feet.

Gen. Wood's order was, "Kill or capture the six hundred."

The battle began—it is officially called by that name—our forces firing down into the crater with their artillery and their deadly small arms of precision; the savages furiously returning the fire, probably with brickbats—though this is merely a surmise of mine, as the weapons used by the savages are not nominated in the cablegram. Heretofore the Moros have used knives and clubs mainly; also ineffectual trade-muskets when they had any.

The official report stated that the battle was fought with prodigious energy on both sides during a day and a half, and that it ended with a complete victory for the American arms. The completeness of the victory is established by this fact: that of the six hundred Moros not one was left alive. The brilliancy of the victory is established by this other fact, to wit: that of our six hundred heroes only fifteen lost their lives.

General Wood was present and looking on. His order had been "Kill *or* capture those savages." Apparently our little army considered that the "or" left them authorized to kill *or* capture according to taste, and that their taste had remained what it has been for eight years, in our army out there—the taste of Christian butchers.

The official report quite properly extolled and magnified the "heroism" and "gallantry" of our troops; lamented the loss of the fifteen who perished, and elaborated the wounds of thirty-two of our men who suffered injury, and even minutely and faithfully described the nature of the wounds, in the interest of future historians of the United States. It mentioned that a private had one of his elbows scraped by a missile, and the private's name was mentioned. Another private

had the end of his nose scraped by a missile. His name was also mentioned—by cable, at one dollar and fifty cents a word.

Next day's news confirmed the previous day's report and named our fifteen killed and thirty-two wounded *again*, and once more described the wounds and gilded them with the right adjectives.

Let us now consider two or three details of our military history. In one of the great battles of the Civil War ten percent of the forces engaged on the two sides were killed and wounded. At Waterloo, where four hundred thousand men were present on the two sides, fifty thousand fell, killed and wounded, in five hours, leaving three hundred and fifty thousand sound and all right for further adventures. Eight years ago, when the pathetic comedy called the Cuban War was played, we summoned two hundred and fifty thousand men. We fought a number of showy battles, and when the war was over we had lost two hundred and sixty-eight men out of our two hundred and fifty thousand, in killed and wounded in the field, and just *fourteen times as many* by the gallantry of the army doctors in the hospitals and camps. We did not exterminate the Spaniards—far from it. In each engagement we left an average of *two percent* of the enemy killed or crippled on the field.

Contrast these things with the great statistics which have arrived from that Moro crater! There, with six hundred engaged on each side, we lost fifteen men killed outright, and we had thirty-two wounded—counting that nose and that elbow. The enemy numbered six hundred—including women and children—and we abolished them utterly, leaving not even a baby alive to cry for its dead mother. *This is incomparably the greatest victory that was ever achieved by the Christian soldiers of the United States.*

Now then, how has it been received? The splendid news appeared with splendid display-heads in every newspaper in this city of four million and thirteen thousand inhabitants, on Friday morning. But there was not a single reference to it in the editorial columns of any one of those newspapers. The news appeared again in all the evening papers of Friday, and again those papers were editorially silent upon our vast achievement. Next day's additional statistics and particulars appeared in all the morning papers, and still without a line of editorial rejoicing or a mention of the matter in any way. These additions appeared in the evening papers of that same day (Saturday) and again without a word of comment. In the columns devoted to correspondence, in the morning and evening papers of Friday and Saturday, nobody said a word about the "battle." Ordinarily those columns are teeming with the passions of the citizen; he lets no incident go by, whether it be large or small, without pouring out his praise or blame, his joy or his indignation about the matter in the correspondence column. But, as I have said, during those two days he was as silent as the editors themselves. So far as I can find out, there was only one person among our eighty millions who allowed himself the privilege of a public remark on this great occasion—that was the President of

the United States. All day Friday he was as studiously silent as the rest. But on Saturday he recognized that his duty required him to say something, and he took his pen and performed that duty. If I know President Roosevelt—and I am sure I do—this utterly cost him more pain and shame than any other that ever issued from his pen or mouth. I am far from blaming him. If I had been in his place my official duty would have compelled me to say what he said. It was a convention, an old tradition, and he had to be loyal to it. There was no help for it. This is what he said:

Washington, March 10
Wood. Manila:

I congratulate you and the officers and men of your command upon the brilliant feat of arms wherein you and they so well upheld the honor of the American flag.
(Signed) Theodore Roosevelt

His whole utterance is merely a convention. Not a word of what he said came out of his heart. He knew perfectly well that to pen six hundred helpless and weaponless savages in a hole like rats in a trap and massacre them in detail during a stretch of a day and a half, from a safe position on the heights above, was no brilliant feat of arms—and would not have been a brilliant feat of arms even if Christian America, represented by its salaried soldiers, had shot them down with Bibles and the Golden Rule instead of bullets. He knew perfectly well that our uniformed assassins had *not* upheld the honor of the American flag, but had done as they have been doing continuously for eight years in the Philippines—that is to say, they had dishonored it.

The next day, Sunday—which was yesterday—the cable brought us additional news—still more splendid news—still more honor for the flag. The first display-head shouts this information at us in stentorian capitals: “WOMEN SLAIN IN MORO SLAUGHTER.”

“Slaughter” is a good word. Certainly there is not a better one in the Unabridged Dictionary for this occasion.

The next display line says:

“With Children They Mixed in Mob in Crater, and All Died Together.”

They were mere naked savages, and yet there is sort of pathos about it when that word *children* falls under your eye, for it always brings before us our perfectest symbol of innocence and helplessness; and by help of its deathless eloquence color, creed and nationality vanish away and we see only that they are children—merely children. And if they are frightened and crying and in trouble, our pity goes out to them by natural impulse. We see a picture. We see the small forms. We see the terrified faces. We see the tears. We see the small hands clinging in supplication to the mother; but we do not see those children that we are speaking about. We see in their places the little creatures whom we know and love.

The next headline blazed with American and Christian glory like to the sun in the zenith:

“Death List is now 900.”

I was never so enthusiastically proud of the flag till now!

The next heading explains how safely our daring soldiers were located. It says:

“Impossible to Tell Sexes Apart in Fierce Battle on Top of Mount Dajo.”

The naked savages were so far away, down in the bottom of that trap, that our soldiers could not tell the breasts of a woman from the rudimentary paps of a man—so far away that they couldn’t tell a toddling little child from a black six-footer. *This was by all odds the least dangerous battle that Christian soldiers of any nationality were ever engaged in.*

The next heading says:

“Fighting for Four Days.”

So our men were at it four days instead of a day and a half. It was a long and happy picnic with nothing to do but sit in comfort and fire the Golden Rule into those people down there and imagine letters to write home to the admiring families, and pile glory upon glory. Those savages fighting for their liberties had the four days too, but it must have been a sorrowful time for them. Every day they saw two hundred and twenty-five of their numbers slain, and this provided them grief and mourning for the night—and doubtless without even the relief and consolation of knowing that in the meantime they had slain four of their enemies and wounded some more on the elbow and the nose.

The closing heading says:

“Lieutenant Johnson Blown from Parapet by Exploding Artillery Gallantly Leading Charge.”

Lieutenant Johnson had pervaded the cablegrams from the first. He and his wound have sparkled around through them like the serpentine thread of fire that goes excursioning through the black crisp fabric of a fragment of burnt paper. It reminds one of Gillette’s comedy farce of a few years ago, “Too Much Johnson.” Apparently Johnson was the only wounded man on our side whose wound was worth anything as an advertisement. It has made a great deal more noise in the world than has any similarly colossal event since “Humpty Dumpty” fell off the wall and got injured. The official dispatches do not know which to admire most, Johnson’s adorable wound or the nine hundred murders. The ecstasies flowing from Army Headquarters on the other side of the globe to the White House, at a dollar and a half a word, have set fire to similar ecstasies in the President’s breast. It appears that the immortally wounded was a Rough Rider under Lieutenant Colonel Roosevelt at San Juan

Hill—that extinguisher of Waterloo—when the Colonel of the regiment, the present Major General Dr. Leonard Wood, went to the rear to bring up the pills and missed the fight. The President has a warm place in his heart for anybody who was present at that bloody collision of military solar systems, and so he lost no time in cabling to the wounded hero, “How are you?” And got a cable answer, “Fine, thanks.” This is historical. This will go down to posterity.

Johnson was wounded in the shoulder with a slug. The slug was in a shell—for the account says the damage was caused by an exploding shell which blew Johnson off the rim. The people down in the hole had no artillery; therefore it was our artillery that blew Johnson off the rim. And so it is now a matter of historical record that the only officer of ours who acquired a wound of advertising dimensions got it at our hands, not the enemy’s. It seems more than probable that if we had placed our soldiers out of the way of our own weapons, we should have come out of the most extraordinary battle in all history without a scratch.

[Wednesday, March 14, 1906]

The ominous paralysis continues. There has been a slight sprinkle—and exceedingly slight sprinkle—in the correspondence columns, of angry rebukes of the President for calling this cowardly massacre a “brilliant feat of arms,” and for praising our butchers for “holding up the honor of the flag” in that singular way; but there is hardly a ghost of a whisper about the feat of arms in the editorial columns of the papers.

I hope that this silence will continue. It is about as eloquent and as damaging and effective as the most indignant words could be, I think. When a man is sleeping in a noise, his sleep goes placidly on; but if the noise stops, the stillness wakens him. This silence had continued five days now. Surely it must be waking the drowsy nation. Surely the nation must be wondering what it means. A five-day silence following a world-astonishing event has not happened on this planet since the daily newspaper was invented.

Source: Jim Zwick, ed., *Mark Twain’s Weapons of Satire* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1992), 170–175.

150. Theodora Alice Ruggles Kitson, “The Hiker” War Memorial, 1906

Introduction

Like soldiers in other American wars (for example, the so-called doughboys of World War I), U.S. foot soldiers of the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War gave themselves a nickname, in this case “hikers.” Both the Cuban and Philippine campaigns had required long treks over difficult ground. A war memorial created by Boston sculptor Theodora Alice Ruggles Kitson



Source: Library of Congress

portrayed a larger-than-life soldier clad in the uniform of the era. The original statue was unveiled on Memorial Day 1906 in Minnesota. At least 50 replicas of the statue, usually called “The Hiker,” have been erected at war memorials throughout the nation, and one of them stands at Arlington National Cemetery. By the time she created this sculpture, Kitson already had a solid reputation as a sculptor of war memorial statues. Another version of the hiker was created by sculptor Allen Newman and unveiled in 1904. At least 20 castings of his statue are on display. The art of Frederic Remington features similar images of the era’s U.S. infantrymen, which may have served as models for the sculptures.

Source: Theodora Alice Ruggles Kitson, “The Hiker” War Memorial, 1906 Photograph courtesy of the University of Minnesota Archives, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities.

151. Theodore Roosevelt, Annual Message to Congress, December 8, 1908 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Theodore Roosevelt had been assistant secretary of the navy when the Spanish-American War broke out and had mustered a volunteer cavalry regiment that played a prominent role in the Santiago Cam-

paign. The fame he won as a cavalry colonel and war hero propelled him to the governorship of New York, followed by the vice presidency of the United States. Roosevelt became president upon William McKinley's assassination by an anarchist in September 1901. Early in his presidency, Roosevelt began espousing views that foreshadowed his 1912 alliance with the Progressive Party. Progressives called for limitations on the power of corporations, regulation of interstate commerce, improved conditions for industrial workers, the promotion of economic well-being for farmers, and conservation of natural resources. In his last annual message to Congress, delivered on December 8, 1908, President Roosevelt continued developing his progressive policies. In this excerpt he discusses compensating workers injured on the job and the importance of balancing the interests of industrialists and their employees. When Roosevelt found his Republican successor, William Howard Taft, too conservative, he ran against him as the Progressive Party candidate in 1912, thus giving the election to the Democratic candidate, Woodrow Wilson.

Primary Source

[...]

LABOR.

There are many matters affecting labor and the status of the wage-worker to which I should like to draw your attention, but an exhaustive discussion of the problem in all its aspects is not now necessary. This administration is nearing its end; and, moreover, under our form of government the solution of the problem depends upon the action of the States as much as upon the action of the Nation. Nevertheless, there are certain considerations which I wish to set before you, because I hope that our people will more and more keep them in mind. A blind and ignorant resistance to every effort for the reform of abuses and for the readjustment of society to modern industrial conditions represents not true conservatism, but an incitement to the wildest radicalism; for wise radicalism and wise conservatism go hand in hand, one bent on progress, the other bent on seeing that no change is made unless in the right direction. I believe in a steady effort, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say in steady efforts in many different directions, to bring about a condition of affairs under which the men who work with hand or with brain, the laborers, the superintendents, the men who produce for the market and the men who find a market for the articles produced, shall own a far greater share than at present of the wealth they produce, and be enabled to invest it in the tools and instruments by which all work is carried on. As far as possible I hope to see a frank recognition of the advantages conferred by machinery, organization, and division of labor, accompanied by an effort to bring about a larger share in the ownership by wage—worker of railway, mill and factory. In farming, this simply means that we wish to see the farmer own his own land; we do not wish to see the farms so large that they become the property of absentee landlords who farm them by tenants, nor yet so small that the farmer becomes like a European peasant. Again, the depositors in our savings banks now number over one-tenth of our entire population. These are all capitalists, who through

the savings banks loan their money to the workers—that is, in many cases to themselves—to carry on their various industries. The more we increase their number, the more we introduce the principles of co-operation into our industry. Every increase in the number of small stockholders in corporations is a good thing, for the same reasons; and where the employees are the stockholders the result is particularly good. Very much of this movement must be outside of anything that can be accomplished by legislation; but legislation can do a good deal. Postal savings banks will make it easy for the poorest to keep their savings in absolute safety. The regulation of the national highways must be such that they shall serve all people with equal justice. Corporate finances must be supervised so as to make it far safer than at present for the man of small means to invest his money in stocks. There must be prohibition of child labor, diminution of woman labor, shortening of hours of all mechanical labor; stock watering should be prohibited, and stock gambling so far as is possible discouraged. There should be a progressive inheritance tax on large fortunes. Industrial education should be encouraged. As far as possible we should lighten the burden of taxation on the small man. We should put a premium upon thrift, hard work, and business energy; but these qualities cease to be the main factors in accumulating a fortune long before that fortune reaches a point where it would be seriously affected by any inheritance tax such as I propose. It is eminently right that the Nation should fix the terms upon which the great fortunes are inherited. They rarely do good and they often do harm to those who inherit them in their entirety.

PROTECTION FOR WAGEWORKERS.

The above is the merest sketch, hardly even a sketch in outline, of the reforms for which we should work. But there is one matter with which the Congress should deal at this session. There should no longer be any paltering with the question of taking care of the wage-workers who, under our present industrial system, become killed, crippled, or worn out as part of the regular incidents of a given business. The majority of wage-workers must have their rights secured for them by State action; but the National Government should legislate in thoroughgoing and far-reaching fashion not only for all employees of the National Government, but for all persons engaged in interstate commerce. The object sought for could be achieved to a measurable degree, as far as those killed or crippled are concerned, by proper employers' liability laws. As far as concerns those who have been worn out, I call your attention to the fact that definite steps toward providing old-age pensions have been taken in many of our private industries. These may be indefinitely extended through voluntary association and contributory schemes, or through the agency of savings banks, as under the recent Massachusetts plan. To strengthen these practical measures should be our immediate duty; it is not at present necessary to consider the larger and more general governmental schemes that most European governments have found themselves obliged to adopt.

Our present system, or rather no system, works dreadful wrong, and is of benefit to only one class of people—the lawyers. When a

workman is injured what he needs is not an expensive and doubtful lawsuit, but the certainty of relief through immediate administrative action. The number of accidents which result in the death or crippling of wage-workers, in the Union at large, is simply appalling; in a very few years it runs up a total far in excess of the aggregate of the dead and wounded in any modern war. No academic theory about “freedom of contract” or “constitutional liberty to contract” should be permitted to interfere with this and similar movements. Progress in civilization has everywhere meant a limitation and regulation of contract. I call your especial attention to the bulletin of the Bureau of Labor which gives a statement of the methods of treating the unemployed in European countries, as this is a subject which in Germany, for instance, is treated in connection with making provision for worn-out and crippled workmen.

Pending a thoroughgoing investigation and action there is certain legislation which should be enacted at once. The law, passed at the last session of the Congress, granting compensation to certain classes of employees of the Government, should be extended to include all employees of the Government and should be made more liberal in its terms. There is no good ground for the distinction made in the law between those engaged in hazardous occupations and those not so engaged. If a man is injured or killed in any line of work, it was hazardous in his case. Whether 1 per cent or 10 per cent of those following a given occupation actually suffer injury or death ought not to have any bearing on the question of their receiving compensation. It is a grim logic which says to an injured employee or to the dependents of one killed that he or they are entitled to no compensation because very few people other than he have been injured or killed in that occupation. Perhaps one of the most striking omissions in the law is that it does not embrace peace officers and others whose lives may be sacrificed in enforcing the laws of the United States. The terms of the act providing compensation should be made more liberal than in the present act. A year’s compensation is not adequate for a wage-earner’s family in the event of his death by accident in the course of his employment. And in the event of death occurring, say, ten or eleven months after the accident, the family would only receive as compensation the equivalent of one or two months’ earnings. In this respect the generosity of the United States towards its employees compares most unfavorably with that of every country in Europe—even the poorest.

The terms of the act are also a hardship in prohibiting payment in cases where the accident is in any way due to the negligence of the employee. It is inevitable that daily familiarity with danger will lead men to take chances that can be construed into negligence. So well is this recognized that in practically all countries in the civilized world, except the United States, only a great degree of negligence acts as a bar to securing compensation. Probably in no other respect is our legislation, both State and National, so far behind practically the entire civilized world as in the matter of liability and compensation for accidents in industry. It is humiliating that at European international congresses on accidents the United States should be singled out as

the most belated among the nations in respect to employers’ liability legislation. This Government is itself a large employer of labor, and in its dealings with its employees it should set a standard in this country which would place it on a par with the most progressive countries in Europe. The laws of the United States in this respect and the laws of European countries have been summarized in a recent Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, and no American who reads this summary can fail to be struck by the great contrast between our practices and theirs—a contrast not in any sense to our credit.

The Congress should without further delay pass a model employers’ liability law for the District of Columbia. The employers’ liability act recently declared unconstitutional, on account of apparently including in its provisions employees engaged in intrastate commerce as well as those engaged in interstate commerce, has been held by the local courts to be still in effect so far as its provisions apply to District of Columbia. There should be no ambiguity on this point. If there is any doubt on the subject, the law should be reenacted with special reference to the District of Columbia. This act, however, applies only to employees of common carriers. In all other occupations the liability law of the District is the old common law. The severity and injustice of the common law in this matter has been in some degree or another modified in the majority of our States, and the only jurisdiction under the exclusive control of the Congress should be ahead and not behind the States of the Union in this respect. A comprehensive employers’ liability law should be passed for the District of Columbia.

Source: *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. 14 (New York: Bureau of National Literature, 1922), 7205–7208.

152. Japanese Treaty of Korean Annexation, August 22, 1910

Introduction

When the United States acquired the Philippines as the spoils of victory in the Spanish-American War, it began to consider commercial opportunities in Asia. First, the United States and Great Britain cooperated in promoting the so-called Open Door Policy to establish equal access to trade with China. The various powers that wielded influence in China grew concerned about aggressive Russian behavior in China. This led to the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), which U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt helped to end. Roosevelt won the Nobel Peace Prize for his role. At the same time, the United States and Japan signed a secret accord in which the United States promised to give Japan a free hand in Korea in return for Japan’s promise to do the same regarding the United States and the Philippines. By this one-sided treaty, Japan forcibly annexed Korea, which had long been dominated by China, on August 22, 1910. The change in Korea’s status indicated the dramatic shift in power that occurred in Asia in the late nineteenth and

early twentieth centuries, as China suffered increasingly from internal dissension and foreign encroachment while Japan emerged as a formidable military and industrial power. Korea remained tied to the Japanese Empire until Japan's defeat in World War II.

Primary Source

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan and his Majesty the Emperor of Korea having in view the special and close relations between their respective countries, desiring to promote the common weal of the two nations and to assure permanent peace in the Extreme East, and being convinced that these objects can be best attained in the annexation of Korea to the Empire of Japan, have resolved to conclude a treaty of such annexation and have, for that purpose, appointed as their plenipotentiaries,— that is to say, his Majesty the Emperor of Japan Viscount Masakata Terauchi, his Resident-General, and his Majesty the Emperor of Korea Ye Wan Yeng, his Minister-President of State, who upon mutual conference and deliberation have agreed to the following articles:—

ARTICLE I

His Majesty the Emperor of Korea makes complete and permanent cession to his Majesty the Emperor of Japan of all rights of sovereignty over the whole of Korea.

ARTICLE II

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan accepts the cession mentioned in the preceding article and consents to the complete annexation of Korea to the Empire of Japan.

ARTICLE III

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan will accord to their Majesties the Emperor and ex-Emperor and his Imperial Highness the Crown Prince of Korea and their consorts and helm such titles, dignities, and honors as are appropriate to their respective ranks, and sufficient annual grants will be made for the maintenance of such titles, dignities and honors.

ARTICLE IV

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan will also accord appropriate honor and treatment to the members of the Imperial House of Korea and their heirs other than those mentioned in the preceding article, and funds necessary for the maintenance of such honor and treatment will be granted.

ARTICLE V

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan will confer peerages and monetary grants upon those Koreans who, on account of meritorious services, are regarded as deserving such special recognition.

ARTICLE VI

In consequence of the aforesaid annexation the Government of Japan assumes the entire government and administration of Korea

and undertakes to afford full protection for the persons and property of the Koreans obeying the laws there in force and to promote the welfare of all such Koreans.

ARTICLE VII

The Government of Japan will, so far as circumstances permit, employ in the public services of Japan in Korea those Koreans who accept the new regime loyally and in good faith and who are duly qualified for such services.

ARTICLE VIII

This treaty, having been approved by his Majesty the Emperor of Japan and his Majesty the Emperor of Korea, shall take effect from the date of its promulgation.

Imperial Japanese Rescript Attached to the Proclamation and Treaty of Annexation

We, attaching highest importance to the maintenance of permanent peace in the Orient and the consolidation of lasting security to our Empire, and finding in Korea constant and fruitful sources of complication, caused our government to conclude in 1905 an agreement with the Korean Government by which Korea was placed under the protection of Japan in the hope that all disturbing elements might thereby be removed and peace assure for ever. For the four years and over which have since elapsed, our government have exerted themselves with unwearied attitude to promote reforms in the administration of Korea, and their efforts have, in a degree, been attended with success, but at the same time, the existing regime of government in that country has shown itself hardly effective to preserve peace and stability, and in addition the spirit of suspicion and misgiving dominates the whole peninsula.

In order to maintain public order and security, and to advance the happiness and well-being of the people, it has become manifest that fundamental changes in the present system of government are inevitable.

We, in concert with his Majesty the Emperor of Korea, having in view this condition of affairs, and being equally persuaded of the necessity of annexing the whole of Korea to the Empire of Japan in response to the actual requirement of the situation, have now arrived at the arrangement for such permanent annexation. His majesty the Emperor of Korea and the members of his Imperial House will, notwithstanding the annexation, be accorded due and appropriate treatment. All Koreans, being under our sway, will enjoy growing prosperity and welfare, and with assured repose and security will come a marked expansion in industry and trade. We confidently believe that the new order of things now inaugurated will serve as a fresh guarantee of enduring peace in the Orient. We order the establishment of a Governor-General

of Korea. The Governor-General will under our direction exercise the command of the army and the navy and have general control over all administrative functions in Korea. We call upon all our officials and authorities to fulfil their respective duties in appreciation of our will, and to conduct the various branches of administration in consonance with the requirements of the occasion, so that our subjects may long enjoy the blessings of peace and tranquillity.

Announcement of the Japanese Foreign Office August 29, 1910

1. Korea shall hereafter be named "Chosen."
2. The Government-General shall be established in Chosen.
3. The Residency-General and its accessory offices will be in existence for the present, and the Resident-General will exercise the functions of the Governor-General.
4. The issue of special passports for the people of Chosen is abolished, and hereafter the Chosens will be treated on an equal footing as the Japanese in the matter.

At the same time as the promulgation of the Annexation Treaty, which took place today, an Imperial Rescript was issued granting amnesty to a number of prisoners, both of grave and minor offences, on account of extenuating circumstances, and also granting diminution or exemption of the taxes non-paid in past years and taxes to be collected during this year.

Source: *American Journal of International Law*. Supplement. vol. 6. (New York: American Society of International Law, 1912)

153. Emory Upton, *The Military Policy of the United States*, 1912 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The period between the American Civil War and the Spanish-American War witnessed enormous change in military science. Leading the change was Prussia. In 1875 and 1876, the U.S. War Department sent General Emory Upton to study foreign military systems. During the 1870s, Upton earned a reputation for being the U.S. Army's most brilliant theoretical thinker. His travels convinced him that the U.S. Army suffered from major deficiencies. On his return, he set to work applying Prussian principles to planning for the reform of the army. Upton wrote two influential books, *The Armies of Asia and Europe* (1878) and *The Military Policy of the United States* (1912). In both books, he explained what was wrong with American military policy and proposed solutions, notably, more centralized control of a more disciplined regular army. Polit-

ical considerations, particularly the traditional fear of a standing or regular army, thwarted most of his notions for reform. Depressed by his failure, Upton committed suicide in 1881. However, his work inspired a subsequent generation of military reformers and provided the basis for modernizing the military. During the decade preceding the Spanish-American War, the secretaries of war and the commanding generals of the army began making the types of reforms that Upton and his disciples had proposed.

Primary Source

[...]

Looking at the example of every pioneer, as well as the prosperous man of business, the statesman could have informed the Senator that the military policy of an agricultural nation of 3,000,000 people just emerging from the forest, was no policy for a nation extending from ocean to ocean and now numbering more than fifty millions. But bad as is our system it would be unpatriotic to attack it if at the same time no remedy could be suggested. In order that this work may not be misjudged we will first indicate to the reader the chief causes of weakness of our present system, and next will outline the system which ought to replace it.

The causes of the weakness are as follows:

First. The employment of militia and undisciplined troops commanded by generals and officers utterly ignorant of the military art.

Second. Short enlistments from three months to three years, instead of for or during the war.

Third. Reliance upon voluntary enlistments, instead of voluntary enlistments coupled with conscription.

Fourth. The intrusion of the States in military affairs and the consequent waging of all our wars on the theory that we are a confederacy instead of a nation.

Fifth. Confusing volunteers with militia and surrendering to the States the right to commission officers of volunteers the same as officers of militia.

Sixth. The bounty—a national consequence of voluntary enlistments.

Seventh. The failure to appreciate military education, and to distribute trained officers as battalion, regimental, and higher commanders in our volunteer armies.

Eighth. The want of territorial recruitment and regimental depots.

Ninth. The want of post-graduate schools to educate our officers in strategy and the higher principles of the art of war.

Tenth. The assumption of command by the Secretary of War.

The main features of the proposed system are as follows:

First. In time of peace and war the military forces of the country to consist of—

The Regular Army,

The National Volunteers, and
The Militia.

The Regular Army in time of peace to be organised on the expansive principle and in proportion to the population, not to exceed one thousand in one million.

The National Volunteers to be officered and supported by the Government, to be organized on the expansive principle and to consist in time of peace of one battalion of two hundred men to each Congressional district.

The Militia to be supported exclusively by the States and as a last resort to be used only as intended by the Constitution, namely, to execute the laws, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

The author is well aware that in suggesting this system he will be accused of favoring centralization and strong government. This is a charge which he would neither covet nor deny. No soldier in battle ever witnessed the flight of an undisciplined army without wishing for a strong government, but a government no stronger than was designed by the fathers of the Republic.

[. . .]

Source: Emory Upton, *The Military Policy of the United States* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1912), xiii—xiv.

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